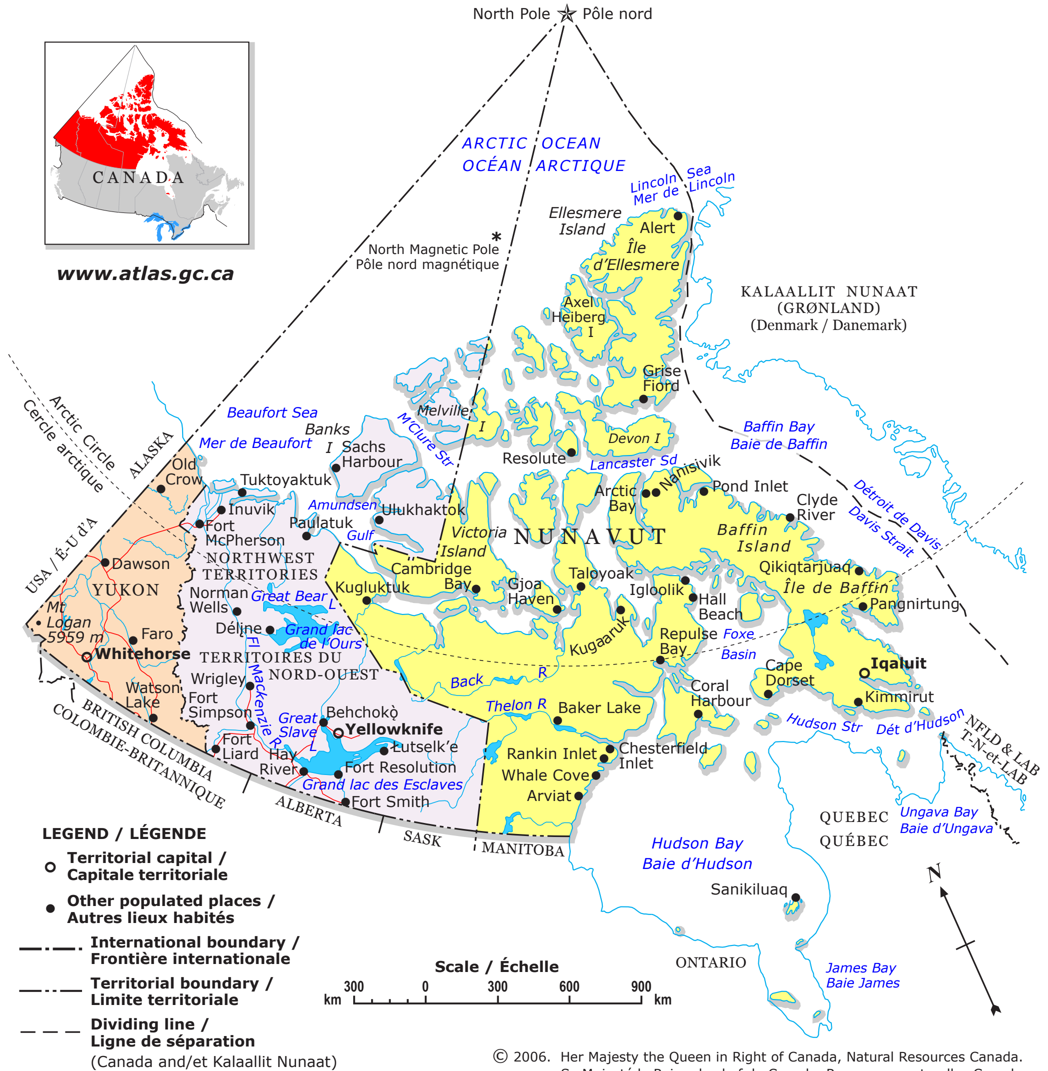
North Pole
Pôle nord
www.atlas.gc.ca
CANADA
ARCTIC OCEAN
OCÉAN ARCTIQUE
Lincoln Sea
Mer de Lincoln
North Magnetic Pole
Pôle nord magnétique
Ellesmere Island
Alert
Île d'Ellesmere
Axel Heiberg I
Grise Fiord
KALAALLIT NUNAAT
(GRØNLAND)
(Denmark / Danemark)
Beaufort Sea
Mer de Beaufort
Banks I
Sachs Harbour
M'Clure Str
Melville I
Resolute
Devon I
Lancaster Sd
Baffin Bay
Baie de Baffin
Arctic Circle
Cercle arctique
ALASKA
Old Crow
Tuktoyaktuk
Inuvik
Fort McPherson
Amundsen Gulf
Paulatuk
Ulukhaktok
Victoria Island
NUNAVUT
Arctic Bay
Nanisivik
Pond Inlet
Clyde River
Baffin Island
Détroit de Davis
Davis Strait
USA / É-U d'A
Dawson
YUKON
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
Cambridge Bay
Kugluktuk
Gjoa Haven
Taloyoak
Igloolik
Hall Beach
Qikiqtarjuaq
Île de Baffin
Pangnirtung
Mt Logan 5959 m
Faro
Whitehorse
Norman Wells
Great Bear L
Déline
Grand lac de l'Ours
TERRITOIRES DU NORD-OUEST
Kugaaruk
Repulse Bay
Foxe Basin
Cape Dorset
Iqaluit
Kimmirut
Wrigley
Fl Mackenzie R
Back R
Coral Harbour
Watson Lake
Fort Simpson
Behchokǫ̀
Yellowknife
Great Slave L
Thelon R
Baker Lake
Hudson Str
Dét d'Hudson
NFLD & LAB
T-N-et-LAB
BRITISH COLUMBIA
COLOMBIE-BRITANNIQUE
Fort Liard
Hay River
Łutselk'e
Fort Resolution
Grand lac des Esclaves
Fort Smith
Rankin Inlet
Chesterfield Inlet
Whale Cove
Arviat
ALBERTA
SASK
MANITOBA
QUEBEC
QUÉBEC
Ungava Bay
Baie d'Ungava
Hudson Bay
Baie d'Hudson
Sanikiluaq
N
LEGEND / LÉGENDE
Territorial capital / Capitale territoriale
Other populated places / Autres lieux habités
International boundary / Frontière internationale
Territorial boundary / Limite territoriale
Dividing line / Ligne de séparation (Canada and/et Kalaallit Nunaat)
Scale / Échelle
300 0 300 600 900
km km
ONTARIO
James Bay
Baie James
© 2006. Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada, Natural Resources Canada.
Sa Majesté la Reine du chef du Canada, Ressources naturelles Canada.

*Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*
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Education North of 60 / Éducation au nord du 60e

# INTRODUCTION

# The Territories in the History of Education in Canada: Where Are We Going? (and Why?)

**Heather E. McGregor and W.P.J. Millar**

Why should we study the history of education in the territories? And if we do, can it, and should it, form part of a larger pan-Canadian history? Where, indeed, do territorial histories of education fit into Canadian scholarship? We note that much less attention has been paid to historical work on this region of Canada than on any other. How can we explain such neglect? Is it due to the tendency of southerners (which is how we will refer to Canadians living well south of latitude 60) to focus mainly on their own concerns? To ignore a distant, little-known, and "empty" land? It is true that, altogether, the three territories comprise a vast geographical area that has only some 113,000 inhabitants. Nearly 40 per cent of them live in just two small cities — Whitehorse and Yellowknife — with the rest spread over some 60 other, mostly *very* small, communities.[1] Throughout the nation's existence, the inhabitants of the territories have always formed but a tiny proportion of the population. Does their history offer Canadians something deserving greater attention? Or will it continue to be relegated to the periphery, perhaps relevant only to the people who happen to live there?

The articles in this Special Issue have been drawn together to illustrate some of the ways in which histories of education in the territories are important for us all. They cover a range of levels and types of education, they touch on different geographic areas of the three territories, they provide some new explorations and insights, and they reveal some possible directions for further research. In this introduction we want to expand on some of the reasons, and questions, associated with unfolding these histories, and with placing them in the context of a national history of education.

## Educational History and the North

At the outset, let us acknowledge the place of the North in our national imagination, our sense of ourselves.[2] Its presence, whether remarked upon or not, looms

large, projecting images often imbued with cultural and environmental stereotypes, and marked by (southerners') romantic attitudes, geopolitical ambitions, and fervent schemes for the exploitation of resources. In other words, it is hardly trivial or marginal to the history of Canada; on the contrary, it merits our full attention. Moreover, the histories of the North are intriguing both for their (sometimes) very great differences from southern narratives, and for the light they can cast on southern perspectives. And there are solid historical reasons to pursue them. To document stories known to Northerners, especially oral histories; to uncover new histories, different perspectives, and new interpretations; to explore what has been neglected in our history—that is surely worthwhile. There's also a pragmatic reason: as scholars may have noticed, the Arctic is, so to speak, a "hot" topic, and the focus of a growing research community, especially in the sciences and social sciences.[3] Yet, curiously, the histories of education in all the territories have been relatively neglected. As far as we know, for example, this is the first issue of a Canadian journal focusing on that subject. Despite the pioneering work of a handful of historians, there's still much to learn.[4]

Each territory is composed of diverse communities of First Peoples, Euro-Canadians, and New Canadians, with varying histories of settlement and rates of itinerancy; thus, it is important to have separate historical accounts of each territory, or of communities and regions within them. On the other hand, government-imposed jurisdictional borders may not be relevant in some cases. For example, while Nunavut as a separate territory is a very recent creation, the Inuit regions were considered distinct areas under the former Northwest Territories (NWT), as the articles by Heather McGregor, Cathy McGregor, and Sheena Kennedy Dalseg illustrate. For northern Indigenous peoples, educational history may contribute to reclaiming their history on their own terms and from their own perspectives, and to telling their stories outside or beyond southern models of the history of schooling. It would also be useful to have comparative accounts of the three territories. Moreover, examining the history of education for all peoples North of 60 might help to provide a holistic overview of the variety of educational pathways shaped by the area's unique geography and history. Amanda Graham's article provides an example of just such a cross-territorial sweep, and indicates how it might lead to more specific work in the future.

There are good reasons, as well, why Canadian history of education should include, and be informed by, northern experiences. Take just one example. Indigenous experiences with education North of 60, and particularly Inuit experiences with schooling, have often gone unremarked in scholarship that claims to cover Indigenous issues across the country.[5] Yet, as Heather McGregor explains in her article, "Listening," northern histories of schooling vary substantially between communities, and they also differ from the southern narratives with which we have become familiar. A close study of territorial Indigenous education not only reveals commonalities with First Peoples in other jurisdictions—such as enforced use of English as a language of instruction—but it also provides valuable and unique insights into the perseverance and resistance of families and communities in protecting their language and culture from school-based assimilative influences.

In sum, it is essential to document and to interpret these territorial histories, for two reasons. For Northerners, paying attention to education North of 60 can shed light on their own development and understandings. Secondly, and just as important, these northern histories can provide new perspectives on the development of Canadian education generally.

## Where Are We Going? (that is, What Lines of Research Might Be Worth Pursuing?)

Three preliminary points are worth making here. First, we want to emphasize that historians cannot overlook the deep and persistent impact of environmental conditions on life in general, and education in particular, in the territories. Teaching that is suited to the demands of the environment has always been essential in the transmission of knowledge and skills from one generation to the next. Such knowledge is not only vital for survival, but it is also connected to well-being and the promotion of a good life. Even if we were to do away with the exaggerated, often Eurocentric, adjectives frequently applied to the Arctic (barren, inhospitable, extreme)—all of which local First Peoples might contest from their experience and views of "home"—the balance between life and death can be precarious. Education for living there is essential, and schooling can be a challenge. This reality was unquestionably true in the past, and it persists into the present. School attendance, program content, community resources, and travel in and out of territorial communities have long been significantly shaped by distance, weather, and climate patterns, variables that few people can overlook in their examination of teaching and learning. In her article, Wyn Millar shows how geographical conditions and the need to accommodate them significantly affected the development of Sir John Franklin High School and Akaitcho Hall.

The second point concerns the irregular pattern of Euro-Canadian settlement in the territories. While centres like Whitehorse and Yellowknife now include Euro-Canadian families that have been resident in the North for several generations, these people rarely came North with long-term settlement in mind. Unable to purchase large tracts of land because it belonged to the Crown (and was later included in Indigenous land claims), most Euro-Canadians had no intention to homestead or farm or claim lands in order to stay permanently, unlike the pattern of settlement in the provinces. Thus, whereas the presence of Euro-Canadian families has had a significant impact on schools, it has been unpredictable, inconsistent, and always shaped by the uncertainty of their on-going residency. Many southerners—including teachers—left the North to start their families, or if they stayed in the territories, their children were educated to "leave" or "go south" for further education or employment, often where their parents had originated. Most Euro-Canadians maintained deep ties to southern Canada, often returned for annual visits, and retired there when their employment in the North ended. This intermittent pattern in some cases has allowed Indigenous educational imperatives to take root in the absence of high numbers of settlers originally from elsewhere, but on the other hand, schools and adult education programs have often been negatively affected by the itinerancy

of teachers, loss of institutional memory, and constant process of orientation for new staff and parents. Given these conditions of instruction in NWT and Nunavut schools, Cathy McGregor's article raises questions concerning implementation and support for made-in-the-North curriculum.

Third, in the NWT at least, though education practices existed among Indigenous peoples and the churches made efforts to teach literacy, the history of *schooling*, with few exceptions, begins after the Second World War. Adult education, college programs, and pursuit of a university located in the territories are even more recent developments, as Sheena Kennedy Dalseg and Amanda Graham show in their respective articles. This comparatively short time span should not detract from its value. To examine it is to open a window into how schools have been introduced to both urban and non-urban communities, and how schools were accommodated or resisted by those communities, particularly when people were adjusting, in a remarkably brief time, to the modern industrial, welfare state.

With these three issues in mind as an essential backdrop, we can now consider further lines of inquiry into territorial education. In comparing southern and northern ways of schooling children we might ask what were the commonalities, what were the differences, and—crucially—*why*? Until the introduction of territorial teacher education programs and even since then, most northern teachers, administrators, and instructors grew up in southern Canada and attended schools there, trained in teacher education programs in places like Toronto or Saskatoon, used teaching resources and learning materials they brought along themselves or received from Alberta or Ontario, and reinforced assumptions about the future of northern peoples tied to southern economic and national goals. Can it therefore be argued that southern schools were reproduced in the North? What social, economic, and political conditions, as well as student and teacher agency, served to create school experiences that may have echoed southern expectations and yet were implemented with varying degrees of fidelity? Three contributors elaborate on these themes: Cathy McGregor, with reference to social studies curriculum in K-9 classrooms in the NWT and Nunavut; Sheena Kennedy Dalseg, with reference to adult education in the Eastern Arctic; and Wyn Millar, concerning the creation of an academic and vocational high school in Yellowknife.

A quest for similarities and differences in ways and means of educating northern and southern youth should, at the same time, be informed by consideration of whether any generalizations can be made about the wide variety of schools across the North itself. Was schooling at Sir John Franklin High School in Yellowknife, as described by Wyn Millar, comparable to that at Gordon Robertson Education Centre in Iqaluit (then Frobisher Bay)? Were the experiences of students at Carcross Indian Residential School in Yukon at all similar to those, described by Heather McGregor, of students who attended Joseph Bernier residential school in Chesterfield Inlet, NWT? How were sub-categories of territorial students differently affected by schooling: for example, men and women; younger and older students; siblings sent to school and others who were hidden or kept at home; Inuit, Métis, and First Nations students and families, and Euro-Canadian students, or newcomers of other origins;

those who went to day schools while residing with their families, and those who travelled away to attend school. If few generalizations can be made about the delivery of school programs and the experiences of students, what comparisons will be efficacious within the three territories, or by extension, with other parts of Canada?

As territorial governments were established, the decision-making responsibilities of the federal government gradually devolved to northern offices. "Systems" of education arose with distinct mandates, directions, and procedures. However, even before formal recognition of territorial responsibility for education, there were differing bureaucratic mechanisms being implemented in the eastern, central, and western parts of the North. Indeed, as we have already noted, there were serious impediments to consistency, standardization, accountability, and the approaches and outcomes usually associated with components of a system. Can the claims potentially gleaned from official documents be understood in any way as representative of community practices? How did the geographic isolation of schools and adult education programs—from each other, from supervisory administrators, and from policy-makers in Ottawa, Yellowknife, or Whitehorse—shape the learning processes and outcomes that teachers chose in their everyday instruction? How did the relatively low degree of parental involvement in school governance until the 1980s, often as a result of language and cultural differences between teachers and community members, affect the implementation of school programs? In communities where teachers or principals stayed for many years, married into local families, or learned the Indigenous language, was schooling markedly different from standardized expectations articulated from "headquarters"? How did bureaucrats, supervisors, teachers, adult education instructors, parents, and students, respectively, navigate the inherent contradictions between expectations for schooling imported from southern Canada and the realities of northern life? How could the imposition of curriculum, assessment, teacher professionalism, or other tools that characterize a school system be seen to affect the outcomes or experiences of northern youth? As Indigenous families, communities, and politicians became increasingly involved in overseeing education—which occurred after 1982 in the NWT[6]—how did their differing expectations for schools make their way back to administrators and manifest themselves in "system" tools or procedures? In school administration, what relationships can be traced over time between centralized policy-making and dispersed resistances—what was the norm and what were the exceptions? And to borrow from Larry Cuban, what commonalities and differences marked curricular processes such as the intended curriculum designed by departments of education, the curriculum as delivered by teachers, the curriculum learned by students, and the tested curriculum?[7]

In any case, historians of education must remain open to the heuristic of colonization/decolonization and to questions of structural, material, and discursive differences, which include racism, social class struggles, and Eurocentrism. Employing such theoretical tools may help to show how the development of territorial schooling and adult education may have been mediated—or indeed masked—by the rhetoric of multiculturalism, multilingualism, citizenship, the welfare state, and paternalist interventions. During times when southern Canadian schooling frequently

separated Indigenous and non-Indigenous students, public schools in the territories were supposed to be inclusive. Some non-Indigenous students attended residential schools, particularly secondary schools, in the NWT; a few Indigenous students went to schools that primarily catered to Euro-Canadians. However, in practice, many territorial public schools served one cultural community. For example, Yellowknife schools (apart from Sir John) had very few Indigenous students, but most small communities had no Euro-Canadian students at all. What did this mean for differences between schools within the same administrative region?

We may also ask what evidence there is of *intentional* processes of assimilation? To what and to whom might we attribute aspects of school culture and expectations that were unwelcoming and hostile for Indigenous people? To misplaced "good intentions"? To the absence of resources that would facilitate Indigenous ways of educating in schools? Would such alternatives have been dismissed by school administrators as backward and non-conducive to appropriate school practices? Did school expectations for students that differed from those encountered in their upbringing become pervasive primarily because of teacher commitments to mainstream ideas of a "good" education? How did teacher-student relationships change over time: did longer-term teachers modify their approaches to make more space for Indigenous language and culture, or were new teachers more malleable? How convinced were school staff that they could ensure a territorial education on a par with a provincial education? If they could not, was such variation attributed to student deficit, school deficit, or something else?

Again, the language of instruction is a potent topic that sheds light on the wide spectrum of contemporary opinion about the preservation or assimilation of identities. Perpetual concerns in territorial schools have included, for example, whether Indigenous languages should be taught in schools at all, what proportion of instruction should be in Indigenous languages, how to transition between languages, and how to support enough teachers (with or without certification) with the language skills to achieve consistent language program delivery. The issue of French-language instruction—who can have access, how it is combined with English or Indigenous languages, and how French-language schools relate to other school systems—has also been prominent in the capital cities of Whitehorse, Yellowknife, and Iqaluit.[8]

Cross-cultural and trans-national approaches can also be brought to bear on territorial education, perhaps casting a different light on "traditional" or "informal" forms of Indigenous pedagogy, or, alternatively, providing leverage for critical analysis of the efficacy of schooling. Consider the following argument. When we think about education, in English Canada at least, we tend to equate it with schooling—a consequence, we suggest, of the historical coincidence that settlement and the rise of formal schooling tended to occur at about the same time. And thus our model of schooling goes something like this. Children begin their education by being in a building called school, taught by non-kin adults called teachers, who convey to them the knowledge, characterized by facts, rules, and algorithms of how to learn, that the society deems they will need to know as they become adults. As societies change, they create "systems" of education, characterized by complex stages of schooling, a

hierarchy of institutions, bureaucratic management, explicit and formal programs of studies, testing procedures, certification, financial arrangements, and all the rest of an elaborate structure. And children are supposed to spend a substantial period of time at school, a period that takes an ever-longer part of their lives, into early adulthood, to learn what they will need to know to function in a wage economy and an increasingly minute division of labour.

But schooling is not, of course, the only, or the oldest, means of education. And an interpretive device that might be very illuminating when exploring the history of education in Canada's North is to use a model *akin to* apprenticeship. There is now a large literature across a range of disciplines on this subject.[9] Not just historians, but anthropologists, sociologists, theorists of knowledge, and psychologists, among others, have studied apprenticeship in its various forms, historical and present-day, in many different cultures and places. For the particular histories of education that we're concerned with here, understanding ways of learning that occurred among First Peoples in Canada's North might, we suggest, be enriched by exploiting this literature.[10]

There were, and are, different forms of apprenticeship, ranging from very informal, family-based arrangements to formal, contractual methods. But essentially the model says this. The apprentice learns from a practitioner, an Elder, a person who has achieved mastery of a particular skill or an entire occupation. The apprentice does so over a period of time, gradually learning how to perform the work by him or herself. Learning is by observation and practice; by watching and then doing. The master may, or may not, engage in didactic instruction. The common thread is that the apprentice observes and imitates, and gradually achieves mastery. There is implicit knowledge to be absorbed: how much bark is needed to make a basket? How does one learn to navigate on the tundra? Similarly, to take just one example, the learning of skills in modern medicine: how does a nurse learn to stitch up a patient? That is to say, apprenticeship also involves more than learning a set of rules or algorithms—more than the knowledge that can be transmitted didactically or formally in a classroom, or the knowledge that constitutes the "science" underpinning a skill. It also involves large amounts of tacit knowledge or what we might term "knowledge in use," mastered through practice, through carefully supervised repetition of increasingly complex tasks, through learning the "feel" of getting a task right. It is a form of craft knowledge: not knowledge about, but knowledge how—how much to scrape the birch bark to prepare it for making a basket, how to make neat and efficient stitches.

Apprenticeship is also, and this is a vital part of it, a method of socialization into a community. Apprentices learn by spending extended amounts of time at work sites; there, they observe and learn ways of behaving. These places may be narrowly situated as in a law office or a carpentry shop overseen by a master practitioner. The work site may also be the home, the field, the bush, or the ice. Or it may be the entire community. In non-industrial societies, apprentices were part of a family unit and a community. They learned—from parents or others, on sites familiar to the family and community—the knowledge they would need as fully functioning adult

members of the community: how to perform the tasks of an adult, and how to be part of the community while doing so. That is, they learned how to perform tasks, and at the same time, how to be part of, and function within, a web of social relationships.[11]

In this sense, apprenticeship and its role in Indigenous education can be seen as a good example of a particular way of learning that has had, and continues to have, a very large and wide application elsewhere — learning to make baskets or chairs, learning the specific skills to practice most professions, learning the economic and interpersonal skills necessary for successful practice and community life. It provides us, in other words, with a golden opportunity to consider a model of learning that can form an alternative, or a complement, to school- and classroom-based learning.

Exploring that model for territorial education might also contribute to, and benefit by, our understanding of how education developed elsewhere in Canada — in other words, it's a mutually enlightening heuristic device. We know, for example, that for most of Canadian history, at least until the second half of the twentieth century, it's not unusual to find patterns of conventional schooling complemented by formal or informal apprenticeships. Children were sent to school for brief and sometimes broken periods. At most, a majority of them learned the rudiments and then ended their formal schooling. Only a tiny minority — the handful who were peculiarly "bookish" or who needed particular kinds of formal learning — stayed on beyond elementary school. The majority of children learned their adult roles at home or in a workplace — on the farm, in the workshop, in the fishery, in the case of boys; within the household or factory, for girls.[12]

And let us reiterate: this is not a hierarchical model where societies naturally and inevitably move from "traditional" to more "modern" forms of education — from informal (i.e. thought to be unstructured, casual) to formal (i.e. perceived as structured, rigorous). The apprenticeship model is, in itself, a sophisticated form of learning commonly found in all kinds of modern occupational training and community arrangements the world over, past and present. In fact, it is arguably *more* rigorous because it has real-life consequences. Failure has a price on its head: a leaking basket, law suits for incompetent practice, falling through the ice, getting lost on the land or in the bush.

We suggest, then, that another worthwhile research project would be to examine how these two different models of learning — the one of formal schooling, and the other, akin to apprenticeship — serve learners well or badly, and how they interact.[13] In Canada's North, is there a clash of two different ways of learning that are opposed to one another, as might be argued? Why does one kind of schooling come to dominate our view of education? Is it just a matter of colonial imposition? What kind of education can incorporate both? Can the two co-exist? And so on — a host of productive questions that historians might find useful to investigate.

## Where Do We Find Sources for Territorial History?

The National Archives is a basic source for early schooling in the North.[14] As well, various provincial school systems influenced or helped certify and regulate education

in the territories, so provincial archives constitute another resource. During the two or three decades after 1940, for example, Yellowknife schools used the Alberta curriculum, texts, examinations, and teacher certification standards, so there is material relating to all these subjects in the Public Archives of Alberta. There is also material relating to the territories in the provincial archives of British Columbia and one would likely find documents in Saskatchewan archives as well. Because youth from around the Eastern Arctic including Nunavik (Northern Quebec) attended secondary school in Churchill, the Manitoba archives would be a worthwhile place to look too.

Many university archives hold important sets of records as well, particularly on the development of teacher-training programs. Other relevant places to investigate are: in Winnipeg, renowned for their comprehensiveness, the Hudson's Bay Company archives; and, in various locations, the Anglican and Catholic church archives. In the territories themselves, there are, as Ian Burnett and Wyn Millar respectively outline in this issue, the Yukon archives in Whitehorse, with a very large collection of documents, and the NWT archives in Yellowknife, containing many education records for both NWT and Nunavut.[15]

There are also some rich printed sources. For example, there is Robert Carney's 1971 PhD dissertation, "Relations in Education between the Federal and Territorial Governments and the Roman Catholic Church in the Mackenzie District, Northwest Territories, 1867–1961."[16] This is much broader than the title suggests. Bob Carney went to the NWT as a young man to become principal of the Fort Smith public school. He soon moved up into administration, remained there for a number of years, and thus was in from the start of establishing a "modern" system. The thesis should be consulted by any historian of education in the NWT. A second important published source is Norman Macpherson's *Dreams & Visions*.[17] This is an invaluable compendium of documents, oral history, and history compiled and written by one of the foremost teachers and administrators in the NWT system. And it's complemented by records at the Yellowknife archives consisting of some of the original interview transcripts and other materials. Finally, we might note a third important printed source: in 1964 the anthropologist Diamond Jenness published the second volume of his Eskimo Administration series, focusing on education and seriously critiquing the Canadian federal government for its on-going neglect of Inuit schooling.[18]

Any discussion of records should not overlook the place of collections of pictures and artifacts as historical documents. Again, for example, both the Yellowknife archives and museum and the Yukon archives house a rich supply of such material, providing scholars with invaluable evidence to complement the written record.

Finally, oral history is a valuable and sometimes indispensable source. Heather McGregor comments on sources of testimony in her article "Listening," and in her concluding article, on some methodological implications of doing oral history.

Obviously this introduction — and this Special Issue in general — raise far more questions than we can answer here; indeed, they hardly exhaust the issues that could be raised. What, for example, are schools preparing territorial students *for*? By attending schools, what are students *not* learning, what activities are they *not* participating

in, what are they missing out on, what are they forced to leave at the front door, what language and cultural knowledge might be at stake? Students have consistently voted with their feet by leaving school early or completing school with minimal credits, and even choosing to participate in the wage economy only partially, seasonally, or at particular points of their lives. Questions remain about whether, in Canada's territories, schools teach youth what they need and want to know, support them in discovering who they need and want to be, and give them experience in doing what they need and want to do. Have public schools accommodated these differing goals and objectives in the past? How are northern educational stories relevant to other parts of Canada, such as rural areas, Indigenous territories, or urban centres where student enrolment, attendance, and completion rates are also under scrutiny? How can territorial histories contribute to greater recognition of the complex experiences and educational expectations of families in "mainstream Canada"—if there is such a thing—when compared to the North?

We have, nonetheless, tried to suggest three things: that territorial histories of education need to be researched and written; that a variety of conceptual tools can be applied to the process; and that there are sources aplenty upon which to draw. But above all, a fourth component of this historical work is vital: as Heather McGregor outlines in the concluding article, modesty, responsibility, respect, and collaboration must be its hallmarks. If it's done right, however, the study of the educational past can provide, as Ruth Sandwell has argued about rural education, a "remarkable lens" through which to view the North.[19] Examining the process of education, in schools or outside them, can help us to understand the ways of knowing and the ways of life of a people (or peoples). That understanding will, in turn, serve to enrich our understanding of the history of education in Canada as a whole.

## Notes

1 Just for comparison, this widely dispersed population is less than half as large as Saskatoon, a relatively small southern city. Population figures for 2011. See http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo03-eng.htm and links to various tables for cities and territories (accessed 12 May 2014).

2 See for example Sherrill E. Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

3 Readers will hardly need reminding that this interest has reached new heights with the discovery of remains of the Franklin Expedition in September 2014; for commentary on its pertinence to students and teachers of Canadian history, see Lyle Dick, "The Franklin Mystery: Life and Death in the Arctic," CHA *Bulletin* 40, 3 (2014): 22-23.

4 Among those few, see for example Heather E. McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools in the Eastern Arctic* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), and references to other work below and in the articles that follow; Ken S. Coates, *Best Left as Indians: Native-White Relations in the Yukon Territory, 1840–1973* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); J. Donald Wilson, ed., *Schooling on a Distant Frontier: Yukon's Educational Heritage* [Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1982?]; Marjorie E. Almstrom, *A Century of Schooling: Education in the Yukon, 1861–1961* (Whitehorse: 1990, rev. 1991).

5 Heather E. McGregor, "Situating Nunavut Education with Indigenous Education in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Education* 36, 2 (2013): 87-118.

6 In 1982 the Special Committee on Education in the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly released the report *Learning: Tradition and Change,* calling for legislation to reform school governance structures (among many other topics). Many of their recommendations were incorporated into law in 1985. See McGregor, *Inuit Education*, 118-23.

7 See Larry Cuban, *Inside the Black Box of Classroom Practice: Change Without Reform in American Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013), 50-54.

8 "Yukon gov't, French school board make final appeals to supreme court," *CBC News,* 22 Jan.,2015, http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/yukon-gov-t-french-school-board-make-final-appeals-to-supreme-court-1.2927145; "French school board going to court to protect education rights," *Nunatsiaq News,* 12 Jan. 2015, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674french_school_board_going_to_court_to_protect_education_rights/

9 It's important to emphasize that the formal or contractual form of craft apprenticeship characteristic of early modern Europe was only one kind of apprenticeship. For the full range see esp. the essay by Esther N. Goody, "Learning, Apprenticeship, and the Division of Labor," in *Apprenticeship: From Theory to Method and Back Again*, ed. Michael Coy (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989), 234-54; see also in this volume the essays by Coy and John Singleton. For other sources see for example Bob Gidney, "'Madam How' and 'Lady Why': Learning to Practise in Historical Perspective," in *Learning to Practise: Professional Education in Historical and Contemporary Perspective*, ed. Ruby Heap, Wyn Millar, Elizabeth Smyth (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2005), 12-42; Eliot Friedson, *Professionalism: The Ideal Type*, 24-35 (on tacit and formal knowledge); David R. Olson, *Psychological Theory and Educational Reform: How School Remakes Mind and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 38-43, 148-53, 159-62; Regna Darnell, "The Nature of Knowledge," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 46, 2 (2012): 26-44 and esp. 38; Cuban, *Inside the Black Box of Classroom Practice*, 50-54 For a brief description of Indigenous "traditional education" that focuses on British Columbia and encapsulates this model, see Jan Hare, "Aboriginal Families and Aboriginal Education," in *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia*, 2d ed., ed. Jean Barman and Mona Gleason (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 2003), 412-15.

10 For the particular histories of education that we're concerned with here, the apprenticeship model better reflects Indigenous approaches to lifelong learning in pragmatic and specific ways. It also has relevance in the literal sense because many early adult education programs were practically oriented, including apprenticeship training in trades. Not only that, but Indigenous students have consistently shown interest in practical programs that integrate theory and academics with work experience. An exemplar of this approach is the Nunavut Literacy Council Miqqut Program for women, combining adult literacy with traditional skills; see Shelley Tulloch, Adriana Kusugak, Gloria Uluqsi, Quluaq Pilakapsi, Cayla Chenier, Anna Ziegler and Kim Crockatt, "Stitching together literacy, culture & wellbeing: The potential of non-formal learning programs," *Northern Public Affairs* (Dec. 2013): 28-32.

11 Likewise, it is worth mentioning that traditionally a mentor relied heavily on an apprentice. In Inuit society there was so much work to go around that without young people to help with the hunting or sewing, the Elders and adults would have been overwhelmed. The corollary of being needed, of course, is that you are given a place to belong, where you are valued. In contrast to schools, where classes go ahead whether individual students attend or not and uniformity is expected, in traditional learning the special skills of each young person were separately honed, respected, and important to the community.

12 For example, in a 1940 study by Sandy Mowat of the Annapolis valley in Nova Scotia, boys dropped out of school earlier than girls; they were not dropping out of education, however, but were being educated about the business of farming, at home, from fathers and kin. See R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, *How Schools Worked: Public Education in English Canada, 1900–1940* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 71, and generally, chaps. 2 and 3.

13 Another similar example would be to examine mentorship with regard to traditional *and* institutional contexts, as the Nunavut government did through development of their professional mentorship program based on Inuit views of mentorship; see Department of Human Resources, Training, and Development Division, *Introduction to Mentorship in Nunavut* (Iqaluit: Government of Nunavut, 2003).

14 Also, Frank Tester has compiled copies of records in the National Archives covering the federal administration of Inuit including education; these are held in his centre at the School of Social Work, University of British Columbia. See the database at: http://nunavutsocialhistory.arts.ubc.ca (12 February 2015).

15 Anything pertaining to education in the area that is now Nunavut would be located with the NWT records in Yellowknife or Ottawa. The Nunavut legislative assembly currently maintains collections primarily relating to the post-1999 period but this does not include specific school records, only territorial documents (such as policy statements and reports). Historians may need to visit individual schools to see what has been kept independently or by chance. It is worth mentioning that there is significant work to be done consolidating historical sources with respect to education in Nunavut, as well as digitizing such sources to make them available to Nunavut residents.

16 Robert J. Carney, "Relations in Education between the Federal and Territorial Governments and the Roman Catholic Church in the Mackenzie District, Northwest Territories, 1867–1961" (PhD diss., University of Alberta, 1971).

17 Norman John Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions: Education in the Northwest Territories from Early Days to 1984* (Yellowknife: Dept. of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories, 1991).

18 Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration: II. Canada* (Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1964).

19 R.W. Sandwell, "Introduction to Special Issue on the History of Rural Education in Canada," *Historical Studies in Education/ Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 24, 1 (2012): 45.

# Some Key Dates in the History of Education in Yukon, NWT, and Nunavut

| | |
|---|---|
| | Northern First Peoples educated their children in their languages |
| 1763 | *Royal Proclamation* required education for Indians |
| 1844 | Bagot Commission recommended residential schools |
| 1876 | *Indian Act* passed |
| 1892 | Agreement between churches and Canadian government to operate residential schools |
| 1911–1969 | Chooutla Residential School, also called Carcross Indian Residential School operational in Carcross, Yukon |
| 1920 | Residential school attendance compulsory for Indian children |
| 1920–1943 | St. Paul's Indian Residential School operational in Dawson, Yukon |
| 1927 | Aklavik Anglican Indian Residential School opened at Shingle Point, Yukon; later moved to Aklavik, NWT |
| 1939 | Inuit classified as Indian under the *Indian Act* |
| 1947–1962 | Whitehorse Baptist Mission School operational in Whitehorse, Yukon |
| 1950–1969 | Federal government builds elementary schools in communities across the NWT and Yukon |
| 1954–1969 | Joseph Bernier Federal Day School and hostel, Turquetil Hall, operational in Chesterfield Inlet, NWT |
| 1958 | Sir John Franklin Territorial High School opens in Yellowknife, NWT |
| 1960 | Education Division of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources established an Adult Education Section |
| 1963 | Whitehorse Vocational Training School opens |
| 1964 | Churchill Vocational Centre for Inuit from NWT and Nunavik opens in Churchill, Manitoba |
| 1966 | Adult Home Management Education Program launched in NWT<br>Carrothers' Commission report tabled on the evolution of government in the NWT |
| 1968 | Adult Vocational Training Centre opens in Fort Smith, NWT |
| 1969 | First Aboriginal Teacher Education Program starts in Yellowknife, NWT<br>Federal government contracts Frontier College to deliver adult education in Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit)/Apex<br>NWT government takes over responsibility for schools from federal government (1969-1970) |

| 1970 | NWT Department of Education creates Continuing and Special Education Division, bringing adult and vocational education together for the first time |
|---|---|
| 1971 | Gordon Robertson Education Centre for adults and high school students, with residence to serve Eastern Arctic, opens in Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit)<br>NWT contracts Frontier College to provide adult education to some communities |
| 1972–1973 | First NWT curricula published for K-9: *Elementary Education in the Northwest Territories and Learning in the Middle Years* |
| 1974 | Adult education considered a basic human right for all adults in the NWT |
| 1977 | First NWT *Education Ordinance* |
| 1978 | Frontier College contracts terminated; all adult educators to be employees of the NWT government |
| 1979 | Expansion of NWT Teacher Education program to Eastern Arctic in Iqaluit |
| 1982 | Special Committee on Education Report, *Learning: Tradition and Change,* tabled in the NWT Legislative Assembly; recommends significant changes to the system |
| 1983 | Yukon Vocational and Technical Training Centre becomes Yukon College |
| 1984 | Senior administrators appointed to develop a college system in the NWT |
| 1985 | First NWT Board of Education (outside Yellowknife) established in the Baffin region |
| 1986 | *Arctic College Act* passed, NWT |
| 1987 | Arctic College established on April 1 |
| 1988 | *Yukon College Act* passed |
| 1989 | Yukon Native Teacher Education Program initiated |
| 1990 | *Yukon Education Act* passed |
| 1993 | *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement* signed<br>Preparations to divide the NWT begin<br>Publication of *Dene Kede,* curriculum from a Dene perspective, NWT |
| 1995 | Arctic College divided into Aurora College in the west; Nunavut Arctic College in the east<br>NWT *Education Act* passed |
| 1996 | Publication of *Inuuqatigiit: The Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective* |
| 1995–2005 | Expansion of grades 10-12 required in all NWT and Nunavut communities |
| 1999 | Establishment of Nunavut |
| 2001 | University of the Arctic launched |
| 2008 | *Nunavut Education Act* passed |