

**“This Year Book ... has been entirely produced by  
staff and students”:  
Indigenous Youth, Indian Schooling, and Historical  
Production in the Northwest Territories, 1959–71**

**Crystal Gail Fraser**

University of Alberta

**Jessica Dunkin**

Independent Scholar

ABSTRACT

In 1960, two of the newly constructed schools in the Northwest Territories (NWT) published yearbooks for the first time. By the end of the decade, yearbooks were a common feature of school life in the territory. While school yearbooks have been important for historians working in a variety of subdisciplines, there is little methodological writing on these sources. In this article, which draws on yearbooks from seven Indian residential and day schools in the NWT, we provide historians with a set of questions and considerations for working with yearbooks generally and those produced within Canada's system of “Indian education” specifically. We conclude with a discussion about using yearbooks to write histories of “Indian schooling” that includes a brief examination of yearbooks as sources for writing about recreation at residential and day schools.

RÉSUMÉ

En 1960, deux des écoles nouvellement construites dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest (T.N.-O.) ont publié des albums de fin d'année pour la première fois. À la fin de la décennie, les albums de fin d'année étaient devenus communs dans la vie scolaire des Territoires. Or, si ces derniers constituent des ressources importantes pour les historiens œuvrant dans diverses sous-disciplines, il existe peu d'études méthodologiques sur ces sources. Dans cet article, qui s'appuie sur l'analyse des albums de fin d'année de sept externats indiens et pensionnats indiens des Territoires du Nord-Ouest, nous proposons aux historiens un ensemble de questions et de facteurs à prendre en considération lorsqu'ils travaillent à partir d'albums de fin d'année, plus spécifiquement ceux qui ont été produits dans le cadre du système canadien de « l'éducation indienne. » Nous concluons sur une réflexion quant à l'utilisation des albums de fin d'année pour écrire le récit de la scolarisation indienne, comprenant une brève analyse de l'usage de ces derniers comme sources sur les activités de loisir dans les externats et dans les pensionnats.

## Introduction

Yearbooks provide a unique and valuable historical glimpse into the lives of Indigenous children while they were institutionalized at Indian residential and day schools, raising questions about children's culture, technology, labour, school traditions, and relationships. Yet historians must be cautious in their analysis and use of yearbooks produced at Indian residential and day schools, which were crucial parts of the larger system of "Indian education" administered by church and state to support settler colonialism and genocide in Canada.<sup>1</sup> Historical records related to residential and day schools are especially fraught because they rarely contain the unedited voices of Indigenous Peoples but also because there are significant gaps in the archive of Indian education in Canada.

We came to analyze yearbooks through a study of recreation at Indian residential and day schools in the Northwest Territories (NWT).<sup>2</sup> Most extant records of northern residential and day schools are administrative, including quarterly returns, financial records, and state and church correspondence. Read in certain ways, these documents illuminate children's experiences, but they are the product of settler administrators and teachers. As public historian Krista McCracken argues, the "archival records of residential schools only answer particular kinds of questions since they were created for colonial administration purposes."<sup>3</sup> The richest sources of student experiences of Indian residential and day schools are oral histories and Survivor memoirs.<sup>4</sup> However, both types of sources are generated by adults looking back on past experiences. What drew us to yearbooks was the fact that students contributed to their production and did so when they were children. Yearbooks have the potential to offer further insights into children's experiences and the time period. They consistently have information about student life at day schools and in residences. In addition to named photographs of faculty and students, yearbooks typically contain images of and information about extracurricular activities including sports, choirs and bands, clubs, and outings; special events like dances, graduation, and school trips; and the quotidian moments of institutional life. They also commonly feature student artwork and creative writing.

This paper has several goals. Firstly, inspired by the writing of Anis Bawarshi on genre, we offer a set of questions and considerations for historians working with yearbooks.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, we examine the opportunities and constraints posed by yearbooks as a source of information about the lives and experiences of Indigenous children at Indian residential and day schools. As Jane Griffith has noted of student contributions to newspapers produced at Indian residential schools in Canada before the First World War, "while we cannot know whether students freely wrote every article attributed to them ... [t]hese newspapers have the potential to contain institution-imposed narratives *as well as* the possibility of a veiled poetry of resistance."<sup>6</sup> Thirdly, we seek to produce "resurgent histories," a concept theorized by anthropologist Audra Simpson, in an effort to normalize Indigenous historical experiences.<sup>7</sup> Fourthly, we write in response to Heather McGregor's 2015 appeal to examine "educational policies alongside the experiences of students throughout a range of schooling sites and

forms" in the North in order to enrich northern histories and expand our understanding of schooling and education in the three territories (NWT, Yukon, and Nunavut).<sup>8</sup> Finally, we practise transparency around the difficult nature of researching and writing colonial histories. The experiences of Indigenous children were fraught by institutionalization, oppression, and violence; yet we also humbly embrace the words of Indigenous literature scholar Daniel Heath Justice that "stories can be good medicine, too. They can drive out the poison, heal the spirit as well as the body, remind us of the greatness of where we came from as well as the greatness of who we're meant to be, so that we're not determined by the colonial narrative of deficiency."<sup>9</sup>

Much of the existing work on the history of Indian education in Canada, including Indian residential and day schools, has been about or produced from southern Canada. By contrast, this article is about the North and written by northerners. We endeavour to explain how state and church used different kinds of schooling in the North in a way that is accessible for southern readers but still remains true to northern experiences, to draw attention to both similarities and differences across time and place, and to encourage scholars to rethink entrenched assumptions about Indian education broadly and the residential schooling system specifically. There is not one singular way to understand the history of Indian education. In particular, southern-based models developed by southern settler scholars should not be imposed on the North. Rather, we must recognize complexity and develop nuanced accounts of the system's operations that are historical and rooted in place, and that centre the experiences of Survivors.

We approach this research from two very different perspectives. Gwichyà Gwich'in historian Crystal Gail Fraser (she/her; also of Scottish and English ancestry) is an intergenerational Indian residential school Survivor and is originally from Treaty 11 territory in the NWT. She writes as an uninvited guest in Treaty 6 territory, the Homeland of the Métis Nation. Jessica Dunkin (she/her) is a settler historian, born and raised in the territories of the Huron-Wendat, Haudenosaunee, and Anishnaabe. She has lived as an uninvited guest in Sòmba K'è (Yellowknife) on Akaitcho Territory (Treaty 8), the homeland of the Yellowknives Dene, since 2015. Our perspectives come together as two feminist scholars who are grounded in northern histories and wish to contribute to a growing body of scholarship that engages in respectful relations and Indigenous histories.

The first draft of this paper was underway when Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc announced on May 27, 2021, that ground-penetrating radar had possibly located the unmarked graves of approximately 215 Indigenous children on the grounds of the former Kamloops Indian Residential School. This was the first of many similar announcements as other Indigenous communities remembered loved ones who had died while institutionalized or as a result of their time at Indian residential schools. We are supportive of and inspired by various Indigenous Nations and communities undertaking traumatic investigative work. Each subsequent search further confirms what Survivors and their families have been telling settler Canadians and governments for decades. We have been concerned that our interest in the history of recreation at Indian day and residential schools could be perceived to be a frivolous

topic in light of these announcements, but the advisory committee guiding the larger project of which this paper is a part continues to urge us to share the stories and experiences of Survivors, contributing to our understanding of Indian residential and day school histories.

A few notes on language: it is now common practice to use “Indigenous” when referring to the First Peoples of this Land. Readers will note that we use historical administrative terms such as “Indian education” and “Indian schools” to describe the system of institutions, including residential schools, day schools, seasonal schools, and hospital schools, that church and state used to “civilize” and assimilate Indigenous Peoples. These are highly problematic terms, and we use them with caution. In no way do we subscribe to the use of the derogatory term “Indian.” We include these terms only to reflect the historical record. In using more general terms like Indian education and schooling, we hope to recognize and honour the experiences of all Survivors, not just Survivors of the formally recognized institutions of the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).<sup>10</sup> When possible, we practise specificity and refer to the names of sovereign Nations (for example, Inuvialuit, Dene, and so on).<sup>11</sup> Please note there are racial slurs below that have been quoted from the historical record and references to sexual violence; take care of yourself as you read this piece. We also wanted to address the issue of naming. Yearbooks, which are published and often public documents, contain the names of students, many of whom did not consent to being institutionalized or having their names published in yearbooks. We did not feel it was appropriate, therefore, to use student names. However, in avoiding naming individuals, we risk erasing these Indigenous children and youths from the historical record. As a compromise, we use students’ first names and include, where possible, the name of their Nation and community. For the same reasons, we chose not to include identifiable photos of Indigenous children and youth.

### **Yearbooks and Indian Schooling in the NWT**

The Grey Nuns established the first Indian residential school, Sacred Heart Mission School, in what is now the NWT in Zhatie Kųę (Fort Providence) in 1867.<sup>12</sup> Grollier Hall, constructed by the federal Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR) and managed by the Oblates for Indigenous students attending the federal day school in Inuvik (Inuvik), was among the last Indian residential schools in Canada to close in 1996. In the intervening 129 years, various churches, religious orders, and levels of government operated residential schools, day schools, seasonal schools (including tent hostels), and hospital schools in communities large and small across the territory, including Teet’lit Zheh (Fort McPherson), Dėlįnę (Fort Franklin), Łı́dłł Kųę (Fort Simpson), Sųmba K’è (Yellowknife), and Łútsėl K’ė (Snowdrift).<sup>13</sup> Some of these schools targeted and enrolled only Indigenous students. Some were open to all NWT residents and enrolled both Indigenous and settler students.

Prior to the 1950s, the majority of residential and day schools in the NWT were built and operated by churches, with some funding received from the government

of Canada.<sup>14</sup> After the Second World War, the federal government, in partnership with the NWT Council, began to play a greater role in northern schooling, part of a broader project of northern modernization motivated by a demand for resources, concerns about Arctic sovereignty, and racialized assumptions about Indigenous Peoples.<sup>15</sup> One of the most visible changes associated with this new approach was a program of school construction, including fourteen day schools, across what was known as the Mackenzie District.<sup>16</sup> While ostensibly making schooling more accessible—school attendance was a legal requirement under the NWT School Ordinance, Indian Act, and Family Allowance Act—day schools were also designed to remove Indigenous Peoples from their Lands by promoting permanent settlement in communities with state oversight.<sup>17</sup> In smaller communities, such as Whatì (Lac La Martre) and Tuktuyaqtuuq (Tuktoyaktuk), the vast majority of students at the new day schools were Indigenous. Day schools in larger centres like Tthebacha (Fort Smith), Sòm̄ba K'è, and Inuvik had a mix of Indigenous and non-Indigenous students.<sup>18</sup>

To “accommodate” children who lived at a distance from day schools, the federal government also built “modern” Indian residential schools, benignly called “hostels,” “halls,” or “residences,” near day schools in larger centres.<sup>19</sup> Many of the residences were operated by churches. As the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources was building schools and residences in the North, in southern Canada, the Department of Indian Affairs was beginning to close Indian residential schools and integrate Indigenous children into provincial public schools.<sup>20</sup> Most “hostel kids” were from outside the community; for example, children from as far away as ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ (Aujjittuq; Grise Fiord) and Nistawâyâw (Fort McMurray) were sent to stay at Grollier Hall (Catholic) and Stringer Hall (Anglican) and attend the day school of Sir Alexander Mackenzie School (SAMS) and, later, Samuel Hearne Secondary School (SHSS) in Inuvik.<sup>21</sup> However, children who were deemed wards of the state or removed from their families due to “social circumstances” were also institutionalized. While the majority of children in these new hostels were Indigenous, non-Indigenous students occasionally stayed in residence.<sup>22</sup>

In 1969, the federal government transferred responsibility for Indian and settler education to the territorial government.<sup>23</sup> It is worth noting, given the periodization of this article, that much remained the same at Indian residential and day schools in the years after 1969, including staff, buildings, policies, and curriculum.<sup>24</sup>

The federal system of Indian education, whether it involved removing children from their families and Lands to be institutionalized at residential school or compelling attendance at a day school, was intended to “undermine Indigenous lifeways and facilitate settler capitalism and nation building.”<sup>25</sup> The TRC called the system “cultural genocide,” but the commission’s own report suggests there is no need for the qualifier “cultural.”<sup>26</sup> Indeed, on July 1, 2021, the Canadian Historical Association-Société historique du Canada “recognize[d] that this history fully warrants our use of the word genocide,” although some scholars were already referring to it as such.<sup>27</sup> We acknowledge that, over 150 years from coast-to-coast-to-coast, the system of Indian education administered by church and state operated in different ways, with violence against and the deaths of Indigenous children being more common at particular

institutions in different time periods. While northern schools were embedded in and a tool of this oppressive colonial project, it remains unclear how many student casualties there were at the institutions we focus on in our discussion of yearbooks.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the NWT's history of Indian schooling and the diversity of institutions that operated here, this topic has received limited attention from historians. Morris Zaslow and Kerry Abel consider schooling among a number of themes in their respective accounts of northern history, while John Milloy devotes a chapter of *A National Crime* to the North.<sup>29</sup> There are also a handful of school-specific studies, including W. P. J. Millar's writing on the federal day school in Sòm̄ba K'è, Sir John Franklin High School, and the associated residence, Akaitcho Hall, which was also federally operated, and Anthony Di Mascio and Leigh Hortop-Di Mascio's article about Immaculate Conception (Catholic) and All Saints' (Anglican) Indian Residential Schools in Akłarvik (Akłavik).<sup>30</sup> All of these scholars are non-Indigenous and their focus is on the administration of colonial schooling, only hinting at the diverse experiences of northern Indigenous students. In 2015, the TRC's volume on residential schooling in the North became the first book-length study on the topic.<sup>31</sup> Fraser's 2019 PhD dissertation on colonial schooling in Nanhkak Thak (the Inuvik region of the Northwest Territories) represented an important departure in the historiography of northern schooling. In addition to being penned by an Indigenous scholar guided by and in conversation with community, "T'aih k'ighe' tth'aih zhit diidich'uh," which means "by strength, we are still here" in Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik, centres the voices, memories, and perspectives of Survivors.<sup>32</sup>

Conscious of the need for more histories of schooling and colonialism in the North, in 2018 we initiated a research project about NWT residential schools with recreation as our focus. A collaboration between the NWT Recreation and Parks Association and the University of Alberta, the project's working title is "How I Survived."<sup>33</sup> Guided by an advisory committee of Survivors and intergenerational Survivors that includes Paul Andrew (Shúhtaot'ıne), Dr. Sharon Anne Firth (Teet'it Gwich'in), Lorna Storr from Akłarvik, and Amos Scott (Tłıchǫ), this project centres the experiences and voices of Indigenous children and youth who were institutionalized at Indian residential and day schools across the NWT.<sup>34</sup> Recreation is a useful starting place because it reveals both the assimilationist goals of the system and the strength and creativity of Indigenous children institutionalized in that system. As the TRC noted, "sports and culture were often justified as measures intended to further the 'civilization' and assimilation of residential school students." At the same time, "students valued these activities, which provided them with a refuge in a world that was, for many, harsh and alienating."<sup>35</sup> Writing on recreation at residential and day schools is a small but growing historical sub-field, though one that is primarily focused on sport and physical activity.<sup>36</sup> Our project takes a broader view; we understand recreation to include a variety of creative, physical, social, and intellectual activities including, but not limited to, music, the arts, sports, games, crafts, reading, and Boy Scouts and Girl Guides.<sup>37</sup> While it was the study of recreation that led us to yearbooks, and recreation figures prominently in their pages, this article focuses on using yearbooks to better understand children's histories of Indian schooling more broadly.

By 1960, when the first NWT school annuals were printed, yearbooks were a well-established feature of high school and collegiate life across Canada and the United States.<sup>38</sup> It is no surprise given their ubiquity that yearbooks have been important sources for historians of many stripes but especially historians of education, childhood, and youth, helping to illuminate a wide range of subjects including gender, desegregation, fashion, technical education, hairstyles, and activism.<sup>39</sup> More recently, yearbooks have proven useful for historians writing about teachers, particularly racialized teachers; Haruho Kubota and Funké Aladejebi use yearbooks to illuminate the histories of Japanese and Black teachers, respectively.<sup>40</sup> Yearbooks also have the potential to shed light on the world beyond schools. William Graebner, for instance, turned to yearbooks to discern the shape and reach of the Cold War, while Pamela Riney-Kehrberg found yearbooks to be an invaluable source for writing the social history of the Farm Crisis in Iowa, noting that "to a remarkable degree, late twentieth-century high school yearbooks chronicle student life outside the classroom."<sup>41</sup>

While scholarship that draws on yearbooks is common, methodological writing on yearbooks is not. One exception is communications scholar Melissa Caudill's 2008 application of genre theory to an examination of contemporary high school yearbooks.<sup>42</sup> Caudill invites readers to consider corporate authorship; the "complicated activity system" of yearbook production; the relationship between authors and audience; the keepsake quality of yearbooks; the role of media in producing yearbooks; and the business of yearbooks. Caudill's thesis pointed us to writing on genre, namely the work of Anis Bawarshi. Bawarshi proposes the following questions for a "genre-based inquiry": "how and why texts as cultural artifacts are produced; how they in turn reflect and help enact social actions; and how, finally, they can serve as sites for cultural critique and change."<sup>43</sup> In the sections that follow, Bawarshi's questions guide our analysis of yearbooks produced at Indian schools in the NWT in the mid-twentieth century.

## **The Archive**

We have assembled an incomplete collection of yearbooks from seven different institutions in four different communities. Five were day schools: Inuvik Federal School (renamed Sir Alexander Mackenzie School in 1961) and Samuel Hearne Secondary School in Inuvik; Fort Smith Federal School (renamed Joseph Burr Tyrell School in 1961) in Tthebacha; Sir John Franklin Secondary School in Sòmba K'è; and Sachs Harbour Federal Day School in Ikaahuk (Sachs Harbour).<sup>44</sup> We have also reviewed yearbooks produced at two Oblate residences: Grandin College in Tthebacha and Grollier Hall in Inuvik.<sup>45</sup> Our collection includes volumes from 1959–60, when yearbooks were introduced to NWT schools, to 1995–96, when Grollier Hall, the last Indian residential school in the NWT, closed. Many of these yearbooks are held in institutional archives and libraries, namely the NWT Archives in Sòmba K'è, the Aurora Research Institute and Centennial Library in Inuvik, the Mary Kaeser Library in Tthebacha, and the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre in Bawating (Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario). We were also fortunate to access the yearbook collection

of Ron Lalonde, a long-time teacher and administrator at SAMS and Samuel Hearne in Inuvik.<sup>46</sup> Our collection does not represent all NWT school yearbooks; there are likely yearbooks in personal collections, archives, and libraries that remain inaccessible. Additionally, it is probable that not all schools produced yearbooks regularly.<sup>47</sup> Interestingly, we have not come across any yearbooks from Łídlı̄ Kúę, which had a federal day school and two residences: Bompas Hall (Anglican) and Lapointe Hall (Catholic).

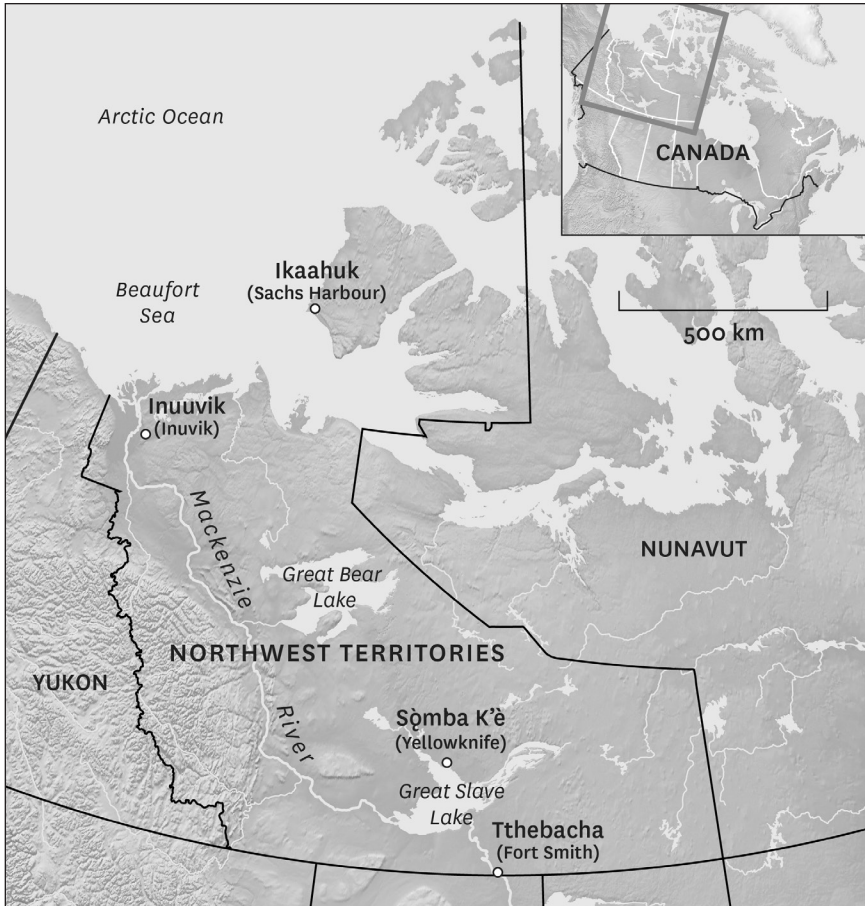


Figure 1. *Map of communities in the Northwest Territories with Indian schools that produced yearbooks between 1959–71. Eric Leinberger, University of British Columbia.*

In this article, we focus on the first decade or so of yearbook production in the territory, from 1959 to 1971. In working with these yearbooks, we are conscious of differences in school type, and community and school demographics. Most yearbooks in our collection are from day schools in larger communities that had affiliated residences.<sup>48</sup> This is unsurprising given that day schools in small communities had



fewer students, staff, and resources.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, community schools rarely provided secondary education, and yearbooks are more commonly associated with high schools. Not only did places like Tthebacha, Inuvik, and Sòmba K'è have larger populations than Behchokò (Fort Rae) or Tulít'a (Fort Norman), they also had more non-Indigenous residents and thus non-Indigenous students that attended local day schools.<sup>50</sup> We are equally conscious of the fact that all of these institutions, regardless of type, size, location, and demographics, were part of Canada's genocidal system of Indian education, which as we noted above, sought to assimilate and eliminate Indigenous cultures, families, systems of governance, and connections to the Land. While the yearbooks produced at the seven institutions under investigation reflect differences among communities and schools, what stood out as we analyzed these publications were the similarities between the schools, a reflection of both the yearbook as a genre and also the system of which these institutions were a part.

### **Making Yearbooks at Northern Schools**

In this section, we reflect on Bawarshi's questions about how and why certain texts are produced. While staff and students at Grandin College (Tthebacha), Sir John Franklin High School (Sòmba K'è), or SAMS (Inuvik) may have made yearbooks that looked similar to typical southern publications, they did so under very different circumstances. The fact that these yearbooks were produced within the Indian education system should be front of mind. The generally positive tenor of yearbooks is jarring given the colonial context; the yearbooks produced at Inuvik's SAMS and SHSS are especially upsetting. Consider this excerpt from the yearbook staff page in the 1966–67 annual from SAMS: "We have tried to preserve the fond memories of this year. You lived it; you made it possible. It is yours to enjoy in the '66–'67 yearbook of Sir Alexander Mackenzie School."<sup>51</sup> Most Indigenous students registered at these day schools were institutionalized at nearby Grollier Hall and Stringer Hall. According to the TRC, between 1958 and 1979, "there was never a year in which Grollier Hall in Inuvik did not employ at least one dormitory supervisor who would later be convicted for sexually abusing students at the school."<sup>52</sup> For dozens of Indigenous students, their academic year was not marked by "fond memories." In fact, one of the yearbooks in our collection is the 1970–71 edition of the Grollier Hall yearbook, which features photographs taken by a now-convicted sexual predator who worked as a senior boys' supervisor from 1968 to 1979 and was present in both residential and community life.<sup>53</sup> For Fraser, whose mother and other kin were institutionalized at Grollier Hall, sitting with this knowledge represents a hard truth; indeed, parsing out this historical data and then writing these histories is a slow practice guided by intentional practices of self-care and community nurturing. This is one example of the sorts of struggles historians face when undertaking this work. Indigenous studies scholar Dian Million refers to this as a "felt archive" that contains "a narrative that appeals as a history that can be *felt* as well as intellectualized."<sup>54</sup>

*Why Did Indian Schools in the NWT Make Yearbooks?*

In October 1959, Principal William B. Shaw penned a letter to William G. Booth, chief superintendent of schools for the Mackenzie District, requesting support for a yearbook at the newly constructed day school in Inuvik.<sup>55</sup> The letter is a rich source of information about what motivated NWT schools to produce yearbooks. After introducing the content of the letter, we offer a deeper analysis of its themes. A yearbook, Principal Shaw opined, “can do a terrific amount in fostering [school spirit] among both pupils and staff” and would also prove “invaluable in showing parents who have been somewhat hesitant in letting their children go, just what is being done for the kids when they come to Inuvik.” Shaw was careful to note that this yearbook “should not fall into the usual format that most year books do.” Rather, it should be a “distinctly representative effort” with a “cover and title pages ... designed in our art room by the children themselves.” He also suggested that the “introductory message and valedictory could be in Eskimo and Indian dialects, as well as English, thereby giving the parents the feeling that here is something done, not by Whites for Whites, but by all, and for all concerned.” In addition to being shared with parents, Shaw believed a “well-made yearbook” could be circulated “up south through Provincial Teaching Associations, universities, and Departments of Education ... to combat the poisoned pen of some newspaper columnists.”<sup>56</sup>

Booth, who was based in Tthebacha, then the administrative centre of the NWT, enthusiastically received Shaw’s letter and forwarded the request on to Joseph V. Jacobson, director of the Northern Administration and Lands Branch of DNANR in Ottawa, noting that he was “heartily in accord with the idea of the Inuvik school producing a Year Book.” Like Shaw, Booth felt “such a year book would be an excellent means of acquainting all parents along the Arctic Coast with the Inuvik schools and Hostel and would be of great value in giving favourable publicity to the hostels and school there.” (Here we see how day schools and hostels worked in tandem to achieve colonial schooling goals.) Booth added that a yearbook would be “a means whereby pupils in attendance at the Inuvik Hostel could learn a great deal.”<sup>57</sup> Ironically, federal bureaucrats knew the harms of institutionalizing Indigenous children as early as 1958, when the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education wrote that the hostel “environment might be detrimental” to Indigenous children.<sup>58</sup>

A handwritten note on Booth’s letter suggests the principal and superintendent’s enthusiasm was not shared by all in Ottawa: “I think such undertaking is a bit too premature,” the unknown author wrote. “Why not let the school have at least a full year’s operation first. Why not hold over for discussion at [January’s superintendent] meeting?” In mid-December, however, Jacobson responded, reporting he had read Mr. Shaw’s proposal “with interest.” The director encouraged a more modest approach. While Shaw had hoped the Queen’s Printer might generate the yearbook, Jacobsen explained that the Education Division would reproduce it using the more cost-effective lithograph method. He also advised Shaw to combine pictures on a page, another cost-saving measure.<sup>59</sup>

The first SAMS yearbook conformed to the director’s guidelines. It also did not feature “Eskimo and Indian dialects,” hardly a surprise given that speaking Indigenous

languages at SAMS and Grollier and Stringer Halls was a punishable offence.<sup>60</sup> That same year, the Fort Smith Federal School (renamed Joseph Burr Tyrell School in 1961) also produced its first yearbook. The inaugural edition of *Franklin's Echo*, which documented student life at Sir John Franklin and Akaitcho Hall in Sõmba K'è, was published the next year. In the years that followed, yearbooks became a commonplace feature of school life in the NWT.

Education scholars Lisa Panayotidis and Paul Stortz call yearbooks "souvenir remembrances," arguing that students "produced annual yearbooks as repositories of memories of their experiences and perspectives on campus."<sup>61</sup> There was certainly an element of the yearbook as keepsake at NWT schools; student editors and school administrators alike offered some variation on the hope that the yearbook would be "a souvenir for all students who attended the school," to borrow from Mary M., the editor of SAMS' first annual.<sup>62</sup> While there is limited evidence that Indigenous students and their families collected or cherished these items, yearbooks were always more than a potential keepsake.

Our understanding of the motivations for making yearbooks is largely limited to what was shared in the pages of the yearbooks themselves. To date, we have not encountered the records of a yearbook committee, and yearbooks are infrequently discussed in administrative documents. The correspondence between Shaw, Booth, and Jacobson is an illuminating exception. The yearbook, Shaw and Booth suggest, would provide a learning opportunity for students, a means of fostering school spirit, and a way to engender goodwill towards the school among parents and the public.

Booth does not elaborate on what students could learn by making a yearbook, but we can make some educated guesses based on the proposed contents of Booth's imagined annual, which included "pictures of [students] themselves, student activities, short biographies of the graduating class, original literary and artistic efforts, and what have you."<sup>63</sup> To realize Shaw's vision, students and staff would have to take pictures; write biographies in English (often a second or third language for Indigenous students); and produce or commission creative writing and artwork. They would then have to arrange this material and coordinate printing. Later yearbooks often used templates purchased from southern companies, such as the Yearbook House and Inter-collegiate Press; the majority of annuals produced before 1965 appear to have been designed "in-school."<sup>64</sup> For example, the photos in the 1960–61 SAMS yearbook have handwritten captions and class lists, and messages from administrators generated on a typewriter (see figure 2). That every yearbook we reviewed, with the exception of Ikaahuk's, also included advertisements suggests another task: requesting support from local businesses and organizations.<sup>65</sup> Writing about yearbook production in the early 2000s, Caudill argues, "the yearbook staff itself is like a small workplace model—the first workplace setting for many students."<sup>66</sup> This interpretation has particular resonance within the context of Indian schooling, which fostered a Euro-Canadian work ethic and sought to "integrate [students] as rapidly as possible into the White economy."<sup>67</sup>

We suggest an alternative reading of what students learned as they worked on yearbooks. They learned, for example, to privilege the written word over oral languages.

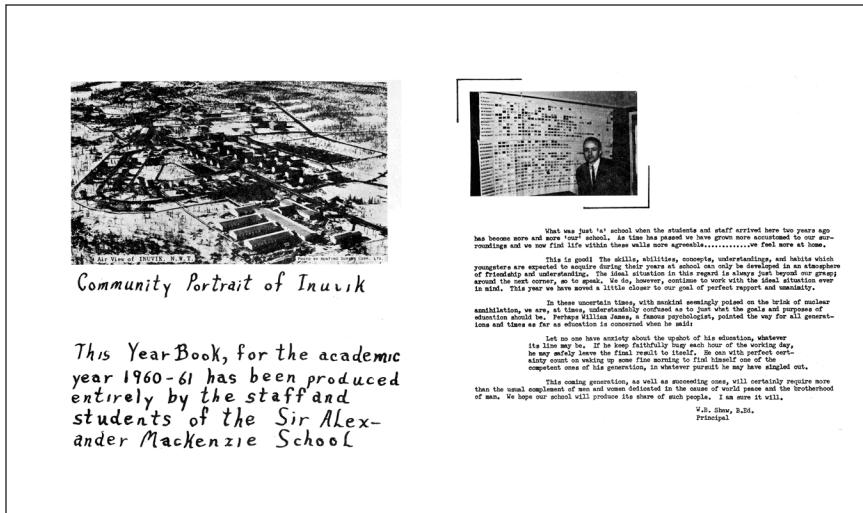


Figure 2. [From left to right] Sir Alexander Mackenzie Yearbook, 1960–61, 2. File 1, N-1997-007-1, NWT Archives; Sir Alexander Mackenzie Year Book, 1960–61, 3. File 1, N-1997-007-1, NWT Archives.

They also became more fluent in the colonizer's language, in this case English.<sup>68</sup> As they arranged the yearbooks, they were trained to recognize, reproduce, and value Euro-Canadian aesthetics. While we see glimpses of Indigenous cultures and practices in these publications, on the whole, yearbooks encouraged students to memorialize the celebration of Christian holidays, the pursuit of Euro-Canadian sports and games, and the scholastic activities associated with colonial schooling—events and pursuits that stood in stark contrast to pre-colonial northern Indigenous lifestyles.

In choosing to showcase the “good work” of Indian schooling and framing school experiences as positive, yearbooks sought to re-imagine students’ lived experiences and memories of institutional life. Writing about girls’ schools in turn-of-the-century Louisville, Kentucky, Amy J. Lueck notes that “the school annual was to play an explicit role in *shaping* the students’ experiences and culture, not merely to reflect and record that culture.”<sup>69</sup> While Lueck describes a very different world, her point that yearbooks were an important part of producing as much as reproducing school experiences and culture resonates with the making of yearbooks at day and residential schools in the NWT. This fact did not escape the eye of northern administrators. For example, Principal Shaw believed yearbooks were an important tool in fostering school spirit, which he defined as “feelings of loyalty and patriotism toward the campus.”<sup>70</sup> Given the aims of Indian education, we can fairly assume that school spirit also included feelings of loyalty and patriotism to the Canadian settler state.

Fostering school spirit had a related goal in the promotion of unity, an aim most clearly articulated in the inaugural edition of *Franklin's Echo*, which was dedicated to “an ideal”: “the brotherhood of man.” As was true of day schools in larger centres in the NWT, such as Inuvik and Tthebacha, the student body at Sir John Franklin in Sõmba K`è was a mix of Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth. The dedication

continued, "In Sir John Franklin High School, Eskimo, Indian, Metis [*sic*], and White students, regardless of their origins or educational background, share the facilities and advantages of the School and residence.... It is hoped that by showing in this yearbook the harmony in which all groups at Sir John Franklin School work and play together we will incite and strengthen the desire for unity amongst men."<sup>71</sup> Unsurprisingly, the systemic inequities and white supremacist nature of the colonial schooling system was never acknowledged. Moreover, these stated goals of fostering school spirit and promoting unity were completely contradictory to the residential schooling environment, which separated siblings and cousins as part of the larger effort to dismantle Indigenous kinship networks. Here again, we see how yearbooks framed school experiences in ways that departed from the realities of institutional life.

What was the role of the yearbook beyond school walls? Returning to the exchange that opened this section, both Shaw and Booth argued that a school yearbook was an important tool in convincing parents, but specifically "hesitant parents," of the value of the work being done in day schools and hostels.<sup>72</sup> Fraser's dissertation has demonstrated the complex relationships between Indigenous Peoples and Euro-Canadian colonial schooling initiatives and structures. While most parents recognized that their children should be trained for new economic opportunities, they did not want schooling to come at the expense of their languages and cultures. And the historical record demonstrates time and time again that parents absolutely did not want their children removed from their homes and communities for schooling in a foreign place for months, and sometimes years, at a time, which is why parents and leaders across the territory tirelessly advocated for community day schools.<sup>73</sup> For example, in 1967, four Inuvialuit parents from Ikaahuk wrote to territorial and federal administrators, asserting that "for several years we have requested that a school be built here so that our children may receive their education in their own community, but so far nothing has been done."<sup>74</sup>

While Booth hinted at the need for favourable publicity beyond prospective families, Shaw was explicit, noting a yearbook could "combat the poisoned pen of some newspaper columnists."<sup>75</sup> Reporters for Canadian newspapers were rightly critical of the schooling system in the North, writing about the "forcible separation of Indian and Eskimo children from their parents" and using headlines like "Eyewitness Says: Kidnap Children to Fill School."<sup>76</sup> Shaw and Booth's belief that a yearbook could serve as a valuable public relations tool was shared by other school administrators in this period, not least by Gilles Lefebvre, principal of what would become the Joseph Burr Tyrell School (JBT). Unlike other early yearbooks, the first issue of the *Borean* (1960) featured a lengthy settler account of Tthebacha "yesterday, today, and tomorrow" and an eighteen-page spread on nearby Wood Buffalo National Park, in addition to class pages, reports of extracurricular activities, and advertising. In his principal's message, Lefebvre writes that the "High School's teaching personnel and student body[s] main purpose in issuing such a publication was to satisfy a growing public demand for firsthand information on the Northland's community life and school system."<sup>77</sup> School staff sold subscriptions to the *Borean*, subscriptions which were advertised in newspapers like the *Edmonton Journal*.<sup>78</sup> While the inaugural *Borean* was

an outlier, other yearbooks found their way beyond the walls of the school. Beginning in 1961, for example, schools were expected to send nine copies of their yearbook to Northern Affairs and National Resources, the federal department responsible for northern education.<sup>79</sup>

### *Who Was Responsible for Yearbook Production?*

Writing about the *Torontonensis*, the University of Toronto's yearbook, Panayotidis and Stortz centre the politics of yearbook production.<sup>80</sup> Here, the conflict over representation is between students. What, though, of the relationship between students, staff, and administrators in yearbook production? This has received little if any attention from scholars. And yet, in considering the production of yearbooks at Indian residential and day schools, it was one of the first things we questioned. This is but one of the ways in which an examination of yearbooks from NWT schools is instructive in thinking about the genre more generally. Yearbooks, Panayotidis and Stortz note, "raise complex questions about authorship."<sup>81</sup> With the exception of attributed content, such as poems, stories, or artwork, it is impossible to know who was responsible for what in the final product. Nevertheless, a consideration of authorship is necessary.

As the title of this article illustrates, many of the early yearbooks produced at schools in the NWT expressly noted on their covers or title pages that they were made by "staff and students" or "students and staff." This signaled to readers that the yearbooks were an "authentic" representation of life at these institutions; it also suggested a partnership between teachers and Indigenous students. With one exception, all of the yearbooks we reviewed had a committee, headed by a student editor or co-editors, with anywhere from ten to eighteen members.<sup>82</sup> Committee members were usually drawn from many grades, though this varied by school and year. While the gender and race of committee members also varied across institutions, we noticed some trends at specific schools.<sup>83</sup> Yearbook committees at Sir John Franklin, for example, were dominated by white settler students, the majority of whom were young women, while the yearbook staff at SAMS were predominantly young men throughout this period and tended to have a mix of Indigenous and white members. We do not think it is a coincidence that there was usually a greater proportion of white students on the committee than in the school population. For example, in 1962–63, when 33 per cent of the Sir John Franklin student body (59 of 177 students) was Indigenous, only 2 of the 13 students on the *Franklin's Echo* committee were Indigenous (15 per cent).<sup>84</sup> It is unclear whether students volunteered to join the yearbook committee or had little choice in the matter. In other words, were they drawn to the committee based on their interests and aptitudes or made to be involved for these or other reasons? Oral interviews with former committee members might help us to answer this question and better understand how perceptions of gender and race influenced the makeup of the yearbook staff.

Staff advisors were a common feature of yearbook committees in this period, though there are few details about their involvement in yearbook production. In 1966–67, the yearbook staff at SAMS offered the following acknowledgements: "Many thanks go to Mr. Goller, Alias Uncle Al, for prodding us along. Also thanks

go to our fabulous picture maker, 'Uncle Hugh' Mawby."<sup>85</sup> Interestingly, this is the first explicit reference to a staff advisor that we see in the SAMS yearbooks. Similarly, the following year, Susan B. and Linda B., editors of JBT's yearbook, offered special thanks to "Mr. Hewitt, and Mr. Latchman, our photographers whose fine pictures appear throughout the 'Borean'" and "Mr. Dunphy, our adviser who gave us many ideas and encouragement."<sup>86</sup> As these snippets suggest, advisors could and did make suggestions about the content of the yearbook. Producing a yearbook then involved a negotiation between students and the advisor, a relationship that was by its nature characterized by inequality.

Of particular interest is staff involvement with taking pictures for the yearbook, which was commonplace in this period.<sup>87</sup> Photographs were a central component of NWT yearbooks. In addition to headshots or class photos, yearbooks featured more candid shots of students engaged in a variety of academic and extracurricular activities, from dissecting frogs to curling to sewing to dressing up for Halloween. Interdisciplinary scholar Sherry Farrell Racette distinguishes between three types of residential school photos: those used in government reports and other official publications; photographs taken by staff and visitors; and photographs taken by students.<sup>88</sup> Building on Farrell Racette's work, Krista McCracken argues that it mattered who was behind the camera because students took different kinds of pictures of their peers than staff or professional photographers did.<sup>89</sup> Comparing photographs depicting recreation at Ontario residential schools, McCracken argues that official photographs tended to be of groups of students, "posed in specific ways in order to create images of order and discipline," while "student-generated images often focus on individuals or small groups outside or in non-classroom spaces, such as the arena, gardens, or indoor recreation space."<sup>90</sup>

It is possible that school administrators reviewed yearbooks. Certainly, it was common practice for principals and vice-principals to write messages for inclusion in the opening pages (figure 2), though only rarely did they reference the yearbook directly, raising questions about whether they had seen the contents of the annual before it went to press. Their very presence as arbiters of decorum and school culture likely informed the kinds of decisions that editors and committee members made as they were taking photographs or laying out the yearbook. Cynthia Comacchio, in her path-breaking work on the history of adolescence in Canada, notes, "however much—or little—they reflect majority experience, these publications self-consciously promoted ideas and behaviour representing the official institutional culture—as they could not help but do, seeing as they were hardly unmediated expressions of adolescent views."<sup>91</sup>

It is impossible to tease apart the extent to which yearbooks represent the experiences and perceptions of students or the goals of staff and administrators. That the various surviving yearbooks of NWT residential and day schools look and feel different suggests yearbook production reflected the particularities of the community, school, administration, and yearbook committee. Because there has not been substantive study of the making of yearbooks in Canadian schools more generally, we are unable to compare our findings about yearbook committees and staff involvement

and oversight with schools outside of Canada's system of Indian education to know whether the relationship between students and faculty making yearbooks at NWT schools was typical or exceptional.

### *What Happened to Yearbooks After They Were Printed?*

Similar to yearbooks at southern schools, yearbooks at schools in the NWT were usually published in the spring, as the academic year wound down.<sup>92</sup> We have questioned the extent to which students owned yearbooks, given that almost all of the annuals we have reviewed were previously the property of an institution or a teacher/administrator.<sup>93</sup> If students were expected to buy the yearbook, as was our experience in high school, we wondered if it was prohibitively expensive for Indigenous students. We have only seen a handful of references to pricing: yearbooks appear to have cost between \$2.50 and \$5.00 each, roughly \$25 to \$50 in 2023 dollars.<sup>94</sup> Although some Indian residential schools in the NWT provided students with an allowance, payments were small, inconsistent, and unreliable.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, hostel students often found other reasons to save their money, such as for a weekend trip home. We also questioned the practicality of buying and keeping a yearbook for students returning home to families still living on the Land.

Our perspective changed somewhat when we encountered a 1967–68 edition of the SAMS yearbook with the name of an Inuvialuk boy embossed in gold on the bottom right corner of the cover.<sup>96</sup> Given that the yearbook was personalized, we assumed this boy was a member of the graduating class. On the contrary, he was in grade 7. Unlike the majority of the yearbooks we reviewed, this yearbook includes notes and signatures.<sup>97</sup> Most are from fellow students of many ages, though the vice-principal and a teacher signed as well. While some left their mark on the cover pages, the majority signed near their headshots or class photographs and left accompanying messages. Most are fairly generic — “Best wishes” and “Best of luck in the future” are common — but others invite further study, highlighting the very different interpretive possibilities afforded by yearbooks that belonged to students. For example, an Inuk girl wrote: “Best wishes in the future. When ever [*sic*] you drink Have one for me... 1971–72.” The dating of this comment, four years after publication, suggests ongoing engagement with the yearbook.

### **Yearbooks as Sources of School History**

Having considered how and why school yearbooks were produced, and how they reflected and helped enact particular social actions, we turn our attention to what historians can learn from these documents about colonialism and schooling in Canada. Among other things, in this section we encounter yearbooks as “sites for cultural critique and change,” to borrow from Bawarshi.<sup>98</sup>

Finalized in 2006, the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement provided, among other things, financial compensation for Survivors. “All former students who resided at a recognized Indian Residential School(s) and were alive on May 30, 2005 were eligible” for the common experience payment; Survivors who experienced



“sexual abuse, serious physical abuse, and other wrongful acts” were eligible, through the Independent Assessment Process, for additional compensation.<sup>99</sup> A similar process is currently underway for former students of Indian day schools.<sup>100</sup> Yearbooks have been an important tool for Survivors needing to document their attendance at residential and day schools as part of the claims process.<sup>101</sup> In fact, while writing this article, the family of a former student contacted us to see if yearbooks from the Inuvik schools had been digitized. Unfortunately, they have not, which is a barrier for Survivors now living outside of that community.

Yearbooks provide information about students beyond their names and grades. This is especially true of members of the graduating class, as yearbooks often included students’ home communities, their plans for life after high school, and more personal details, such as their favourite activities or pet peeves. Many of the yearbooks we reviewed included creative writing. For example, the contribution of a Sahtú Dene student to the 1959–60 edition of the SAMS yearbook is illuminating:

My name is Margaret.... I am a fourteen year old Indian girl from a little town which is along the Mackenzie.... I do not like leaving home. I have gone to the Aklavik school, in my home town, and here in Inuvik. I do not like Inuvik very much as I do not know the place or the people very well. Being here in Inuvik is the farthest I’ve gone, and I get homesick quite a lot. My hobbies are reading and sewing, but the main thing I do is reading. I do not have many other things to do because I am not interested in them.<sup>102</sup>

For all of the efforts of administrators and teachers to frame residential and day school experiences in a positive light, we occasionally find counter-examples in school yearbooks of what it meant to be institutionalized. Stories like Margaret’s confirm what Survivors have been telling us about their residential school experiences through oral testimonies for decades. What is especially powerful about Margaret’s contribution to the SAMS yearbook is that it represents a critique of the residential school system made by a student while she was institutionalized.

Yearbooks can also tell us about the people who worked at Indian schools. While most yearbooks provide names and photos for staff, a handful offer more information, including where teachers and administrators were from and what subjects they taught. Given that governments, both federal and provincial/territorial, as well as churches and religious orders have often refused to release residential school records, and in some cases, have destroyed them, sources such as yearbooks, which may survive outside of institutional collections, are particularly important for documenting the history of Indian schooling.<sup>103</sup>

Yearbooks are remarkably visual sources. Photographs published in yearbooks provide information about the physical environment of day and residential schools and the facilities (or lack thereof) available to students.<sup>104</sup> We see traces of the formal school curriculum when we look closely at the classrooms depicted in photographs and the schoolwork captured by cameras. Yearbook photographs also shed light on school culture, from the types of special days that were celebrated to the

extracurricular activities on offer to student clothing and hairstyles, and less expected topics like health, visible for instance in photographs of visits from the dentist and public health nurse. The visual text of school yearbooks also includes student artwork.<sup>105</sup> Like creative writing, student artwork can tell us something about the children institutionalized at residential and day schools. For example, the inside pages of the Grandin College yearbook from 1966–67 (figure 3) demonstrate how Indigenous students harnessed their creativity to make political statements but also how they had internalized racism and misogyny.

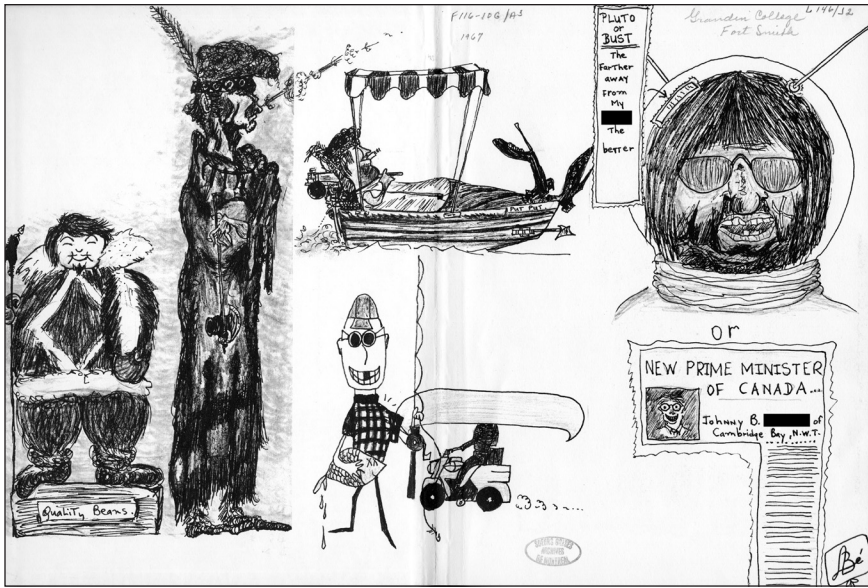


Figure 3. [From left to right]. *The inside cover of the 1966–67 Grandin College Yearbook. Source: File 013, 2012-021-001, SRSC; The inside cover of the 1966–67 Grandin College Yearbook. Source: File 013, 2012-021-001, SRSC. (Second image modified by the authors)*

Given the focus of the larger research project of which this article is a part, we conclude this section by briefly considering some of the possibilities of yearbooks for the study of recreation. We conducted a detailed analysis of six yearbooks from our collection, choosing yearbooks that represented different schools, communities, and school years in the period covered by this article.<sup>106</sup> We counted the number of yearbook pages devoted to staff, class photos and academics, art and creative writing, extracurricular activities, and advertising. We also made note of the types of extracurricular activities represented in the pages of these NWT yearbooks. While there are many similarities between the design and content of yearbooks produced at day schools (the majority of which had affiliated residences) and residences, residence yearbooks include more images and text documenting institutional life. These include, for example, a description of the ideal supervisor, photographs of children in nightwear in dormitories, and accounts of special occasions such as Christmas.<sup>107</sup>

This kind of content, however, was not completely absent from day school annuals, likely because so many of the students who attended day schools lived in residence.

Extracurricular activities, the majority of which we would classify as recreation, feature prominently in the yearbooks we surveyed. In four of the six annuals, there are more pages with images and text documenting extracurricular activities than class photos. For example, almost half (47 per cent) of the seventy-one pages that constitute the "yearbook" portion of the 1959–60 issue of the *Borean* feature extracurricular activities, while less than a quarter (22 per cent) are class pages.<sup>108</sup> There were more than seventy different extracurricular activities among the six yearbooks. The most commonly depicted or described activities are school clubs, such as student council, choir, and camera club, and organized sports—basketball, cross-country skiing, and badminton appear most often—though different yearbooks emphasize different types of activities. Clubs and organized sport dominate the pages of the 1959–60 *Borean*. Social activities, such as dances and skating parties, and outdoor pursuits like cookouts and cutting wood are especially prominent in the 1966–67 issue of Grandin College's *The Light*.<sup>109</sup> In the 1970–71 Grollier Hall yearbook, informal activities, such as schoolyard games, reading, and playing cards, stand out.<sup>110</sup>

Most of the recreational activities represented in the pages of the yearbook are Euro-Canadian pastimes. For example, we see and read about students playing pool, practising and performing with a band, playing hockey, and participating in Girl Guides. The yearbooks, in other words, illustrate how recreation was part of school-based efforts to "civilize" and assimilate Indigenous children.<sup>111</sup> However, we cannot assume what recreation meant for students while institutionalized. We must remember, for example, that Indigenous children were intimately familiar with recreational activities before experiencing colonial schooling programs. Thus, they might have seen parallels between a drum dance and performing in a band or between traditional activities like stick pull or blanket toss and the sporting curriculum of residential and day schools. Furthermore, what an administrator understood as a tool of assimilation might have been a tool of survival for a student. For Dene Survivor and artist Antoine Mountain, for instance, basketball and writing were two "ways to at least mentally put the hated present of Grollier Hall on the back burner and go on the best I could."<sup>112</sup>

There are a handful of exceptions to the predominantly Euro-Canadian activities depicted in yearbooks, which is suggestive for historians. The Grandin College annual shows students canoeing and fishing, while the yearbook from the day school in Ikaahuk includes photographs of fox skinning (figure 4) and dog sledding. These exceptions may be explained by the fact that both of these schools are unique among the institutions discussed in this article. Originally intended as a seminary to train young men for the priesthood, Grandin College opened in 1965 and focused on developing young Indigenous women and men to be leaders in their communities and the North.<sup>113</sup> Unlike other residential schools, students at Grandin were allowed to speak their Indigenous languages although that should not negate the coercive elements present at that institution. The school in Ikaahuk, meanwhile, which was new in 1968–69, was established in response to the persistent demands of Inuvialuit

## FOX SKINNING CONTEST

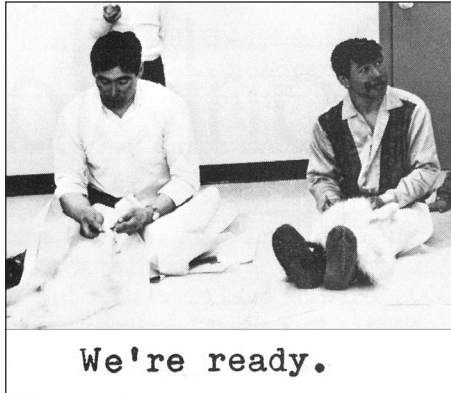


Figure 4. [From top to bottom] "Fox Skinning Contest." *Sachs Harbour School, Banksland Story, 23, file 1, G-1979-520-1, NWTA*; "Fox Skinning Contest." *Sachs Harbour School, Banksland Story, 23, file 1, G-1979-520-1, NWTA*. Fox Skinning Contest." *Sachs Harbour School, Banksland Story, 23, file 1, G-1979-520-1, NWTA*"

parents who did not want their children sent to Inuvik (or beyond) and operated under the supervision of the community.<sup>114</sup> Unlike JBT, SAMS/Samuel Hearne, and Sir John, the Sachs Harbour Federal Day School did not have an affiliated residence.

Yearbooks expand our understanding of how children and youth institutionalized at residential and day schools spent time outside of classes and chores. Like all sources, though, they have their limits. Given the nature of their production, for example, we assume yearbooks are most reliable for illuminating school-sanctioned recreation. However, looking through a yearbook or yearbooks with a Survivor might reveal exceptions. In other words, while they are an important source in writing the history of Indian schooling in the North, yearbooks are best paired with other kinds of student-centred sources, namely oral histories or memoirs.

## **Conclusion**

Northern Indigenous Nations have used written and recorded forms of communication since Time Immemorial, before the arrival and influence of newcomers, often in the form of memory, maps, and landscaped symbols, but did not see value in a written language as defined by Euro-Canadian standards. Colonization brought new forms of written and recorded communication, including school yearbooks. While yearbooks from northern schools shed light on Indigenous experiences, they are first and foremost colonial artifacts. They were produced at colonial schools; they primarily documented colonial forms of recreation; and they were printed in the colonizer's language, English. We further assert that yearbooks were a tool of colonization: an attempt to re-work student memories and a device of deception to "prove" to leery Indigenous parents and other critics that Indian residential and day schools in the Northwest Territories were institutions where children learned and flourished. Traces of student experiences found within the yearbooks, as well as historical records of other kinds, demonstrate that what went on at these institutions was vastly more complex and often deeply damaging.

This paper has a number of objectives. Firstly, guided by Anis Bawarshi's writing on genre, we have posed a set of questions and considerations for working with yearbooks. We invite historians to examine who produced yearbooks and for what purpose, but especially to consider the relationships and power dynamics that characterized yearbook production; analyze the relationship between the lived experiences of students and how they are represented in yearbooks, by reading both with and against the grain, understanding that yearbooks are as much sites of production as reproduction; and document and account for how yearbooks circulated and were used by students, staff, and administrators after publication.

Secondly, we have examined the opportunities and constraints posed by yearbooks as a source of information about the lives and experiences of Indigenous students institutionalized at Indian schools. At best, yearbooks offer a murky window onto life in the past, but they are unique in the archival record of colonial schooling because they are immediate to the period under study and students had some hand in their production. The photos, words, and actions of Indigenous youth visible in yearbooks

demonstrate the diverse ways in which they engaged in institutional life. While some student contributions conformed to the expected narratives, others used yearbooks to counter positive representations of residential and day school life. A closer reading of northern yearbooks helps us to better understand how youth understood and represented their everyday lives in relation to schooling and institutionalization.

Thirdly, we have sought to answer Audra Simpson's call for "resurgent histories" by learning more about and normalizing Indigenous historical experiences.<sup>115</sup> There is a dire need to better understand histories of schooling, colonialism, and the genocide of Indigenous Peoples on the Lands the Canadian settler state currently occupies but also to consider how colonial structures continue to marginalize and oppress. We disagree with scholars like Kenneth Coates who argue that historians need to turn their attention to other topics.<sup>116</sup> We believe that much work remains in the field of Indian residential schooling history, either through collaborative research with communities or adopting models that support Indigenous Peoples undertaking this work. At the same time, in response to Heather McGregor's work, we see this article contributing to northern and Arctic histories and expanding our understanding of the history of education and schooling in the region.

Finally, we have tried to be transparent about the difficult nature of researching and writing colonial histories, although there are many more considerations than have been presented in this short article. We invite non-Indigenous scholars to grapple with their positionality, ingrained notions of white supremacy in academia, and how to best work with Indigenous communities. For Indigenous scholars, the historical trauma of Indian residential schooling and genocide is never far from the heart, which makes this research at once more meaningful and painful. The knowledge of our ancestors and family standing behind us propels us forward. The need to continually centre Indigenous children in this work is fundamental. Without ignoring the ways in which Canada's system of Indian education subjected Indigenous childhoods to institutionalization, oppression, and violence, Daniel Heath Justice reminds us that we can also find "good medicine" in stories.<sup>117</sup> Yearbooks, but especially the artwork, photographs, and stories in their pages, are a reminder of the creativity and humanity of Indigenous children, past and present. It is for them that we do this work.

## Notes

- 1 In general, we distinguish between education and schooling because generations of Indigenous children in what is now known as Canada were rigorously and intimately educated by their parents, families, and communities before church and state schooling was imposed. One exception is our use of "Indian education," a term the federal government used to refer to the genocidal system of institutions, practices, and curricula targeting Indigenous children and their families. For a discussion of schooling versus education within the context of Black histories, see Mwalimu J. Shujaa, "Education and Schooling: You Can Have One without the Other," *Urban Education* 27, no. 4 (January 1993): 328–51. Sean Carleton writes about "inventing Indian education" in *Lessons in Legitimacy: Colonialism, Capitalism, and the Rise of State Schooling in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2022), 110–40.

- 2 For the period covered by this study (1959–71), the colonial jurisdiction known as the Northwest Territories (hereafter NWT) included what became Nunavut in 1999. We focus our attention in this paper on the area that is part of the contemporary NWT.
- 3 Krista McCracken, "Challenging Colonial Spaces: Reconciliation and Decolonizing Work in Canadian Archives," *Canadian Historical Review* 100, no. 2 (June 2019): 186.
- 4 Northern examples of Survivor memoirs include Alice Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart Shook Like a Drum: What I Learned at the Indian Mission Schools, Northwest Territories* (Ottawa: Borealis Press, 2009); Albert Canadien, *From Lishamie* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 2010); Antoine Mountain, *From Bear Rock Mountain: The Life and Times of a Dene Residential School Survivor* (Victoria, BC: Brindle and Glass, 2019); Richard I. Hardy, *Mólazha* (Altona, MB: Friesen Press, 2022); Stephen Kakfwi, *Stoneface: A Defiant Dene* (Qualicum Beach, BC: Caitlin Press, 2023).
- 5 Anis Bawarshi, "The Genre Function," *College English* 62, no. 3 (January 2000): 335–60.
- 6 Jane Griffith, *Words Have a Past: The English Language, Colonialism, and the Newspapers of Indian Boarding Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 2.
- 7 Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 107.
- 8 Heather E. McGregor, "Listening for More (Hi)Stories from the Arctic's Dispersed and Diverse Educational Past," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 27, no. 1 (Spring 2015): 19.
- 9 Daniel Heath Justice, *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2018), 5.
- 10 There are 139 "recognized" Indian residential schools in Canada. However, there were other residential schools, not to mention a host of other schooling institutions, including day schools, seasonal schools, and hospital schools, administered by church and state to civilize and assimilate Indigenous Peoples. Writing and public dialogue about Indian schooling in Canada has largely focused on Indian residential schools, though with the ongoing federal Indian day school settlement process, there is a growing awareness of these other kinds of schooling institutions.
- 11 Gregory Younging, *Elements of Indigenous Style: A Guide for Writing By and About Indigenous Peoples* (Edmonton: Brush Education, 2018).
- 12 Mission schooling in the region dates to 1860, when the first recorded school was built in Łı́ldı́łł Kúǵ (Fort Simpson). There is also a record of a school at Tulı́'a (Fort Norman) in 1866. Both were established by Anglican clergy; neither operated continuously. Norman John Macpherson and Roderick Duncan Macpherson, *Dreams and Visions: Education in the Northwest Territories from Early Days to 1984* (Yellowknife, NT: Government of the Northwest Territories [GNWT], Department of Education, 1991), 15–16.
- 13 We have documented forty-five Indian residential schools and mission, federal, and territorial Indian day schools in what is now known as the Northwest Territories. The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR) also funded seasonal schools and hospital schools in places like Tthennááǵó (Nahanni Butte), Behchokǵ (Fort Rae), and Akłarvik (Aklavik).
- 14 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) calls the period before 1960 the mission school era. See, in particular, chapters 2–4 in TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience. The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, vol. 2 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 13–44.
- 15 Crystal Gail Fraser, "T'aih k'iighe' tth'aih zhit diidich'uh (By Strength, We Are Still Here): Indigenous Northerners Confronting Hierarchies of Power at Day and Residential Schools in Nanhkak Thak (the Inuvik Region, Northwest Territories), 1959 to 1982" (PhD diss., University of Alberta, 2019), 142–59.

- 16 Macpherson and Macpherson, *Dreams and Visions*, 17.
- 17 The NWT School Ordinance required children aged seven to twelve to attend school for at least sixteen weeks per year. An Ordinance Respecting Schools, July 10, 1952, file 1/25-1-5-1, pt. 2, vol. 7184, RG 10, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC). See also Government of Canada, Indian Act, 1876, and its amendments made in 1880, 1894, 1920, 1927, and 1951 (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1951), and Family Allowance Act (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1944).
- 18 As John Milloy has observed, the northern system of “universal education” was inspired by both efficiency and ideology. See John Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986*, foreword by Mary Jane Logan McCallum (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017), 242–43. See also Fraser, “T’aih k’iighe’ tth’aih zhit diidich’uh,” 157–58.
- 19 The shift in language was part of a conscious effort to distance these institutions from the Indian residential schools of an earlier era, yet the TRC called them Indian residential schools. Fraser, “T’aih k’iighe’ tth’aih zhit diidich’uh,” xxvii.
- 20 Milloy, *A National Crime*, 189. There were exceptions. For example, the Assiniboia Indian Residential School opened in urban Winnipeg in 1958. Survivors of the Assiniboia Indian Residential School with Andrew Woolford, ed., *Did You See Us? Reunion, Remembrance, and Reclamation at an Urban Indian Residential School* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2021).
- 21 Sir Alexander Mackenzie School (SAMS) and Samuel Hearne High School (SHSS) opened in 1959 and 1968 respectively, as part of the federal government’s new approach to northern education. Grollier and Stringer Halls, constructed to replace the Indian residential schools in Akłarvik, were completed in 1959.
- 22 Non-Indigenous students who resided at hostels in the NWT during the postwar period generally did so because their parents were working in locations that did not have a day school. The GNWT reserved 2 per cent of available hostel beds for settler children. These beds were rarely filled because settler parents chose to either home school their children or send them to boarding schools in southern Canada. Fraser, “T’aih k’iighe’ tth’aih zhit diidich’uh,” 15.
- 23 TRC, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 74.
- 24 Fraser, “T’aih k’iighe’ tth’aih zhit diidich’uh,” 371–72.
- 25 Carleton, *Lessons in Legitimacy*, 111–12.
- 26 TRC, *Canada’s Residential Schools: Missing Children and Unmarked Burials. The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, vol. 4 (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015).
- 27 Canadian Historical Association/Société historique du Canada, “Canada Day Statement: The History of Violence Against Indigenous Peoples Fully Warrants the Use of the Word ‘Genocide,’” July 1, 2021, <https://activehistory.ca/2021/07/canada-day-statement-the-history-of-violence-against-indigenous-peoples-fully-warrants-the-use-of-the-word-genocide/>; Andrew Woolford, *This Benevolent Experiment: Indigenous Boarding Schools, Genocide, and Redress in Canada and the United States* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015); Robert Alexander Innes, “Historians and Indigenous Genocide in Saskatchewan,” *Shekon Neechie: An Indigenous History Site*, June 21, 2018, <https://shekonnechie.ca/2018/06/21/historians-and-indigenous-genocide-in-saskatchewan/>.
- 28 To date, the only ground-truthing work undertaken at a former school site in the NWT was on the grounds of the Sacred Heart Mission School in Zhatie Kúé, which operated from 1867 to 1960. Ground-penetrating radar detected subsurface voids that could account for the burials of approximately 161 Indigenous children who were institutionalized at the Indian residential school. “NWT Community Built Memorial to Name Its Residential School Victims. It Was Just a Start,” CBC News, July 4, 2021, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/fort-providence-nwt-memorial-gravesite-residential-schools-indigenous-kids-1.6088159>.



- 29 Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870–1914* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971); Morris Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada, 1914–1967* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1988); Kerry Abel, *Drum Songs: Glimpses of Dene History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); Milloy, *A National Crime*. Revised editions of *Drum Songs* and *A National Crime* were published in 2005 and 2017 respectively.
- 30 W. P. J. Millar, "An Exceedingly Complex Institution': The Making of Sir John Franklin High School, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, 1958–1967," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 27, no. 1 (Spring 2015): 40–56; Anthony Di Mascio and Leigh Hortop-Di Mascio, "Residential Schooling in the Arctic: A Historical Case Study and Perspective," *Native Studies Review* 20, no. 2 (2011): 31–49.
- 31 TRC, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*.
- 32 Fraser, "T'aih k'iighe' tth'aih zhit diidich'uh."
- 33 The NWT Recreation and Parks Association is a non-profit organization that promotes recreation in the NWT by supporting leaders, communities, and partners through training, advocacy, and networking.
- 34 The goals of this project are to interview and share the stories of residential and day school Survivors; provide context for their experiences through archival research; and develop materials and resources that reflect and respect their diverse experiences of recreation while institutionalized.
- 35 TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2, 1939 to 2000* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 462. See also Taylor McKee and Janice Forsyth, "Witnessing Painful Pasts: Understanding Images of Sports at Canadian Indian Residential Schools," *Journal of Sport History* 46, no. 2 (Summer 2019): 179; Braden Te Hiwi, "A 'Lack of Homelike Surroundings': Resident Health, Home, and Recreational Infrastructure at Pelican Lake Indian Residential School," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 54, no. 110 (May 2021): 101.
- 36 See, for example, Janice Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning: Sports and Games at Canadian Residential Schools," in *Aboriginal Peoples and Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Issues*, ed. Janice Forsyth and Audrey Giles (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 15–34; Braden Te Hiwi and Janice Forsyth, "'A Rink at This School Is Almost as Essential as a Classroom': Hockey and Discipline at Pelican Lake Indian Residential School, 1945–1951," *Canadian Journal of History* 52, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 2017): 80–108; Evan J. Habkirk, "From Indian Boys to Canadian Men? The Use of Cadet Drill in the Canadian Indian Residential School System," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 30, no. 2 (2017): 227–48; Allan Downey, "Colonizing the Creator's Game in Residential School," ch. 2 in Downey, *The Creator's Game: Lacrosse, Identity, and Indigenous Nationhood* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018), 89–117; Te Hiwi, "A 'Lack of Homelike Surroundings'." The only northern historian to consider recreation at residential and day schools is Crystal Gail Fraser. A chapter of Fraser's dissertation considers sport, but specifically cross-country skiing, at Grollier and Stringer Halls. Fraser, "T'aih k'iighe' tth'aih zhit diidich'uh," 327–67.
- 37 One exception to the focus on sport and physical activity is writing on the history of Girl Guides. See, for example, Mary Jane McCallum, "To Make Good Canadians: Girl Guiding in Indian Residential Schools" (MA thesis, Trent University, 2001), and Kristine Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire, and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017).
- 38 Yearbooks have their origins in the nineteenth century, though Lueck argues that in the US "the modern yearbook [was] established nationally by the 1930s." Amy J. Lueck, "'Classbook Sense': Genre and Girls' School Yearbooks in the Early-Twentieth-Century American High School," *College English* 79, no. 4 (March 2017): 384.

- 39 Sara Dwyer-McNulty, “Hems to Hairdos: Cultural Discourse and Philadelphia Catholic High Schools in the 1920s, A Case Study,” *Journal of American Studies* 37, no. 2 (August 2003): 179–200; Brian K. Clardy, “‘And You Should Have That Opportunity’: The Desegregation of South Fulton High School, 1962,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 69, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 66–87; Kael Rodrigue Sharman, “Gender, Class, and Curriculum at W. D. Lowe Technical Secondary School, 1923–1973: A Study in Continuity and Change” (PhD diss., University of Windsor, 2015); Ryan van den Berg, “‘Thank Goodness We Have a He-Man’s School’: Constructing Masculinity at the Vancouver Technical School in the 1920s,” *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 28, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 96–123.
- 40 Haruho Kubota, “The Stories of Eleven Japanese Canadian Teachers: Colouring Racial Barriers into Teacher Training, Certification, and Hiring Processes in British Columbia, 1916–1942” (MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 2020); Funké Aladejebi, *Schooling the System: A History of Black Women Teachers* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2021).
- 41 William Graebner, “The Cold War: A Yearbook Perspective,” *OAH Magazine of History* 2, no. 1 (Summer 1986): 10–14; Pamela Riney-Kehrberg, “Object Lesson: The High School Yearbook,” *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 10, no. 2 (Spring 2017): 159–67.
- 42 Melissa Caudill, “Yearbooks as a Genre: A Case Study” (MA thesis, Clemson University, 2007).
- 43 Bawarshi, “The Genre Function,” 336.
- 44 Renamed following a contest in a local newspaper, Sir John Franklin Secondary School was initially called the Yellowknife Federal and Territorial Composite High School and Vocational School or the Yellowknife Federal Vocational Training and High School. Like the other day schools listed here, Sir John had both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. Unlike the other day schools, it was “built and equipped by the federal government,” but operating costs were shared with the territory. Sir John was also distinct from the other schools in S̓m̓ba K’è because it was “not under the jurisdiction of the elected board of trustees and not part of the Yellowknife public school district.” Millar, “An Exceedingly Complex Institution,” 44.
- 45 According to the editors, the 1970–71 Grollier Hall yearbook was not intended to be a “yearly publication.” *Grollier Hall Yearbook, 1970–71*, file 016, 2012-021-002, Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre (hereafter SRSC).
- 46 Lalonde scanned his collection of yearbooks, which includes many, though not all, of the yearbooks published at SAMS and then Samuel Hearne between 1959–60 and 1990–91, and made them available to his Facebook network. In some cases, the scans do not include every page of a given yearbook, so we were not always able to review issues in their entirety.
- 47 For instance, in the 1967–68 edition of the *Borean*, editors Susan B. and Linda B. proudly exclaimed, “After a lapse of five years, Joseph Burr Tyrell has a yearbook.” Joseph Burr Tyrell School, *Borean, 1967–68*, Fort Smith Vertical File, NWT Archives (hereafter NWTVA). We know of another instance in 1985 when Sir John Franklin did not produce a yearbook. Robin Weber, personal communication, April 30, 2021.
- 48 There were two residences—Grollier Hall (Catholic) and Stringer Hall (Anglican)—for students attending Sir Alexander Mackenzie School and Samuel Hearne Secondary School in Inuvik. Breynat Hall was the Catholic residence across the street from Joseph Burr Tyrell School in Tthebacha, and Akaitcho Hall was the residence next door to Sir John Franklin Secondary School in S̓m̓ba K’è. As Fraser observes, the experience of attending a day school and living in a hostel was different than an older-style residential school, not least because of the physical distance that separated the buildings and because of distinct but overlapping administrative

- structures. However, there were also many similarities across these institutions that demonstrate the ongoing violent nature of the Indian residential schooling system from early times until the end. Fraser, "T'aih k'iighe' tth'aih zhit diidich'uh," 170.
- 49 The exception is Ikaahuk (Sachs Harbour), a small Inuvialuit community located on the southwestern tip of Banks Island. In 1969, when the day school's inaugural yearbook was published, there were 112 Inuvialuit living in the community. It is not clear whether the school ever produced another yearbook. Sachs Harbour School, *Banksland Story: School Yearbook*, 1968–69, 45, file 1, G-1979-520-1, NwTA.
- 50 As we discussed on page 69, non-Indigenous students occasionally lived in hostels. See Fraser, "T'aih k'iighe' tth'aih zhit diidich'uh," 156.
- 51 *Sir Alexander Mackenzie School Yearbook: Centennial Edition*, 1966–67, Aurora Research Institute (hereafter ARI).
- 52 TRC, *What We Have Learned: Principles of Truth and Reconciliation*, 76–77, [https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection\\_2015/trc/IR4-6-2015-eng.pdf](https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2015/trc/IR4-6-2015-eng.pdf).
- 53 *Grollier Hall Yearbook*, 1970–71.
- 54 Dian Million, "Felt Theory: An Indigenous Approach to Affect and History," *Wicazo Sa Review* 24, no. 2 (2009): 59.
- 55 The newly constructed school was flanked by two residences, which the TRC deemed Indian residential schools: Grollier Hall (Catholic) and Stringer Hall (Anglican). The federal day school was intended to have up to 900 students. The official capacity of Grollier and Stringer halls was 250 children each. Fraser, "T'aih k'iighe' tth'aih zhit diidich'uh," 157, 154.
- 56 W. B. Shaw to W. G. Booth, October 30, 1959, file 630-125-1, pt. 1, vol. 1468, RG 85, LAC.
- 57 W. G. Booth to J. V. Jacobson, November 9, 1959, file 630-125-1, pt. 1, vol. 1468, RG 85, LAC.
- 58 Agenda for the Ninth Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education to be held on Thursday, May 8th, 1958 at 9.30 a.m. in the Board Room of Eldorado Mining and Refining Limited, <http://www.capekruzenstern.org/docs/edstats.pdf>.
- 59 J. V. Jacobson to the administrator of the Mackenzie, December 16, 1959, vol. 1468, 630-125-1, pt. 1, RG 85, LAC.
- 60 Interestingly, Shaw says nothing explicitly about the yearbook in his message to the students that was included in the inaugural edition. Rather, he reflects on the many challenges faced by staff and students during what he describes as a "somewhat bewildering year." *Inuvik Federal School Year Book*, 1959–60, 1, 2012-021-002, SRSC.
- 61 E. Lisa Panayotidis and Paul Stortz, "Visual Interpretations, Cartoons, and Caricatures of Student and Youth Cultures in University Yearbooks, 1898–1930," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 19, no. 1 (2008): 196.
- 62 *Inuvik Federal School Year Book*, 1959–60. The following year, *Franklin's Echo* editor Lois L. hoped the yearbook "will always be a key to pleasant memories of high school days." Sir John Franklin High School, *Franklin's Echo*, 1960–61, 31, file 1, N-2006-015-1, NwTA.
- 63 Shaw to Booth, October 30, 1959, vol. 1468, 630-125-1, pt. 1, RG 85, LAC.
- 64 Even when yearbook committees used templates, they could and did modify them. For example, the inaugural issue of *Franklin's Echo*, which used a template from Yearbook House, had hand-drawn class pages and title pages for many of the yearbook's sections. *Franklin's Echo*, 1960–61.
- 65 While the yearbook from Ikaahuk did not include advertisements, the final page offered thanks to "the following people and companies for their support." The list included the Northern Transportation Company Limited, Tower Company Limited, Canadian Arctic Builders, and Lockwood Survey Corporation (Toronto, ON). Sachs Harbour School, *Banksland Story*, 46.

- 66 Caudill, "Yearbooks as a Genre," 5.
- 67 J. V. Jacobson to B. Sivertz, November 9, 1955, box 5 of 12, Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Roman Catholic Diocese of Mackenzie-Fort Smith Archives (RCDMA).
- 68 This aligns with Griffith's observation that "[i]n addition to classroom-based English instruction, schools saw trades as an additional way to learn English." Griffith, *Words Have a Past*, 66.
- 69 Amy J. Lueck, "'Classbook Sense': Genre and Girls' School Yearbooks in the Early-Twentieth-Century American High School," *College English* 79, no. 4 (March 2017): 382. Emphasis added.
- 70 Shaw to Booth, October 30, 1959, file 630-125-1, pt. 1, vol. 1468, RG 85, LAC.
- 71 *Franklin's Echo*, 1960–61, 5.
- 72 Shaw to Booth, October 30, 1959, file 630-125-1, pt. 1, vol. 1468, RG 85, LAC.
- 73 See, in particular, Fraser, "T'aih k'iighe' tth'aih zhit diidich'uh," 93–159, 160–98.
- 74 Letter, *The Drum*, January 5, 1967.
- 75 Booth to Jacobson, November 9, 1959, file 630-125-1, pt. 1, vol. 1468, RG 85, LAC.
- 76 Phyllis Burns, "Education in the Arctic," *Bulletin of the National Commission on the Indian Canadian X* (January 1960), box 5 of 12, OMI, RCDMA; Erik Watt, "Eyewitness Says: Kidnap Children to Fill School," *Winnipeg Free Press*, September 30, 1959.
- 77 *Borean*, 1959–60, 83, Fort Smith vertical file, NWT.A.
- 78 "North School to Publish Yearbook," *Edmonton Journal*, March 10, 1960. That one of the copies was, for a time, part of the collections of the Ontario Legislative Library indicates at least some success in circulating the yearbook to a wider audience. *Borean*, 1959–60.
- 79 Schools unevenly complied with the directive. D. J. Lavin to W. Karashowsky, October 29, 1963, file 6, G-1979-003-219, NWT.A; N. J. Macpherson to W. G. Booth, June 23, 1964, file 3, G-1979-003-227, NWT.A.
- 80 E. Lisa Panayotidis and Paul Stortz, "Contestation and Conflict: The University of Toronto Student Yearbook *Torontonensis* as an 'Appalling Sahara,' 1890–1914," *History of Education* 39, no. 1 (2010): 35–52.
- 81 Panayotidis and Stortz, "Contestation and Conflict," 36.
- 82 Occasionally other roles were also identified, such as assistant editor, photographer, production, and the like.
- 83 We determined whether yearbook committee members were Indigenous using school records, how they presented in photographs, and their last names (that is, for their connection to contemporary kinship structures in various northern communities). This is an imperfect method, but comprehensive and accurate demographics are absent in the historical record.
- 84 *Franklin's Echo*, 1962–63, file 3, N-2006-015-1, NWT.A; Superintendent's School Report, Sir John Franklin, January 25–February 6, 1963, file 2, G-1979-003-227, NWT.A.
- 85 *Sir Alexander Mackenzie School Yearbook, Centennial Edition*, 1966–67, ARI.
- 86 *Borean*, 1967–68. There appears to have been high turnover in advisors. Brendan Dunphy was the exception. He assisted with at least four issues of the *Borean*: 1967–68, 1968–69, 1969–70, and 1971–72. There appears not to have been yearbooks published before this and we don't have copies of the 1970–71 yearbook or yearbooks from 1972–1975 when Dunphy left the North.
- 87 Other references to teaching staff taking pictures can be found in SAMS, 1961–62; *Franklin's Echo*, 1965; *Borean*, 1968–69; *Borean*, 1969–70.
- 88 Sherry Farrell Racette, "Haunted: First Nations Children in Residential School Photography," in *Depicting Canada's Children*, ed. Loren Lerner (Kitchener, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009), 51.

- 89 Krista McCracken, "Archival Photographs in Perspective: Indian Residential School Images of Health," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 30, no. 2 (2017): 163–82.
- 90 McCracken, "Archival Photographs in Perspective," 171, 175.
- 91 Cynthia R. Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of Modern Canada, 1920–1950* (Kitchener, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), 113.
- 92 In June 1964, Principal N. J. Macpherson informed W. G. Booth, "Our 1963–64 Year Book will be published in the fall." N. J. Macpherson to W. G. Booth, June 23, 1964, file 3, G-1979-003-227, NWTA.
- 93 In addition to Lalonde's collection, the issues of *Franklin's Echo* in the NWT Archives were previously the property of Sir John teacher Ed Jeske. Ed Jeske collection, N-2006-015, NWTA.
- 94 W. Karashowsky to G. H. Needham, July 11, 1960, file 3, G-1979-003-219, NWTA; [Administrator of the Mackenzie] to [Director], October 2, 1962, file 5, G-1979-003-219, NWTA; N. J. Macpherson to B. C. Gillie, October 9, 1963, file 3, G-1979-003-227, NWTA.
- 95 Joseph Katz, "Principles and Procedures Recommended for the Organization and Administration of School-Hostel Complexes in the North-West Territories," undated, unnumbered Box #1, RCDMA; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), "Supplementary Instructions for the Management of Pupil Residences in the Northwest Territories Owned by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Operated Under Contract, Revised Edition," November 1968, File 25, G-1995-004-8, NWTA.
- 96 As this is a personalized yearbook, we have chosen not to provide the archival location to preserve anonymity.
- 97 The other yearbook in our collection with signatures is a copy of the 1968–69 *Borean*, which also belonged to a former student.
- 98 Bawarshi, "The Genre Function," 336.
- 99 Government of Canada, Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, 2021, and Common Experience Payment, 2013, <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100015576/1571581687074#sect3> and <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100015594/1571582431348>.
- 100 Government of Canada, "Are You Part of the Federal Indian Day Schools Class Action," 2020, <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1552427234180/1552427274599>.
- 101 Mark Blackburn, "Yearbooks an Important Tool for Residential School Students Seeking Claim," APTN National News, December 15, 2011, <https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/yearbooks-an-important-tool-for-residential-school-students-seeking-claim/>.
- 102 *Inuvik Federal School Year Book*, 1959–60, 23.
- 103 The failure of governments and churches to release outstanding records and the destruction of records is both a historical and ongoing issue. See, for example, Milloy, "Preface to the 1999 Edition," in *A National Crime*, xxxi–xxxii; Tricia Logan, "Questions of Privacy and Confidentiality after Atrocity: Collecting and Retaining Records of the Residential School System in Canada," *Genocide Studies International* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2018): 92–102; Thomas McMahon, "The Final Abuse of Indian Residential School Children: Deleting Their Names, Erasing Their Voices and Destroying Their Records after They Have Died and without Their Consent," June 7, 2021, [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2812298#:~:text=The%20paper%20argues%20that%20if,on%20the%20residential%20school%20children;Ka'nhehs:ioDeer,Access%20toResidentialSchoolRecordsanOngoingChallenge,PeopleTellUnmarkedBurialsGathering.](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2812298#:~:text=The%20paper%20argues%20that%20if,on%20the%20residential%20school%20children;Ka'nhehs:ioDeer,Access%20toResidentialSchoolRecordsanOngoingChallenge,PeopleTellUnmarkedBurialsGathering.) CBC News, September 14, 2022, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/residential-school-record-access-unmarked-burials-gathering-1.6583551>.

- 104 On photographs and photography at residential schools, see Eric Margolis and Jeremy Rowe, "Images of Assimilation: Photographs of Indian Schools in Arizona," *History of Education* 33, no. 2 (March 2004): 199–230; Farrell Racette, "Haunted"; McCracken, "Archival Photographs in Perspective"; McKee and Forsyth, "Witnessing Painful Pasts."
- 105 On art-making at residential and day schools in Canada, see Graeme F. Chalmers, "Art Education in 'Indian' Residential Schools in British Columbia," *Canadian Review of Art Education* 27, no. 1 (2000): 21–35; Andrea Walsh, ed., *Nk̓Mip Chronicles: Art from the Inkameep Day School* (Osoyoos, BC: Osoyoos Museum Society and Osoyoos Indian Band, 2005); Andrea Walsh, *There Is Truth Here: Creativity and Resilience in Children's Art from Indian Residential and Indian Day Schools* (Victoria: Legacy Art Gallery, 2017).
- 106 The yearbooks consulted for this section were Fort Smith Federal Day School, 1959–60; Sir Alexander Mackenzie School, 1961–62; Sir John Franklin High School, 1963–64; Grandin College, 1966–67; Sachs Harbour Federal Day School, 1968–69; and Grollier Hall, 1970–71.
- 107 See, for example, Grandin College, *The Light*, 1966–67, 16, file 013, 2012-021-002, SRSC; *Grollier Hall Yearbook*, 1970–71.
- 108 *Borean*, 1959–60.
- 109 Grandin College, *The Light*, 1966–67.
- 110 *Grollier Hall Yearbook*, 1970–71.
- 111 Georges Erasmus and René Dussault, *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (Ottawa: The Commission, 1996), 316; Janice Forsyth, "The Indian Act and the (Re)Shaping of Canadian Aboriginal Sport Practices," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 35 (2007): 95–111; Janice Forsyth and Michael Heine, "'The Only Good Thing that Happened at School': Colonising Narratives of Sport in the *Indian School Bulletin*," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 30, no. 2 (2017): 205–25; Braden Paora Te Hiwi, "'Unlike their Playmates of Civilization, the Indian Children's Recreation Must Be Cultivated and Developed': The Administration of Physical Education at Pelican Lake Indian Residential School, 1926–1944," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 99–118.
- 112 Mountain, *From Bear Rock Mountain*, 65.
- 113 While Grandin College did eventually receive some federal funding, it was "not part of the federally organized large hostel system" developed in the 1950s, but was an initiative of the Catholic Church. There is a separate section in the TRC report for Grandin and the Churchill Vocational Centre. TRC, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 101, 144–49.
- 114 Fraser, "T'aih k'iighe' tth'aih zhit diidich'uh," 160–62.
- 115 Simpson, *Mobawk Interruptus*, 107.
- 116 Kenneth Coates, "Second Thoughts About Residential Schools: Were Residential Schools All 'Bad'?" *Dorchester Review* 4, no. 2 (Autumn/Winter 2014): 25–29. For an assessment of Coates' article, see Crystal Fraser and Ian Mosby, "Setting Canadian History Right?: A Response to Ken Coates' 'Second Thoughts about Residential Schools,'" *Active History*, April 7, 2015, <https://activehistory.ca/2015/04/setting-canadian-history-right-a-response-to-ken-coates-second-thoughts-about-residential-schools/>.
- 117 Justice, *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter*, 5.