T’aih k’ìighe’ tth’aih zhit dìidìch’ùh (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

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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Abstract

Through archival sources, interviews, and my own experience as the daughter and grandaughter of Gwichyà Gwich'in women who were institutionalized in Inuuvik and Aklavik, I explore the uniquely northern experience of Indigenous children who were consigned to Inuuvik's Indian Residential Schools – Grollier and Stringer Halls – from 1959 until nearly the close of the twentieth century. There was a discernable change in education policies with responsibility over schooling shifting away from the churches to first the federal and then the territorial government. In this 'modern' context, the same coercive policies that were designed to remove Indigenous peoples from their lands, eliminate their sovereignty, and assimilate them into the broader Canadian settler-society remained. My training in both History and Indigenous Studies allowed me to draw upon new methods to investigate how children were embedded in this colonial framework experienced student life by exploring topics like bodies, health, hygiene, sports, and sexual violence. The resistance and activism of Indigenous parents and children were foundational to the survival of the students and our cultures.

Resisting damage-centered research, I combine Foucault's understanding of carceral institutions and the strategic reversability of power, Eve Tuck's desire-centered research, and Dinjii Zhuh concepts of strength (t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii) to add sophistication and refinement to how we understand the experiences of Indigenous youngsters who were institutionalized in these "carceral spaces." I further the conversation about the history of Indian Residential Schools in

Canada and present untold and complex narratives of students who attended these schools in the North. Despite recent scholarship, there are few histories of colonial trauma, and even fewer that are told from a northern Indigenous perspective. This dissertation makes Indigenous voices central to the analysis and gives Indigenous peoples the opportunity to speak for themselves.

Preface

This dissertation is an original work by Crystal Gail Fraser. No part of this thesis has been previously published. This dissertation is part of my larger research project, which received ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name "Residential Schools and Hostels in the Mackenzie Valley Region, 1940-1996," No. Pro00036375, May 14, 2013.

Dedication

For my Great Aunt Angele, who perished at the Sacred Heart Indian Residential School in Zhati Kų́ę́.

For the thousands of Indigenous children who are unable to tell this story themselves.

For all Indigenous peoples; we have struggled to survive in the face of colonial trauma. It is now our time to thrive.

For my daughter, Quinn Addison Fraser, who has been foundational in healing my intergenerational trauma.

Hà’į̀h[1] (Acknowledgements)

Hà’į̀h to the animals, land, water, and air that nourished me as I engaged in one of the hardest and longest projects of my life. I am grateful for my Dinjii Zhuh ancestors and family. My mother, Juliet Bullock, provided meals, childcare, laptops, and companionship. Hà’į̀h. My mentors and cousins, Alestine Andre and Agnes Mitchell, assisted with this work in both professional and personal ways; without them, my success would not have been possible. Evelyn and Richard Debastien, Chantal Schab, Lorraine and Les Lokos, Jane Bullock, Winnie Bukkos, Grace Berikoff, Jon and Sherry Bullock, Sam and Renata Bullock, Bert Bullock, Eliza Andre, Mickey Andre, Margaret Mitchell, Candice Mitchell, Julie-Ann Andre, James Andre, Lisa Andre and Wanaao Piascik – hà’į̀h for all your love and support over the years. I appreciate all of you. For my late Grandma Marka and Grandpa Dick: my childhood summers at Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik were among my happiest. Hà’į̀h for your love and teachings. I have great gratitude for my settler Canadian relations; my father Bruce Fraser and his wife Mary Fraser, my sisters Megan Fraser and Marissa Fraser, my aunt Lynn Fraser, and my late Grandmother Gwen Fraser whose love of the Yukon was inspirational. My mother-in-law Arlene English has always been a fantastic champion of this work and never let me forget that we need strong women in this world.

To my friends and mentors: Annie B. Gordon, Mary Kendi, Velma Illisiak, Frances Wolki, Morris and Bernice Neyelle, Danny Gaudet, Jordan Petersen, Stephanie Irbacher-Fox, Julia Christiansen, Ingrid Kritsch, Tom Andrews, Sharon Snowshoe, Renie Alexie,

[1] Literal translation: “deepest thanks.” Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik (Gwichyà), Alestine Andre, Agnes Mitchell, Lisa André, and Crystal Gail Fraser.

Robert Arthur Alexie, Diane Baxter, Zoe Todd, Jessica Dunkin, Jessica Aube, Nina Larsson, Kyla Kakfwi-Scott, Melaw Nakehk’o, Dëneze Nakehk’o, Mandee McDonald, Stephanie Poole, Maria Arey, Denise McDonald, Deanna Harder, Sharon Firth, Jacey Firth-Hagen, Autumn Schnell, Mabel Brown, Billy Archie, Andrew Gow, Jessica Kolopenuk, Jamie Look, Matt Wildcat, Sarah Charlie, Annie Buckle, Leonard Debastien, Maureen Clark, all the folks at Dene Nahjo, Shalene Jobin, Paul Andrew, Karen Wright-Fraser, the late “Big Annie” Norbert, and Stephen Buchanan. I love you and thank you for the wisdom and support.

I send thank those who have read drafts of dissertation chapters: Sarah Carter, Kristine Alexander, Laura Ishiguro, Mary-Ellen Kelm, Liza Piper, Susan Hill, Sara Komarnisky, Tom Andrews, Gabi Hoffman, Frank Novak, Ian Mosby, and the Indigenous Writing Group at the University of Alberta. Máhsì to Trish Fontaine at UAlberta North for designing the maps and tolerating my last-minute spelling changes. Thank you to David Mills and Nancy Van Styvendale for being excellent supervisors and encouraging me during hard times. And thank you to my committee and examiners: Chris Andersen, Roger Epp, Gerhard Ens, and Mary Jane Logan McCallum.[2]

To my biggest supporter and partner in life, Charlie – hà’į̀h. Thank you. Together, we did this! You have been the biggest supporter of my dreams and goals; I am excited for what is next for us. To my three-year-old daughter Quinn: you inspire me every day and encourage me to learn and unlearn the world. You can do anything you set your mind to, shiyehtsį’.

[2] There are so many people and funders here that I want to thank, but, alas, there is not enough space for me to recognize all. To those who I missed - hà’į̀h!

Robert Arthur Alexie, Diane Baxter, Zoe Todd, Jessica Dunkin, Jessica Aube, Nina Larsson, Kyla Kakfwi-Scott, Melaw Nakehk'o, Dëneze Nakehk'o, Mandee McDonald, Stephanie Poole, Maria Arey, Denise McDonald, Deanna Harder, Sharon Firth, Jacey Firth-Hagen, Autumn Schnell, Mabel Brown, Billy Archie, Andrew Gow, Jessica Kolopenuk, Jamie Look, Matt Wildcat, Sarah Charlie, Annie Buckle, Leonard Debastien, Maureen Clark, all the folks at Dene Nahjo, Shalene Jobin, Paul Andrew, Karen Wright-Fraser, the late "Big Annie" Norbert, and Stephen Buchanan. I love you and thank you for the wisdom and support.

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Table of Contents

Abstract ii

Preface iv

Dedication v

Hà'įh (Acknowledgements) vi

List of Figures x

Abbreviations xvi

Gikah Gwiniidhat: A Note on Region and Terminology xx

Ihłak. Gahtr'iheedandaii Geenjit: "Well after all, they're trying to assimilate us to be white Canadians." Indigenous Children at Inuuvik's Grollier and Stringer Halls, 1959 to 1996 1

- Argument and Objectives 10
- Methodology 23
- Indigenous Students Strategically Respond to the "Power to Punish" and T'aih, Vit'aih, and Guut'àii: Theorizing Schools in the North 28
- Chapter Summaries 48

Neekąįį. Gwiiyendoo kak gwinahìh: Historiographies of the North, Residential Schooling, and the Inclusion of Indigenous Perspectives 53

- Yeedyè' Nanhkak Thak ts'at Dinjii Zhuh: Historical Perspectives About Indigenous Peoples and the North 56
- Gadiiyihanàatan Geenjit Zheh Goo'aii: Creating a National Network of Indian Day and Residential Schools, 1867 to 1996 66
- Dinjii Zhuh Googwandak: The Use of Oral Evidence in Analyzing Indigenous Complex Personhood 84

Tyek: Yeenoo Dàį.' "If anyone is going to jail for this, I'm taking it": Early Interventions into Schooling in Nanhkak Thak From Early Days to 1959 93

- They "finished telling a story, then another one would begin....You went around, you heard story-telling all over": Indigenous Histories and Education in Nanhkak Thak Before the Arrival of Uunjit 99
- "My people are not used to being anywhere without their children": The Establishment of Day and Residential Schools in Nanhkak Thak, 1850s to 1950s 106
- "The place is bristling with problems and nobody to answer [the] simplest questions": The Construction of Inuuvik and the Expansion of the Canadian Nation State in Nanhkak Thak, 1955 to 1959 142

Dąą. Adachoo Kat Chit Gįįlii' Kwàh: "Listen! It's louder now. From here, from there. Indian voices, Métis voices, demanding attention, demanding equality!" Indigenous Northerners Respond to Schooling Issues, 1959 to 1969. 160

Ihładh Gwinlè': Ezhii Dìgìteech'aa Gagìnaajàt. "Going into a big city for somebody that is entirely new to this white society": Residential School Admissions, Travelling to Inuuvik, and Getting 'Settled,' 1959 to 1979. 199

Nihk'ii Tyik. Nits'òo Edik'iginaatyee: "Making Us Into Nice White Kids":Bodies, Health, and Hygiene at Grollier and Stringer Halls, 1959 to 1979. 243

Ets'ideech'ii Neekąįį: Geetàk Gwiizih Kwaa Nihts'at T'agidi'ìh. "The hazards that can result from too permissive or undisciplined sexual behaviour": Gender, Sexuality, and Violence at Grollier and Stringer Halls, 1959 to 1979. 282

Nihk'ii Dąą: Tsèetr'idi'įį. Students "have become teenagers that are bubbling over with ideas and confidence": Cross-Country Skiing at Grollier and Stringer Halls, 1959 to 1979. 327

Vachandh Nak'aoh Zhàk Dhityin: Dinjii Zhuh Guudeezhuh Niint'àih. "These are our children and they are very precious to us." Prominent Indigenous Voices Question the System, 1969 to 1982. 368

Ihłogwijuutyin: Ndoo Naa'ęįį. Concluding Thoughts About the History of Day and Residential Schooling in Nanhkak Thak, 1959 to 1996. 412

Interviews and Transcripts 436

Bibliography 438

- **Archival Sources 438**
- **Newspapers and Media 439**
- **Unpublished Primary Sources 440**
- **Published Primary Sources 440**
- **Unpublished Secondary Sources 448**
- **Published Secondary Sources 449**
- **Theses and Dissertations 460**
- **Conference Papers and Presentations 461**
- **Blog Posts, Other Contributions, and Websites 461**

List of Figures

Page x — Figure 1 – Map. The Gwich'in and Sahtú Settlement Areas and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in relation to Canada and the United States. ©Crystal Gail Fraser.

Page xiv — Figure 2 – Map. A closer representation of Nanhkak Thak, depicting local communities, camps, and waterways. ©Crystal Gail Fraser.

Page 5 — Figure 3 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image of the Bullock Family, July 1978. NWTA, James Jerome fonds, accession number N-1987-017, item no. 0541.

Page 7 — Figure 4 – Personal Photograph. Untitled image of Crystal Gail Fraser, circa 1985. Photo credit: Juliet Bullock. Retrieved from the author's personal photographic collection.

Page 8 — Figure 5 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image of Marka Andre and Richard Bullock, 1949. NWTA Nap Norbert fonds, acc. no. N-1988-007, item no. 0026.

Page 12 — Figure 6 – Diagram. "Happy Gwich'in People," by Mary Effie Snowshoe, personal collection.

Page 103 — Figure 7 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, Inuvialuit visit Tsiigehtshik in 1915. NWTA Alma Guest fonds, acc. no. N-1979-067, item no. 0041.

Page 107 — Figure 8 – Archival Photograph. Untitled and undated image, Bishop Isaac O. Stringer visits an Inuvialuit camp near Teetł'it Zheh or Tsiigehtshik, circa 1920s. NWTA Hal Evarts fonds, acc. no. N-1979-031, item no. 0067.

Page 108 — Figure 9 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, permanent structures are seen in Teetł'it Zheh, Summer 1901. NWTA C. Mathers fonds, acc. no. N-1979-058, item no. 0004.

Page 113 — Figure 10 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, a little Dinjii Zhuh boy is dressed in skin clothing and proudly holds a muskrat, 1922. NWTA Fred Jackson fonds, acc. no. N-1979-004, item no. 0025.

Page 114 — Figure 11 – Archival Photograph. Untitled and undated image, Immaculate Conception Indian Residential School and Hospital, operated by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and funded by the Department of Indian Affairs, c. 1930s. NWTA Department of the Interior fonds, acc. no. 1989-006, item no. 0046.

Page 117 Figure 12 – Archival Photograph. "First Year, School Girls at All Saints in Aklavik," 1936-1937. NWTA Archibald Fleming fonds, acc. no. N-1979-050, item no. 0101.

Page 130 Figure 13 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, All Saints Indian Residential School students play outside in the snow, 1937. NWTA Archibald Fleming fonds, acc. no. N-1979-050, item no. 0102.

Page 132 Figure 14 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, a (likely) Dinjii Zhuh woman works with hides at Tsiigehtshik, 1921. NWTA Department of the Interior fonds, acc. no. G-1979-001, item no. 0252.

Page 137 Figure 15 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, Indigenous children stand on the shore of a river, waiting for the boat that will take them to an Indian Residential School in Akłarvik, Fall 1954. NWTA Terrance Hunt fonds, acc. no. N-1979-062, item no. 0180.

Page 154 Figure 16 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, an aerial photo of Grollier and Stringer Halls (background) and Sir Alexander Mackenzie School (foreground), undated. NWTA Department of Information fonds acc. no. G-1979-023, item no. 1664.

Page 160 Figure 17 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, Fred Carpenter and his family of Ikaahuk are shown on a spring day in 1959. NWTA Robert C. Knights fonds, acc. no. N-1993-003, item no. 0346.

Page 174 Figure 18 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker delivers the official opening speech for Inuvik in front of a small crowd, July 21, 1961. NWTA Robert C. Knights fonds, acc. no. N-1993-002, item no. 0369.

Page 176 Figure 19 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, a photo of the 'urban' centre of Inuuvik depicting the Inuvik Federal Day School, Sir Alexander Mackenzie School, Stringer Hall, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police station, and other buildings under construction, approximately two months before hundreds of Indigenous children arrived to receive a Euro-Canadian education, June 6, 1969. NWTA Robert C. Knight fonds, acc. no. N-1993-002, item no. 0378.

Page 196 Figure 20 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, a photo of Gwichyà Gwich'in father and leader Hyacinthe Andre teaches local children to snowshoe in Tsiigehtshik, March 1978. NWTA James Jerome fonds, acc. no. N-1987-017, item no. 3036.

Page 209 Figure 21 – Map. A depiction of the various distances in Canada that Indigenous students travelled for their institutionalization at Grollier and Stringer Halls in Inuuvik. ©Crystal Gail Fraser.

Page 213 Figures 22 and 23 – Archival Photographs. Untitled images of Dinjii Zhuh man and pilot Frederick Carmichael, 1957 and 1978. NWTA Erik Watt fonds, acc. no. N-1990-005, item no. 0682 and NWTA Department of Public Works and Services fonds, acc. no. G-1995-001, item no. 4511.

Page 215 Figure 24 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image of Edhii Tat Gwich'in child Mabel (nilìh ch'uu Kendi) Brown proudly displaying processed muskrat pelts at her family's camp near Akłarvik, circa 1950-1951. NWTA McCall Family fonds, acc. no. N-2002-022, item no. 0010.

Page 216 Figure 25 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image depicting Inuit and Inuvialuit students arriving into Inuuvik from Nunavut Nunangat, published in 1966. "Canadian Geographic Journal, November 1966," Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives (ACCGSA) Mossie Moorby Collection September 1964 to June 1972.

Page 225 Figure 26 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image that shows the sterile, open-dorm style of Grollier and Stringer Halls. ACCGSA, Mossie Moorby Collection September 1964 to June 1972.

Page 229 Figure 27 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image of a Junior Boy eating cafeteria food at Grollier Hall, 1974. NWTA Felix Labat fonds, acc. no. N-2004-027, item no. 0768.

Page 231 Figure 28 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image with Donald Andre and his brothers Robert and Daniel Andre at their Gwichyà Gwich'in camp Tr'ineht'ieet'ie, July 1978. They were all institutionalized at Grollier Hall. NWTA James Jerome fonds, acc. no. N-1989-017, item no. 1193.

Page 258 Figure 29 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, a group of Grollier Hall Junior Girls walk down the road (now known as Kingmingya Road) away from the residential school on a summer day, 196?. NWTA Emily Stillwell fonds, acc. no. N-2005-006, item no. 0201-0.

Page 260 Figure 30 – Personal Photograph. Untitled image, a group of Indigenous students sits on the floor in a classroom at Sir Alexander Mackenzie School in Inuuvik. They are wearing their kaiichan and the residential school boys are easily identified by their uniform plaid shirts. From the private collection of Ruth Stewart.

Page 261 Figure 31 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, three Senior Girls at Akaitcho Hall in Sǫ̀ǫ̀mbak'è display their unique kaiichan, undated. NWTA Henry Busse fonds, acc. no. N-1979-052, item no. 5018.

Page 269 Figure 32 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, Father Joseph Adam's lush garden is located behind Grollier Hall, August 1971. NWTA Echo Lidster fonds, acc. no. N-1993-030, item no. 0260.

Page 280 Figure 33 – Archival Photograph. "Stringer Hall (Inuvik, NWT)," Junior Boys' supervisor Mary Harper watches Indigenous student Floyd Dillon washing his runners. Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives, Moosie Moorby fonds, P-2011-08.

Page 288 Figure 34 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, Margaret Nazon is learning valuable cultural teachings from her mother at their fish camp, Chii Echęįį, undated. NWTA James Jerome fonds, acc. no. N-1987-017, item no. 1512.

Page 316 Figure 35 – Archival Photograph. A photo excerpt from a Department of Education (DOE), Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) student publication, entitled *PIK*. A complex story about sexual assault is hand-sketched. Programme Development Division, *PIK* 6, 2 (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1977).

Page 319 Figure 36 – Archival Photograph. A photo excerpt from a DOE publication for teachers that normalizes violence against students. *Arcturus* 3, 1 (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT).

Page 325 Figure 37 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, a young woman lights a cigarette at an Inuuvik residential school, 1974. NWTA Felix Labat fonds, acc. no. N-2004-007, item no. 0331.

Page 328 Figure 38 – Photograph. Untitled image, a photo of the young skier Sharon Anne Firth, undated. *Canadian Ski Museum* (91.42.1.4), www.skimuseum.ca.

Page 336 Figure 39 – Secondary Literature Photograph. A photo excerpt showing Dinjii Zhuh children playing football on the flats of Tsiigehtshik, Summer 1908. Micheal Heine, Alestine Andre, Ingrid Kritsch, Alma Cardinal, and the Elders of Tsiigehtchic, *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak* (Tsiigehtshik and Fort McPherson, NWT: Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute), 232.

Page 338 Figure 40 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, a group of residential school students play hockey on a spring day outside of Stringer Hall, c. 1960s. ACCGSA P7538-60.

Page 343 Figure 41 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, the Firth twins – Shirley and Sharon – are pictured with their ski coach, Bjorsen Pettersen, c. 1970s. NWTA Department of Public Works and Services fonds, acc. no. G-1995-001, item no. 1189.

Page 345 Figure 42 – Personal Photograph. Untitled image, the A Squad poses in their professional travel attire, c. 1970s. From the private collection of Dr. Sharon Anne Firth.

Page 355 Figure 43 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, a group of Northern Games athletes are seated during the NWT's Centennial ceremonies, July 1970. NWTA Stuart Hodgson fonds, acc. no. N-2017-008, item no. 271.

Page 356 Figure 44 and 45 – Archival Photographs. Left: untitled image, an Inuvialuk woman competes in a seal-skinning contest at Inuuvik's first Northern Games, 1971. NWTA Tom Alfondi fonds, acc. no. N-2001-006, item no. 0025.

Right: untitled image, a young boy competes in the high-kick competition at the Northern Games in Inuuvik, 1979. NWTA James Jerome fonds, acc. no. N-1987-017, item no. 2895.

Page 348 Figure 46 – Archival Photograph. Untitled, two boys watch the Northern Games in Inuuvik, 1971. NWTA Tom Alfondi fonds, acc. no. N-2012-006, item no. 0149.

Page 349 Figure 47 – Archival Photograph. Untitled, Indigenous children perform in front of the community in Inuvvik at the 1979 Northern Games. NWTA James Jerome fonds, acc. no. N-1987-017, item no. 3533.

Page 360 Figure 48 – Media Photograph. Left: Inuvialuk Elder Abel Tingmiak demonstrates an outdoor blanket toss at Vadzaih Degaii Zheh, undated. Northern News Services Limited, "Award Winning Inuvialuit Ambassador: Abel Tingmiak Recognized for Teaching Inuvialuit Culture, September 3, 2011.

Figure 49 – Secondary Source Photograph. Right: a photo excerpt showing Inuvialuk Elder Abel Tingmiak demonstrates an indoor blanket toss at Samuel Hearne Secondary School in Inuuvik, 2009. Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, *Taimani: At That Time, Inuvialuit Timeline Visual Guide* (Inuvik, NWT: IRC, 2011).

Page 369 Figure 50 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, Stephen Kakfwi from Rádeyîlîkóé speaks at the Berger Inquiry hearings in Déljné, April 1978. NWTA, Rene Fumoleau fonds, acc. no. N-1995-002, item no. 0505.

Page 400 Figure 51 – Archival Document. Untitled image, a poster entitled "Dene Nation Apartheid," showing two people handcuffed together, one Uunjit and another of

colour, December 1978. NWTA Rene Fumoleau fonds, acc. no. N-1998-051, item no. 1317.

Page 413 Figure 52 – Archival Photograph. Untitled image, a young Crystal Gail Fraser proudly shows her fileted łuk dagąįį at her family's fish camp, Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik, c. 1987. From the private collection of Evelyn Debastien.

Page 421 Figure 53 – Online Photograph. Untitled image, Inuvialuit dancers in Uluqsaqtuuq wear traditional clothing as they dance to the beat of a drum, undated. "Dance and Music," Inuvialuit Regional Corporation website, www.irc.inuvialuit.com/dance-and-music.

Page 434 Figure 54 – Personal Photograph. Untitled image, Crystal Gail Fraser and Quinn Addison Fraser are observing the land at the Bullock and Andre fish camp, Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik, August 2018. Photo credit: Megan Fraser. From the private collection of Crystal Gail Fraser.

Abbreviations

ACC	Anglican Church of Canada.
ACCGSA	Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives, Tkaronto.[1]
ACDGNWT	Advisory Commission on the Development of the Government in the Northwest Territories.
ACND	Advisory Committee on Northern Development.
AFN	Assembly of First Nations.
BNWTYA	Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs, Department of Mines and Resources, Dominion of Canada.
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.
CEDC	Church of England in the Dominion of Canada.
CNWT	Council of the Northwest Territories.
COPE	Committee Original Peoples' Entitlement.
DCI	Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Government of Canada.
DIA	Department of Indian Affairs, Dominion of Canada.
DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Government of Canada.
DNANR	Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Government of Canada.
DNHW	Department of National Health and Welfare, Government of Canada.

[1] This is the Kanyen'kéha (Mohawk) word for Toronto, which means "where the trees are standing in the water" and it is on the traditional territories of the Mississauga Anishinaabeg, Haudenosaunee and Huron-Wendat peoples. It is territory governed by the Dish With One Spoon treaty between the Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee peoples.

DOE	Department of Education, Government of the Northwest Territories.
DOI	Department of the Interior, Dominion of Canada.
DOJ	Department of Justice, Government of the Northwest Territories.
DMR	Department of Mines and Resources, Dominion of Canada.
DRD	Department of Resources and Development, Dominion of Canada.
DSD	Department of Social Development, Government of the Northwest Territories.
GLC	Gwich'in Language Centre, Teetł'it Zheh, Nanhkak Thak.
GN	Government of Nunavut
GNWT	Government of the Northwest Territories.
GSCI	Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (now the Department of Cultural Heritage, Gwich'in Tribal Council).
GTC	Gwich'in Tribal Council, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak.
GY	Government of Nunavut.
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company.
IAB	Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Mines and Resources, Dominion of Canada.
IEWC	The Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission.
INAC	The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Government of Canada.
IRC	Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak.
LAC	Library and Archives Canada, Adawe.[2]
MLA	Member of the Legislative Assembly, Government of the Northwest Territories.

[2] Adawe, or Ottawa, comes from the Algonquin word to "trade" (unceded Algonquin territory).

MP	Member of Parliament, Government of Canada.
MSCC	Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada.
MVPI	Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry.
NAB	Northern Administration Branch, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Government of Canada.
NALB	Northern Administration and Lands Branch, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Government of Canada.
NCTR	National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, University of Manitoba.
NEB	National Energy Board.
NHS	Northern Health Services, Government of the Northwest Territories.
NWMP	North-West Mounted Police.
NWT	Northwest Territories.
NWTA	Northwest Territories Archives, Sǫǫ̀mbak'è,[3] Denendeh.
OMI	The Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate.
PAA	Provincial Archives of Alberta, Amiskwaciwâskahikan.
RCAP	The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1992.
RCDMA	Roman Catholic Diocese of Mackenzie – Fort Smith Archives, Sǫǫ̀mbak'è, Denendeh.
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

[3] In Tłı̨chǫ, Sǫǫ̀mbak'è means "where the money is." The GNWT officially recognized this community as Yellowknife. sits on the traditional territory of the Yellowknives Dene First Nation and is the home of the North Slave Métis Alliance. Sǫǫ̀mbak'è is a *Treaty 8* community, but is geographically situated within *Treaty 11* boundaries. See *Treaty No. 8, Made June 21, 1899 and Adhesions Reports, etc.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966); *Treaty No. 11 (June 27, 1921) and Adhesion (July 17, 1922) with Reports, etc.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1957); DIAND, The Akaitcho Territory Dene First Nations, and the GNWT, *Akaitcho Territory Dene First Nations Framework Agreement, July 25, 2000* (Ottawa, ON: Government of Canada, 2000).

SAMS	Sir Alexander Mackenzie School, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak.
SHSS	Samuel Hearne Secondary School, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak.
STC	Sahtu Tribal Council.
TGA	The Glenbow Archives, Monkinstsis.[4]
TRC	The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.

[4] Niitsitapi call Calgary Monkinstsis, which is the Siksiká word for "elbow," referring to the Elbow River. Calgary sits on the traditional territory of the Blackfoot Confederacy, which includes the Siksika, the Kainai, the Piikani, the Tsuut'ina, and the Stoney Nakoda First Nations, including Chiniki, Bearspaw, and Wesley First Nation, and the Métis Nation (Region III); it is Treaty 7 lands. (*Copy of Treaty No. 7 between Her Majesty the Queen and the Blackfeet and Other Indian Tribes, at the Blackfoot Crossing of Bow River and Fort McLeod* [Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1966]).

Gikah Gwiniidhat[1]: A Note on Region and Terminology

Aachin[2] have been interested in and perplexed by the North and Nanhkak Thak for the last half a millennium. English explorer Martin Frobisher sailed Arctic waters in 1576 in search of the mysterious Northwest Passage and others continued with this pursuit until Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen fully navigated those waters in the first quarter of the twentieth century.[3] Between Frobisher and Amundsen came a gaggle of other explorers, fur traders, missionaries, and scientists who traveled to and through the region, seeking to learn about, define, and exploit the North. The question of what constitutes 'North'[4] has been at the centre of scholarly debate and continues to hold "Western imaginations in thrall."[5] For historian Janice Cavell, the North is comprised of a series of representations and is "unquestionably the most misunderstood region of Canada."[6]

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[1] Beginning. Literal translation: gikah = beginning; gwiniidhat = it has begun (Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects). Gwich'in Language Centre (GLC) and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee', Gwich'in Language Dictionary (Fort McPherson and Tsiigehtchic dialects), 5th Ed.* (Teetl'it Zheh and Tsiigehtchic, Northwest Territories [NWT]: GLC and GSCI, March 2005), 25.
[2] Strangers. No literal translation (Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects). GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee',* 234.
[3] To sample exploration narratives, see Martin Frobisher, *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher: In Search of a Passage to Cathay and India by the Northwest, A.D. 1576-8: From the Original Text of George Best, Together with Numerous Other Versions, Additions, Etc.* (London: Argonaut Press, 1938); Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Laurence through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans In the Years 1789 and 1793 with a Preliminary Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Fur Trade of That Country* (Reprinted, Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Ltd., 1971); John Franklin, *Sir John Franklin's Journal and Correspondence: The Second Arctic Land Expedition, 1825-1827* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1998); Roald Amundsen, *Roald Amundsen: My Life as an Explorer* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company Inc., 1928).
[4] For a cross-cultural discussion of how to define 'North,' see Alice Gaby et al., "What in the World Is North? Translating Cardinal Directions across Languages, Cultures and Environments," *M/C Journal: A Journal of Media and Culture* [Online] 20, 6 (December 31, 2017).
[5] Graeme Wynn, "Foreword: The Enigmatic North," in *Hunters at the Margin: Native People and Wildlife Conservation in the Northwest Territories* by John Sandlos (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), xii; Shelagh Grant, *Polar Imperative: A History of Arctic Sovereignty in North America* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2010), 5-9.
[6] Janice Cavell, "The Second Frontier: The North in English-Canadian Historical Writing," *Canadian Historical Review* 83, 3 (September 2002), 387.

What is the 'North'? UAlberta North follows the Northern Scientific Training Program's guidelines, which state that the North is normally understood "to include those regions of Canada where there is both permafrost and ground ice"[7] in the circumpolar countries of Canada, Kalaakkit Nunaat, Ísland, Finland, Norway, Sweden,[8] Russia, and the United States. The Canadian federal government considers the 'North' as the land north of the sixtieth parallel.[9] For others, 'North' is an adjective that encompasses areas otherwise understood as the provincial norths. These definitions fail to encapsulate how Indigenous northerners might understand the North; the air, water, people, biota, spirits, and land are central to our interpretations.

Conventional western cartographic practices and government-imposed administrative districts fail to fully encapsulate this region. According to colonial policy, Nanhkak Thak was first 'owned' by the Hudson's Bay Company and later sold to the Dominion of Canada (now the Government of Canada), but Dinjii Zhuh have been the ancestors and caretakers of these lands since Ts'ii Dęįį, the earliest days of the land.[10] Dinjii Zhuh Anjòo[11] explain that the meaning of Ts'ii Dęįį is so old that its English meaning is not clearly remembered, but my bą̀ąbąą,[12]

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[7] Northern Scientific Training Program, *Information Manual 2019-2020*, unpublished document.

[8] Kalaakkit Nunaat is the Inuit term for Greenland; Ísland is known as Iceland in English. Finland, Sweden, and Norway make up Fennoscandia and Sapmì. For more on Inuit sovereignty in Greenland and Denmark, see Rudolph C. Ryser, *Indigenous Nations and Modern States: The Political Emergence of Nations Challenging State Power* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

[9] Communications Branch, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), "Words First: An Evolving Terminology Relating to Aboriginal Peoples in Canada" (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2002), 15.

[10] Michael Heine, Alestine Andre, Ingrid Kritsch, and Alma Cardinal, *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak: The History and Stories of the Gwichya Gwich'in* (Tsiigehtshik and Fort McPherson, NWT: GSCI, 2007), 7.

[11] Literal translation: Elder (Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee',* 80.

[12] Literal translation: father (Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee',* 287. Bą̀ąbąą was not my father, but my great uncle.

Hyacinthe Andre, described it as the era when people used stone and bone tools, or, as he called it, the "stone age."[13]

Aachin, theorists, and academics have attempted to understand nakhwinan[14] in different ways. Aachin often framed my home in the broader context of "frontier," something to be conquered or won. By the nineteenth century, this region was what literary scholar Mary Louise Pratt has called a contact zone: "The space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict."[15] In more recent years, nakhwinan has been re-thought as First Nations and Inuvialuit organizations and governments negotiate with the colonial government in an attempt to gain control over their lands, exercise political autonomy, and achieve socio-economic freedom.

In consultation with Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk[16] experts Bertha Allen and Agnes Mitchell, I use "Nanhkak Thak" when referring to nakhwinan. It means "the whole country around here" or more simply, "our country." Nanhkak Thak describes Dinjii Zhuh and, to some extent, Inuvialuit lands including the communities of Inuuvik, Akłarvik, Tsiigehtshik, and Teetł'it Zheh.[17] Our

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[13] Ingrid Kritsch and Alestine Andre, *Gwichya Gwich'in Place Names in the Mackenzie Delta, Gwich'in Settlement Area, N.W.T.* (Tsiigehtchic, NWT: GSCI, 1994).

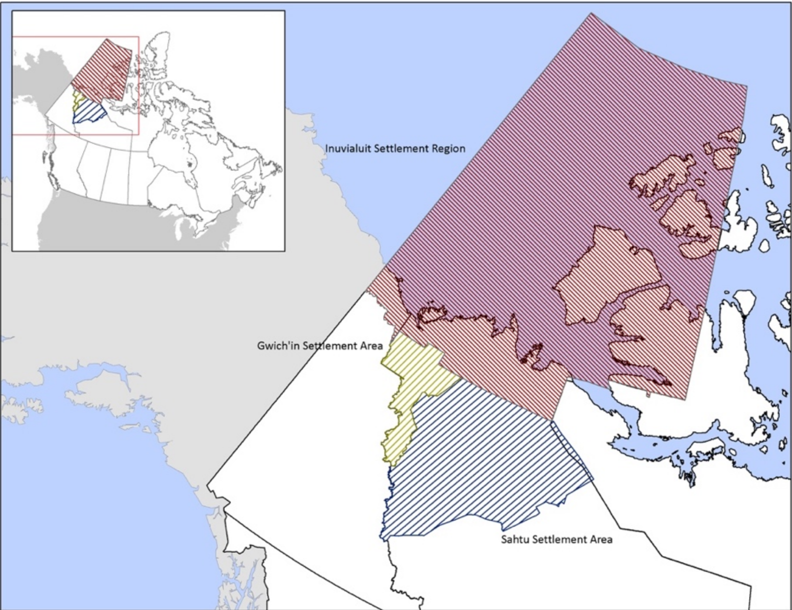
[14] Literal translation: nan = land; nakhwi = our (Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects). GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 139; Terry Norwegian-Sawyer, *Gwich'in Language Lessons: Arctic Red River Dialect (Gwichyàh Gwich'in)* (Whitehorse, Yukon: Yukon Native Language Centre, 1994), 24.

[15] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 6. See also Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale, eds*., Contact Zones: Aboriginal & Settler Women in Canada's Colonial Past* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005).

[16] Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk means "the language of the people." There are several dialects, the most prominent in Denendeh being Gwichyà and Teetł'it. There are less than 400 fluent speakers left and special efforts are now being made to preserve the language and support new speakers.

[17] In this dissertation, I use the Indigenous spellings of place names, which often differ from the 'officially' recognized names. I also include land acknowledgments in footnotes. The Government of the Northwest

Inuvialuit friends and family call this "Itkrilrit," meaning "Indian Country." I focus on the administrative area of the Inuuvik/Beaufort-Delta Region, historically called the Mackenzie District and/or Western Arctic. This part of Nanhkak Thak is also the Gwich'in Settlement Area, a block of 56,935 square kilometers and part of the larger Gwich'in Settlement Region, arising from our 1992 *Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement*.[18] Currently, the Yukon First Nations are to the west, the Inuvialuit Settlement Region to the north, and the Sahtú Settlement Area to the south.[19]



Territories (GNWT) officially recognizes this community as Aklavik, but Akłarvik is its Inuvialuktun form. It translates to "grizzly place." Inuuvik is the Inuvialuktun word for "Inuvik." It has mistakenly been translated as "the place of man" but the proper translation is "living place." Akłarvik and Inuuvik are shared Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit territory. Teetł'it Zheh, "at the head of the waters," is a Dinjii Zhuh community near the Teetł'it Gwinjik and is officially recognized as Fort McPherson. Tsiigehtshik (officially Tsiigehtchic) or "mouth of the iron river" was, for a time, called Arctic Red River and is located at the confluence of the Tsiigehnjik and Nagwichoonjik. See Gwich'in Tribal Council (GTC, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), and GNWT, *Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement* (Ottawa: INAC, 1992); INAC and the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC), *The Western Arctic Claim: Inuvialuit Final Agreement As Amended* (Inuvik, NWT: IRC, 1987).

[18] GTC, INAC, and the GNWT, *Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement*.

[19] INAC and the IRC, *The Western Arctic Claim: Inuvialuit Final Agreement*; INAC and the Sahtu Tribal Council (STC), *Sahtu Dene and Metis Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement* (Ottawa: INAC, 1993).

Figure 1. This map depicts the Gwich'in and Sahtu Settlement Areas and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in relation to Canada and the United States.[20]

Nanhkak Thak, however, was (and is) much larger for Dinjii Zhuh; we travelled extensively in what is now known as the Northwest Territories (NWT), Alaska, and the Yukon. Importantly, the boundaries of Nanhkak Thak were not determined by contemporary geopolitical borders. We partnered with families from other nations when harvesting ehvyek,[21] vàdzaih,[22] dinjik,[23] and dzhii[24] and these activities took us to the Qaaktugvik, Gwich'yaa Zhee, Ëdhä Dädhëchan, and Rádey l kóé areas.[25]

I use the Indigenous terms of Denendeh and Inuit Nunangat when discussing what is now known as the NWT and Nunavut. Before Nunavut entered Confederation in 1999; prior to that, since 1905, it had been known as the NWT. Denendeh is the Dene word for the Western Arctic of the NWT. I refer to the Western Arctic as Denendeh throughout this dissertation unless using a proper name or quoting a source. The term means "our land" in the Dene language. Similarly, I use Inuit Nunangat when referring to the Eastern Arctic or Inuvialuit/Inuit

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[20] Hą̀'į̀h to Trish Fontaine at UAlberta North who created all of the maps in this document. For reproduction permission, contact Crystal Gail Fraser.

[21] Whale (Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, Gwichyà dialect). GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 42.

[22] Caribou (Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects). GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 42.

[23] Moose (Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects). GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 158.

[24] Bird (Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects). GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 42.

[25] Kaktovik is Qaaktugvik's anglicized version and its English name is Barter Island, Alaska. This is traditional Iñupiat land. Gwich'yaa Zhee ("house on the flats") is currently known as Fort Yukon, Alaska located on Gwichyaa Zhee lands. Ëdhä Dädhëchan is Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in lands and is also known as Moosehide, which was a reserve for nearly sixty years. Dawson City is five kilometers up the Tr'ondëk. See Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, and the Government of Yukon, *The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in Final Agreement* (Ottawa: Government of Canada 1998). The official government name for Rádey l kóé, which translates to "where the rapids are," is Fort Good Hope. See INAC and the STC, *The Sahtu Dene and Metis Comprehensive Land Agreement*.

homelands, which includes the current districts of Nunavut, Nunavik, Nunatsiavut, and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region.[26]

When referring to the settler colonial state of Canada, I draw upon Agnes Mitchell's expertise and call Canada "Uunjit Nanhkak," which loosely means "down south" or "white man's country." This concept is not meant to erase or marginalize southern Indigenous nations and their sovereignty, but rather emphasizes the invasive and encroaching nature of settler colonialism. Although we have long and persisting relations with southern Indigenous nations, Dinjii Zhuh-state interactions were becoming increasingly frequent by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and brought new and unforeseen challenges, some of which are explored in this dissertation. By using Dinjii Zhuh philosophy when referring to the state, I hope that readers will become aware that land issues between our sovereign nation and the state are ongoing, despite historical treaties and modern land agreements.[27]

Where appropriate, I use Nanhkak Thak and Uunjit Nanhkak to describe these regions, unless I am directly quoting from a source or referring to a specific place or community. Wherever possible, I use local Indigenous place names, even though anglicized place names were widely used from 1955 onwards. For example, the community of Arctic Red River did not return to its original place name of Tsiigehtshik until 1994.[28] Fort McPherson is sometimes referred to as Teetł'it Zheh, but its official name continues to be the English version. I use

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[26] Inuit Nunangat makes up 35% of Canada and 50% of Canadian coastlines. For a map of Inuit Nunangat, see the map created by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami at https://www.itk.ca/inuit-nunangat-map/.
[27] Readers will note that I avoid using the phrase "land claims." Indigenous people cannot "claim" the land that has rightfully been theirs since Ts'ii Dęįį.
[28] Even so, there are debates about the correct spelling of Indigenous place names. Although the official place name changed from Arctic Red River to Tsiigehtchic, its proper Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk spelling is Tsiigehtshik (used here in this dissertation).

Indigenous place names throughout this dissertation to underscore the ongoing sovereignty of northern Indigenous nations. Where possible, I include the appropriate land acknowledgements in a footnote when the place name first appears in the dissertation.[29]

These geographic and political signifiers personally remain unsatisfactory in relation to what I consider 'home.'[30] Dinjii Zhuh have been intimately familiar with everything 'northern' since Ts'ii Dęįį, carefully navigating the land and waters during their seasonal travels. From an early age, I was trained to orient myself according to the Nagwichoonjik:[31] the direction of water flow, the best places to harvest resources, and the location of important cultural sites.[32] The terms 'North' or 'South' or even 'remote' were introduced to me later when I began regular travel south of the sixtieth parallel.[33] To question 'North' or ask, "what is the North?" is an exercise undertaken only from southern, outsider perspectives; Indigenous northern philosophers deem other questions more important.

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[29] In other words, the land acknowledgement and/or translation details for each name only appears once in the dissertation.

[30] In separate publications, geographer Julia Christiansen and historian Susan Hill eloquently capture the rewards and challenges of working on or from 'home.' See Julia Christiansen, *No Home in a Homeland: Indigenous Peoples and Homelessness in the Canadian North* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017); Susan Hill, "Conducting Haudenosaunee Historical Research From Home: In the Shadow of the Six Nations-Caledonia Reclamation," *American Indian Quarterly* 33, 4 (Fall 2009).

[31] Mackenzie River. Literal translation: Big Country River (Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects). GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 148.

[32] For more on Dinjii Zhuh ways of orientation and travelling, see Jan Peter Laurens Loovers, "Making Lobsticks: Traveling Trails with Teetł'it Gwich'in," *Sibirica: Interdisciplinary Journal of Siberian Studies* 16 (2017); Jan Peter Laurens Loovers, "'You have to live it': Pedagogy and Literacy with Teetł'it Gwich'in," PhD Dissertation (University of Aberdeen, 2010); Heine et al.; Brenda Parlee, Fikret Berks, and the Teetłit Gwich'in Renewable Resources Council, "Health of the Land, Health of the People: A Case Study on Gwich'in Berry Harvesting in Northern Canada," *EcoHealth* 2, 2 (June 2005).

[33] For a discussion on the problematic nature of the concept 'remote' see Roger Epp, "The Trouble With Remoteness," *Northern Public Affairs* 4, 3 (October 2016).

Figure 2. Above is a closer representation of the Gwich'in Settlement Area, depicting local communities, camps, and waterways.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) included Grollier and Stringer Halls in its official list of recognized "Indian Residential Schools."[34] Here, I use the TRC's terminology and call these institutions "residential schools" and "Indian Residential Schools." Readers will note, however, that historical records called them "halls," "hostels," and "student residences." The naming of these residential schools was widely debated. Understanding the poor reputation of Indian Residential Schools and Industrial Schools in other parts of Uunjit Nanhkak, federal officials wanted to rebrand the newly-opening institutions in the North. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources management persisted with its use of

[34] Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada. "Recognized Indian Residential Schools." Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2012.

"Hall" despite the Oblates of Mary Immaculate recommendation of "Home," "Residence," or "Mansion." Deputy Minister R. Gordon Robertson wrote that "hall seemed clearer, and it is a term which has a long and honorable tradition in academic institutions."[35] In 1965, the Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission suggested the names be changed to "Boarding School" since "that is the name used in all similar institutions in white society since the other names were "identified with reformatories and presented a poor image."[36] Additionally, I use the term "Indian Residential Schools," because the TRC used this capitalized, official language to describe these institutions. Periodically, I simply use "residential schools" for brevity.

The term "Aboriginal," sanctioned by the Canadian federal government in the 1982 *Constitution Act*,[37] reflects the administrative categories of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit. Indigenous Studies scholar Chris Andersen is critical of these designations and explains that their use "alienates Indigenous collective self-awareness and legitimizes state intervention into the lives of Indigenous peoples."[38] It is now common practice in Uunjit Nanhkak to use "Indigenous" when referring to first peoples of this land. Anthropologist John Bodley writes that the most acceptable definition of Indigenous is "people whose ancestors preceded the state in the territory they occupy."[39] I use "Indigenous" throughout this dissertation, unless

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[35] R. Gordon Robertson, Deputy Minister, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources to Paul Piché, Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI), Vicar Apostolic of the Mackenzie, Fort Smith, November 10, 1960, Roman Catholic Diocese of Mackenzie-Fort Smith Archives (RCDMA) McCuaig Files, Box 6 of 11; Piché to Robertson, November 22, 1960, RCDMA McCuaig Files, Box 6 of 11, File 17.
[36] J.P. Mulvihill, OMI, Secretary, Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission to Aimé Lizé, OMI, February 19, 1965, RCDMA McCuaig Files, Box 6 of 11, File 15.
[37] Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, states: (2) In this Act, "Aboriginal Peoples of Canada includes the Indian, Inuit, and Métis Peoples of Canada." Government of Canada, *The Constitution Act, 1982, La Loi constitutionnelle de 1982* (Ottawa: Canadian Government Pub. Centre, Supply and Services Canada, 1982).
[38] Chris Andersen, *Métis: Race, Recognition, and the Struggle For Indigenous Peoplehood* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), 16-17.
[39] John Bodley, *Victims of Progress, 6th ed.* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014), 4.

quoting from the historical record. I also capitalize and pluralize Indigenous peoples to acknowledge the differences between the many sovereign Indigenous nations internationally.[40]

Where possible, I refer to Indigenous peoples using their own words.[41] As one example, Dinjii Zhuh have a long history of having names imposed onto us: Indian, Kutchin, Loucheux, Quarellers, and Dindjié. The widespread use of "Gwich'in" emerged from land negotiations and, if used correctly, "Gwich'in" must always be paired with a descriptor, such as Gwichyà Gwich'in (people of the flats) or Teetł'it Gwich'in (people of the Peel River). "Gwich'in" itself means "one who dwells" or "resident of [region]." "Gwich'in" is therefore nonsensical when used on its own, so I use the more accurate descriptor Dinjii Zhuh, which literally translates to "Indigenous people" in my language. Readers will be familiar with the term "Dene," although I avoid it due to its homogenizing and political nature. For example, although Dinjii Zhuh were once a part of the political organization the Dene Nation, not all Dinjii Zhuh identify as Dene. The word "Dene" refers to "dene wá," or "the people," in the Dene language, spoken by Sahtú peoples.

Indigenous readers know that the politics of recognition run far deeper than the names that are used to describe Indigenous groups. Dene political scientist Glen Coulthard takes up sociologist Richard J.F. Day's idea of the "politics of recognition" and defines it as

> the now expansive range of recognition-based models of liberal pluralism that seek to 'reconcile' Indigenous assertions of nationhood with settler-state sovereignty via the accommodation of Indigenous identity claims in some form of renewed legal and political relationship with the Canadian state.[42]

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[40] It is now conventional to capitalize the "I" as outlined in Gregory Younging, *Elements of Indigenous Style: A Guide for Writing By and About Indigenous Peoples* (Edmonton: Brush Education Inc., 2018), 77.
[41] Michael Yellow Bird, "What We Want to Be Called: Indigenous Peoples' Perspectives on Racial and Ethnic Identity Labels," *American Indian Quarterly* 23, 2 (Spring 1999).
[42] Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition, foreword by Taiaiake Alfred* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 2014), 3. See also Richard J.F. Day, *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

In other words, Indigenous identities have been intrinsically disrupted by and entwined with the state since the nineteenth century. Competing meanings of political expression, nationhood, and sovereignty are always embedded within seemingly innocent conversations about the 'proper' names for Indigenous peoples and nations.

Additionally, there are words throughout this dissertation in Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk. Most of these words are those that I learned as a child and come naturally to me. I acknowledge that readers may be burdened by my stylistic and linguistic choices, but I list translations and sources in the footnotes for readers' convenience. Using my language, even sporadically, is a small but conscious attempt to unravel the damage that residential schooling and colonial policies have done to my family, culture, and language. It is also a way to disrupt academic hegemonic customs that seek to marginalize Indigeneity. This research is part of a growing body of scholarship by Indigenous scholars who centralize Indigenous languages in their work.[43]

[43] There are a growing number of PhD dissertations that are using Indigenous languages as methodology. Nisga'a scholar Patrick Stewart sought to write his dissertation in Nisga'a, but was denied the right to do so. Instead, he incorporated Nisga'a concepts and used unconventional punctuation and formatting. "Indigenous Architecture through Indigenous Knowledge, Dim Sagalts'apkw nisim: Together we build a village" (PhD. Diss. University of British Columbia, 2015). And there are a few theses written exclusively in Indigenous languages. See Alfred (Gopit) Metallic, "Ta'n teli'gji'tegen 'Nnu'igtug aq ta'n Goqwei Wejgu'aqamulti'qw [Reclaiming Mi'kmaq History and Politics: Living Our Responsibilities" (PhD diss., Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, 2010). The first graduate student to do so in Aotearoa was Poia Rewi: "Te Ao o te Whaikōrero" (PhD Diss., University of Otago, 2005). Many other Māori and Hawaiian PhD students have done so.

Ihłak.[1] Gahtr'iheedandaii Geenjit[2]: "Well after all, they're trying to assimilate us to be white Canadians."[3] Indigenous Children at Inuuvik's Grollier and Stringer Halls, 1959 to 1996

Shoorzri' Crystal Gail Fraser vàazhii. Shiyughwan kat da' Juliet Mary Bullock shahanh t'iinch'uu ts'at Bruce Fraser shityè' t'iinch'uu. Guuyeets'i'dechuu. Ts'at Marka Andre shitsuu t'iinch'uu ts'at Richard Bullock shitsii t'iinch'uu. Inuuvik ts'at Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik gwits'at Gwichyà Gwich'in iłhii.[4]

On a warm summer day in August 1967, the ten Bullock children scampered down the sandy embankment just in time to watch their mother (and my dìdųų[5]), Marka, paddle into the sheltered cove of Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik.[6] Marka,[7] having just checked her nets on the unpredictable Nagwichoonjik, signaled to her children that the boat was packed with łuk zheii.[8] The children beamed with excitement. Fresh łuk zheii

[1] One. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects), Gwich'in Language Centre (GLC) and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee': Gwich'in Language Dictionary (Fort McPherson and Tsiigehtchic dialects), 5th Ed.* (Teetl'it Zheh & Tsiigehtchic: GLC and GSCI, March 2005), 171.

[2] Introduction. Literal translation: "for people to know." Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Agnes Mitchell and Crystal Gail Fraser.

[3] Sarah (nilìh ch'uu Tetlichi) Jerome, interviewed with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 15 July 2013.

[4] Keeping with Dinjii Zhuh introduction customs, I explain my family relations and connections to the land. My name is Crystal Gail Fraser. I am the daughter of Juliet Mary Bullock and Bruce Fraser. My grandmother was Marka Andre and my grandfather was Richard Bullock. I am Gwichyà Gwich'in, from Inuuvik and Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik.

[5] My grandmother (either maternal or paternal). Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 283.

[6] Tree River. Literal translation: "big wood river." See Gwich'in Tribal Council (GTC), Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), and the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT), *Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement* (Ottawa: INAC, 1992). For information, consult with the Bullock and Andre families and see Alestine Andre, "Tree River/Devlan Oral History Project," GSCI, 31 January 2003.

[7] For more information about Marka Bullock, see Bullock "Draft Story for the Gwich'in Elders Biographies Book," unpublished interview recorded and transcribed by Leslie McCartney, GSCI, 2010; GSCI, "Marka (Andre) Bullock Calendar Biography" (Fort McPherson, Northwest Territories [NWT]: GSCI, 2001).

[8] Whitefish. Literal translation: łuk = fish; zheii = fresh, Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 268.

meant that their bellies would soon be full of charred its'igoghoo[9] and their remaining summer days would be filled with the Dinjii Zhuh tradition of drying and smoking their winter reserves under the arctic sun. Even more exciting, particularly for the younger ones – such as my mother Juliet and her twin Winnie – was the łuk gyų̀ų[10] that they would use for their art projects.

The thought of imminent travel back down to Inuuvik, however, dampened the children's enthusiasm. Soon, this family would pack their belongings, climb aboard a chartered floatplane, and follow the Nagwichoonjik to Inuuvik and 'settle' back into their "512"[11] shack and their school routines. Two generations earlier, Gwichyà Gwich'in families had followed familiar and well-seasoned travel routes. After months of fishing and crafting/repairing clothing and equipment, the advent of golden leaves and crisp mornings had marked their travel up the Tsiigehnjik[12] into the mountains or to one of the camps near Khaii Luk.[13] Julienne The'dahcha and Jean Tsell, Marka's parents, had raised their children according to their own customs, which were a blend of Vun Tut and

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[9] Fish stomach. Literal translation: its'ik = guts; goghoo = round. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 94.

[10] Fish scales. Literal translation: łuk = fish; gyų̀ų = scales. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 93.

[11] Homes that were 512 square feet were provided to Indigenous northerners through an early federal government housing program when families were forced to move into town to receive the "Baby Bonus," also known as Family Allowance.

[12] Arctic Red River. Literal translation: "Iron River"; tsii = cache; geh = there; njik = river. This waterway which sits next to the community of Tsiigehtshik. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 14; www.atlas.gwichin.ca.

[13] Travaillant Lake. Literal translation: "winter-fish"; khaii = winter; luk = fish. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 252; www.atlas.gwichin.ca. For more on Khaii luk, see Alestine Andre and Ingrid Kritsch, "The Traditional Uses of the Travaillant Lake Area Using Trails and Place Names of the Gwichya Gwich'in From Arctic Red River, N.W.T., Final Report," GSCI, August 15, 1992. For fall and winter travel, see Chapters 6 and 7 ("Going Up the Red" and "Travelling in the Mountains," respectively) in Michael Heine, Alestine Andre, Ingrid Kritsch, and Alma Cardinal, *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak: The History and Stories of the Gwichya Gwich'in* (Tsiigehtshik and Fort McPherson, NWT: GSCI, 2007), 69-90.

Gwichyà Gwich'in practices.[14] But like many other Nanhkak Thak families, Julienne and Jean were unable to protect their children from attending residential schooling first in Zhati Kų́ę́ and later in Akłarvik.[15]

Marka resided at the Immaculate Conception Indian Residential School in Akłarvik for two long years, where she was responsible for emptying the spittoon daily, causing her frequent illness. In a 2010 interview, Marka recalled that the Immaculate Conception administrator and Oblate Father "sent word to my parents to tell them that I was sick too often from being lonely and that they were to come and get me. So, they came and took me home. From that time on I stayed with my mother."[16] Not all children returned home. Marka's older sister, Angele, attended the Sacred Heart Indian Residential School in Zhati Kų́ę́[17] and perished for reasons that, to this day, remain unknown.[18]

Through land-based lessons at Dachan Choo Gęhnjik, Marka taught her ten children to be strong, sovereign Gwichyà Gwich'in. The Bullock children were not required to leave their families and ancestral homelands, but they were living through

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[14] M. Bullock, "Draft Story for the Gwich'in Elders Biographies Book," 3. According to GSCI genealogy research, Julienne The'dahcha (translated into English as "Feather Carrier" and listed as Ntadettcha in missionary records) and Jean Tsell were also known as Julienne Andre or Jerome and John Tsal. Kristi Benson, GSCI, email correspondence, April 17, 2018. For more on Julienne The'dahcha, see Heine et. al., "Life Histories: The Elders of Tsiigehtshik," and "Life on the Land Around 1900: Julienne Andre," in *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, 246, 261-284; National Energy Board (NEB), Canada, "Mrs. Julienne Andre," in *Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, Arctic Red River, N.W.T., March 13, 1976, Vol. 47* (Ottawa: NEB, 1976), 4530-4534.

[15] Heine et al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, 212-213.

[16] M. Bullock, "Draft Story for the Gwich'in Elders Biographies Book," 4.

[17] The Deh Gáh Got'îê and Métis peoples are Indigenous to Zhahti Kų́ę́ (Fort Providence). See *Treaty No. 11 (June 27, 1921) and Adhesion (July 17, 1922) with Reports, etc.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1957); The Deh Cho First Nations, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), and the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT), *The Dehcho First Nations Framework Agreement* (Ottawa: DIAND, 2001).

[18] Juliet Bullock, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 7 April 2014.

an era of unprecedented social, political, and economic change and Indigenous children who lived in this region during the twentieth century – particularly the second half of the twentieth century – were increasingly institutionalized and subjected to state-imposed schooling. The Bullock children were required to attend federal day schooling and some were also institutionalized in Grollier Hall, the largest Roman Catholic student residence in the North and possibly Canada.[19]

Over the course of a century, Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit children went from being educated by their families on their ancestral lands to being schooled at distant church-operated Indian Residential Schools from 1867 to 1926, then at the nearby residential schools in Akłarvik from 1926 to 1959, and then finally at government-owned, church-operated residential schools while they attended day schooling in Inuuvik from 1959 to 1996. This dissertation examines the experiences of children who were engaged in the residential and day schooling system, looking specifically at their daily activities, routines, curricula, imposed gender norms, and sport and recreation. It also examines the role that Indigenous parents played as caregivers, advocates, and activists in relation to the state-imposed educational system. Despite nearly seventy-five years of residential schooling and institutionalization, Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit cultures, kin networks, and economies remained largely intact, providing Indigenous peoples of this region with the ability to test and contest state policies around schooling.

[19] The Bullock family was Roman Catholic, in part due to their familial roots and previous residency in and around Tsiigehtshik. The majority of Dinjii Zhuh families of Nanhkak Thak, however, were Protestant.

Figure 3. Above, Gwichyà Gwich'in photographer James Jerome[20] captures the Bullock family in 1978 working at their fish camp, Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik. By this time, Dinjii Zhuh families had a history of adopting various Uunjit Nanhkak cultural items (note the 'modern' clothing). Gauging from the łuk dagąįį[21] drying on the łuk drah,[22] this was late August or early September. The Bullock family would soon be packing up their camp and returning to Inuuvik so the children could attend day schooling and some would reside at the residential school. Archival Caption: Untitled. "A group of people work around a table at the Bullock/Andre fish camp at Tree River. From left to right: Freddy Jerome carries a pail and kettle, Marka Bullock (turned) cuts fish, Evelyn Bullock (seated) cuts fish, Louisa Andre (seated), Cecil Andre leans against a scythe, Grace Bullock stands watching, Julienne Andre sits under a shaded tripod. At right is a drying stage hung with dryfish and a building, likely a smokehouse." [23]

[20] James Jerome was an accomplished Dinjii Zhuh journalist, artist, and photographer who travelled the North extensively. For more on Jerome, see Paul Seesequasis, "Traditional Ways," in *Canadian Geographic Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada: First Nations* (Ottawa, ON: The Royal Canadian Geographical Society, 2018), 44-45.

[21] Whitefish. Literal translation: łuk = fish; dagąįį = white. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 269.

[22] Fish stage. Literal translation: łuk = fish; drąh. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 228.

[23] Untitled image, July 1978, NWT Archives (NWTA), James Jerome fonds, accession number N-1987-017, item no. 0541. Although Jerome captured this image in 1978, little had changed at Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik itself over the past decade. A pictorial representation from 1967 would have been remarkably similar.

My own learning, and the basis for this research, started in 1980, when I was born in Taa'an Kwächän and Kwanlin Dün territory.[24] After a brief residence in Whitehorse, my blended family of Gwichyà Gwich'in and Scottish-Canadian ancestry moved to Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak. As a young child, life in Inuuvik was perfect and uncomplicated. I cherished northern summers at Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik where I picked jak,[25] hauled łuk dagaįį, and played with my ever-growing number of cousins while absorbing the teachings of my dìdųų. The adults told us kids scary bear stories, though these did not deter us from wandering in search of jak and pussy willows. Besides, dìdųų was an expert markswoman. My Shoo'įį[26] Sam tells the story of how dìdųų heard a strange noise late one evening, took aim, and fired a shot out her front door. The next morning, she discovered a black bear, some thirty-feet down the path, with a bullet square between its eyes. Being the eldest grandchild, I always felt that my time at Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik was my time with dìdųų. Over the years, the number of my cousins grew but the connection I had with dìdųų during the summers only strengthened. She taught me about our innate connection to the land, how fishing guides our sovereignty, and the value of being a strong tr'iinj o.[27]

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[24] Taa'an Kwächän is the capital of the Yukon, Whitehorse. It is on Kwanlin Dün territory. See Ta'an Kwäch'än Council, the Government of the Yukon (GY), and DIAND, *Ta'an Kwach'an Council Final Agreement of Canada and Ta'an Kwach'an Council and the Government of Yukon* (Ottawa: DIAND, 2002); Kwanlin Dun First Nation, DIAND, and the GY, *Kwanlin Dun First Nation Self-Government Agreement Among the Government of Canada, the Kwanlin Dun First Nation and the Government of Yukon* (Ottawa: DIAND, 2004).
[25] Berries. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 25.
[26] My mother's older brother. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 284.
[27] Woman. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects). GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 272.

Figure 4. Crystal Gail Fraser at Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik, circa 1985. Under the direction of her dìdų̀ų, Marka Bullock, Crystal carefully places łuk dagąįį strips on poles so they can dry in the sun.[28] Fish strips continue to be a staple in Dinjii Zhuh diets.

I did not often see my dìdų̀ų during the winters in Inuuvik. She and her friends were often preoccupied with town activities. My father travelled all over the North with his job in mechanics so during the winters, it was my mom and me. My mother, Juliet, was born in 1959 and was supposed to be among the last babies born at the Immaculate Conception Mission Hospital in Akłarvik. She and her twin Winnie were dìdų̀ų's fifth and sixth children. Dìdų̀ų and her ten children spent their time in Inuuvik and at Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik, and, sometimes, in Tsiigehtshik. My grandfather Richard (or "Dick") Bullock's family had emigrated from Albion[29] to Tkaronto shortly before he was born in 1923. He was the first formal day school teacher to be hired by the federal government in Tsiigehtshik, where he met Marka who worked there as a part-time laundress.

[28] Photo credit: Juliet Bullock, circa 1985. Retrieved from the author's personal photographic collection.
[29] Albion is the original Brythonic Indigenous name for the island of Great Britain, on which nations of England and Scotland are now located. Hai' to Jesse Thistle for sharing this information. My grandfather's family was from England.

Figure 5. Dìdųų and Grandpa stand outside the new school in Tsiigehtshik in 1949. This school is still standing and is located behind the community gym, next to the lake. Archival Caption: 5 x 12 School. [Dick Bullock, the teacher, and his wife outside the school house. People left to right: Marka and Dick Bullock. Arctic Red River 1949.][30]

Grandpa Dick later worked in radio and signals and air traffic control in Inuuvik. He had a beautiful garden at Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik every summer, filled with the biggest heads of cabbage I have ever seen. As a child, I knew my family was complicated and suspected that something was off – I later learned this was the intergenerational trauma of residential schooling and colonial policies. I also had a number of friends who lived at Grollier Hall, Inuuvik's Roman Catholic student residence, or were placed in group homes during their childhoods. I was happy to be with my family.

Most mornings, my mother and I walked to and from my school, Sir Alexander Mackenzie School (SAMS), in the dark, crisp air under a blanket of stars. Occasionally, I was so bundled and toasty that I collapsed in a snow bank and attempted to convince my mother to let me sleep instead of carrying on to school. I was a typical northern

[30] NWTA Nap Norbert fonds, acc. no. N-1988-007, item no. 0026.

Dinjii Zhuh kid, really. Zipping around town on skidoos, learning how to bead, cleverly scoffing at the children who accepted the challenge of placing their tongue on the frozen flagpole, and trying to determine the most effective way to wear a dress and bulky ski pants. I always wore my kaiichun,[31] even at school, and often dreamt of those summer days of making łuk gyùu[32] art and picking jak at Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik.

This was the North I knew. Or the North I thought I knew, anyway.

For as long as I can remember, since I was perhaps four or five years old, I had all sorts of questions about my social landscape. Why was my school named after Alexander Mackenzie?[33] Who was he, anyway?[34] Why did I see so many 'special' people coming to my community: prime ministers, British royalty, and musicians and performers such as Fred Penner, Anne Murray, and even Metallica? What did it mean to be "Gwich'in"? I have been asking myself these questions for over three decades, although I occasionally misplaced them as I grew older and pursued other interests. But my memories of Inuuvik and Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik and who I am as a Dinjii Zhuh tr'iinj o are always present. Who else could truthfully say, "I met and had lunch with the

[31] Moccasins. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Mitchell.
[32] Fish scales. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 93.
[33] For federal policy on the naming of northern schools, see Bent G. Sivertz, Director, Northern Administration Branch (NAB), Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR) to Paul Piché, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Vicar Apostolic of the Mackenzie, May 27, 1960, Roman Catholic Dioceses of Mackenzie-Fort Smith Archives McCuaig Files, Box 6 of 11, File 17.
[34] This question, in part, inspired my MA research. See Crystal Gail Fraser, "Cultural Perplexities: Non-Aboriginal Representations of Dene Women In the Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" (MA Thesis, University of Victoria, 2010).

Queen and Prince Phillip. The Queen was not at all what I imagined. She had lipstick all over her teeth!"[35] That's what northern kids do, isn't it?

This dissertation has nurtured me in so many ways. It has brought me closer to my family, my community, and my culture. Reflecting upon and analyzing oral histories, finding my relatives in the archives, and giving community presentations in Nanhkak Thak are among the many highlights. But this research has also etched pain onto my spirit. Witnessing the ongoing trauma of former students, the persisting effects of colonialism on northern Indigenous cultures, and the growing political divisions within our Nation have left me with more questions than answers. Our future, however, is bright. Our Dinjii Zhuh Anj o remind us of "yi'eenoodài' yeendoo gwizhit gwitèe'ah," which translates to "long ago will be in the future."[36] The trauma of colonialism, dispossession, and residential schools will soon be displaced for Indigenous northerners and very soon, we will return to our Long Ago Days – a time which presented many challenges, but also much happiness and prosperity.[37]

Argument and Objective

Before we return to yi'eenoodài' yeendoo gwizhit gwitèe'ah, it is important to understand the tragedy of residential schooling, day schooling, and institutionalization in the North. Prior to the Second World War, Indigenous nations had remained comparatively untouched by colonialism, but Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit families had

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[35] Queen Elizabeth II and the Duke of Edinburgh visited Sǫǫ̀mbak'è as part of their Royal Tour in August 1994.

[36] Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Teetł'it dialect), translation provided by the GTC.

[37] I have written about "yi'eenoodài' yeendoo gwizhit gwitèe'ah" elsewhere. See Crystal Gail Fraser, "Long Ago Will Be in the Future: Interruptus, Residential Schools, and Gwich'in Continuities," *Northern Public Affairs* 4, 1 (February 2016).

grappled with a declining fur trade industry, epidemics, and new cultural changes spurred on by the arrival of missionaries, whalers, Uunjit trappers, Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers, and Indian Agents. After 1945, federal bureaucrats and politicians became increasingly aware that the North and its residents had been neglected over the previous eighty-five years since the federal purchase of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1870.[38] Although Indigenous cultures and economies have long been a source of curiosity and excitement among newcomers, there was very little enthusiasm to allow Indigenous lifestyles to flourish and policies were eventually enacted and enforced that actively sought to destroy Indigenous ways of life.

An emerging government agenda introduced a new generation of Indigenous northerners to Uunjit Nanhkak cultural and socio-economic practices in an attempt to integrate them into broader Uunjit Nanhkak society. This was, in part, achieved through the establishment of new federal day schools and residential institutions, the implementation of new education policies, and the enforcement of an Uunjit Nanhkak curricula that perceived Indigenous peoples and their cultures as subordinate to Uunjit Nanhkak lifestyles. Grollier and Stringer Halls were constructed in the new government town of Inuuvik in 1959. They were massive residential schools, each with an official capacity of 250 children and designed to assimilate Indigenous northern children into broader Euro-Canadian society and economies.

[38] In 1670, the British Crown transferred Rupert's Land to the Hudson's Bay Company, although many Indigenous nations had ancestral connections to this vast mass of land. Three years after the British North America Act was passed, the Canadian government purchased Rupert's Land for $1.5 million, a process that was delayed by events in Red River.

In this dissertation, I argue that Indigenous children who were institutionalized at Inuuvik’s residential institutions, Grollier and Stringer Halls, between 1959 and 1996 were embedded within a colonial framework that sought to eliminate their cultures, sever important familial networks, and remove them from socio-economic practices that had defined their nations for millennia. There is a wide breadth of historical literature that examines other factors that undoubtedly shaped the ways in which we understand the North. Teetł’it Gwich’in Anj o and scholar Mary Effie Snowshoe summarizes other important influences in the North since the arrival of aachin.

Figure 6. Mary Effie Snowshoe’s diagram depicts the ways in which colonization has negatively affected Dinjii Zhuh lifestyles since the arrival of Christian missionaries in the 1860s. Presented at the Gwich’in Tribal Council’s Language Conference in Teetł’it Zheh in October 2018, Snowshoe used this image to explain the loss of our language and how contemporary challenges continue to ensure that Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik is marginalized.

Nevertheless, Dinjii Zhuh, Inuvialuit, Métis, Inuit, Sahtú, Dënesųłı̨ne, and, Tłı̨chǫ children who resided at these residential schools played a significant role in disrupting newly articulated state agendas that sought to assimilate them into Uunjit Nanhkak society. While this dissertation touches briefly on the history of education and the rise of the government schooling system in Nanhkak Thak, its main focus is on the lives of residential school children over thirty-seven years beginning in 1959 – when the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources opened these 'modern' federally-owned, church-managed residential institutions – through to the closure of Grollier Hall in 1996 by the territorial government's Department of Education.

The parents, families, and communities of these institutionalized children cannot be excluded from any meaningful analysis of the impact of these two residential schools. Throughout the twentieth century, Indigenous parents proved themselves to be reliable and vigilant advocates for their children on issues surrounding schooling, but this intensified by the 1960s and 1970s when former residential school students increasingly entered northern political spheres. Indigenous families and children especially were forced to grapple with new regulations around schooling that were simultaneously designed to dismantle kin networks and shuffle people away from their territories and into 'organized' communities. I argue that both children and their parents responded to the system in sophisticated ways and enjoyed a surprising degree of success embedded in the larger project of transforming the North into a region that better reflected Uunjit Nanhkak 'values' and economies.

Canadian historians have emphasized austere conditions and poor, often criminal, treatment of Indigenous children at federal Indian Residential Schools in Uunjit Nanhkak. Inuuvik's residential schools are a part of this shared national history, but the events that unfolded in Nanhkak Thak present a unique case study that has overwhelmingly escaped the attention of most historians. There were several characteristics that demarcated the new, 'modern' Indian Residential Schools in the North from those in the South. First, Grollier and Stringer Halls opened in 1959, eleven years after a special joint committee of the House of Commons and the Senate recommended that all residential schools be closed. In partnership with the Northwest Territories (NWT) Council, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, and the Missionary Society of the Church of England, the federal government conceptualized and finalized these northern residential institutions as their counterparts in Uunjit Nanhkak closed. Southern Indigenous students were ushered into provincial day schools, signifying a shift from assimilation to integration.[39]

Second, church and government employees supported and enacted policies that removed Indigenous youngsters from their families and lands. Although it was typical for Indigenous students in the south to be institutionalized at a nearby residential school, northern children sometimes travelled extraordinarily long distances. The geographic scope and subsequent cultural influences of Inuuvik's residential and day schools, Grollier and Stringer Halls and SAMS and Samuel Hearne Secondary School (SHSS), were

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[39] John Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986, 2nd ed*. with a foreword by Mary Jane McCallum (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017), 189.

vast. Children travelled thousands of kilometers, from all corners of the Arctic, and from as far away as Labrador, Nunatsiavut.[40] This was burdensome, especially for Inuit children from Inuit Nunangat, as travel home during Christmas and Easter breaks was impossible and summer sojourns were difficult and short-lived. The extended time that children spent away from their families was devastating to the learning and speaking of Indigenous languages, particularly during the 1950s and 1960s before the federal government expanded its day schooling programs and constructed "small hostels"[41] across the North.

Third, given the various construction projects that were underway and the influx of Canadian settlers, Grollier and Stringer Halls were designed to 'accommodate' both Indigenous and non-Indigenous children. Although a mere two percent of available beds were reserved for Uunjit children, assimilative policies were inevitably diluted because of their presence and influence of their parents. This was an informed choice for Uunjit families to place their children in residential schools, usually while they were away for work, but even then, these placements were rare.[42] Very few Uunjit children were in residence but those who were served as 'enlightened' role models to Indigenous students. This, however, proved to be paradoxical. Although Uunjit children, by

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[40] See map depicting student travel on page 211.

[41] Although "small cottage hostels" were slowly opening alongside day schools in small communities, there was often not enough space to accommodate students, so they were sent to Grollier and Stringer Halls anyway. Additionally, many local day schools only offered primary grades (at some schools, the highest grade was grade three) and most Indigenous children found themselves in Inuuvik for middle and secondary education.

[42] When looking for schooling options for their children, Uunjit families more commonly chose to homeschool their child, enroll them in Alberta correspondence (with all expenses paid for by the federal and territorial governments), or seek private boarding in Inuuvik (a maximum of $4/day paid for by governments). William Gordon Devitt, Assistant Director, Department of Education (DOE) to XXXX, Horn River, July 30, 1974, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 4-2; Devitt to XXXX, Warren, Michigan, October 16, 1974, NWTA DOE fonds, NWTA acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 4-2.

proximity, taught Indigenous children how to be less Indigenous, the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches, along with the federal and territorial governments, were accountable to these Uunjit families and cautious about institutional reputations, meaning that these children were treated better, at least publicly.

Finally, this study examines the final days of the residential school system, which extended into the last decade of the twentieth century. Grollier Hall was among the last of the institutions to officially close in 1996, yet historians fail to acknowledge the duration of this system and tend to historicize the 'schooling problem,' even as they were writing in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, when Indian Residential Schools continued to operate. By investigating how Indigenous northerners responded to and, at times, shaped the schooling system in Inuuvik between 1959 and 1996, a new analytical framework emerges. Although Indigenous northerners were not always successful in their pursuits, this era was characterized by the formation of both territorial and national Indigenous organizations. These included, for example, the National Indian Brotherhood, the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories, the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement, and the Métis National Council. The impetus of these organizations along with an increasing number of prominent Indigenous voices initiating conversations about schooling led to remarkable changes in day and residential school operations and policy. While parents, politicians, and communities worked to reform the system, children at Grollier and Stringer Halls

grappled with the “carcerality of everyday life,”[43] seeking to interrupt, reorder, and master shifting power relations.

There were many differences that characterized northern schools compared to those in the South but approaches to schooling remained underpinned by nineteenth-century racialized discourses. Although the schooling project in Inuuvik hinged on “ethnic integration” – a plan devised by federal Northern Affairs Minister Jean Lesage[44] – the primary goal was to remove Indigenous peoples from their ancestral lands and eradicate their cultures, economies, and sovereignty. Children were targets of this dual system of residential institutionalization and day schooling, a project that was underpinned by nineteenth-century racial discourses that framed Indigenous peoples as ‘backwards’ and ‘uncivilized.’ As federal officials and politicians intensified their gaze North, state schooling was directly tethered to state expansion.

The federal government’s announcement of what historian John Milloy called a “new and comprehensive educational strategy,”[45] under the leadership of Northern Affairs Minister Jean Lesage and Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, was characterized by an intense campaign to extend the power and reach of the Canadian nation state through schooling-related projects. This dissertation focuses on the histories of Indigenous northerners and the emergence and growth of an oppressive and colonial residential schooling system.

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[43] Indigenous Studies scholar Sarah Hunt uses the phrase, the “carcereality of everyday life.” Hunt, “Commentary by Sarah Hunt, Red Skin White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition Book Review Forum,” *The AAG Review of Books* 4, 2, 113.
[44] This was the same Jean Lesage who went on to become premier of Québec from 1960 to 1966.
[45] Milloy, *A National Crime*, 242-243.

Despite being subjected to carceral conditions and being socialized for full immersion into Uunjit Nanhkak society, children responded tenaciously, sometimes refusing to acquiesce fully to state and church policies and at other times willfully incorporating elements as they saw fit. Some students, despite unsavory residential school conditions and imposed teachings that invaded nearly all aspects of their lives, blossomed in their new environments and were tremendously successful in academics and extra-curricular ventures. These children understood their residency in Inuuvik as a means to obtain a Euro-Canadian education, travel nationally and internationally, establish vast and life-long social networks, and, ironically, spend time on the land. Indeed, some subverted the system, but the majority of residential school students found pockets in their regimented and regulated lives in which they exercised gentle defiance.

Some adapted to and tolerated day and residential schools but remained skeptical of the system and responded in ways that allowed them a degree of control over their lives. Although these children did not always have full autonomy, this does not mean that they did not have a great deal of individuality. Although they navigated the system and found pockets of resistance, the overall intent of their institutionalization was not unbeknownst to them. As former residential school student and survivor Sarah Jerome noted in an interview, "they're trying to assimilate us to be white Canadians."[46]

[46] Jerome, interview with Fraser.

Others experienced an unimaginable burden of violence and tragedy while at Grollier and Stringer Halls. One element of the broader colonial blueprint was designed to dismantle Indigeneity at its foundation, and, hampered by the realities of life at residential institutions, the children who were viciously torn from their families and cultures suffered the most. In the pages that follow, I explore the tensions that emerged among Inuuvik's residential school student body and grapple with the ways that Indigenous children interacted with, sometimes conformed to, and contested imposed Uunjit Nanhkak philosophies and networks of power.

For approximately seven hours per day, Grollier and Stringer Hall children attended the local day school with the 'Town Kids,' a mix of Uunjit and Indigenous children whose families resided locally. English-speaking students who had previous schooling experience were placed in age/grade-appropriate classes and instructed in Alberta curricula. Indigenous language-speaking children, however, were placed in Remedial Classes with peers of various ages. School administrators deemed older students who had previously avoided residential schooling (and there were many) as "age/grade retarded" and placed them into primary grade classrooms with children who were sometimes fifteen years their junior, creating a toxic and power-imbued classroom dynamic. One chapter in this dissertation investigates the inner workings of SAMS and SHSS, but the majority of my analysis is focused on where the children spent most of their time: at Grollier and Stringer Halls.

Analyzing and encapsulating the life experiences of these residential school students, this dissertation seeks to expand on children's experiences while

institutionalized when receiving an education. This dissertation includes childhood histories on the playground, at day schools, and in Inuuvik more broadly. I examine imposed residential school curricula that invaded all corners of student life, which created networks of power among the student body and instilled Uunjit Nanhkak notions of gender, morality, and sexuality. Here, I uncover the various tactics used by Grollier and Stringer Hall students in responding to these invasive policies.

My analytical thrust is squarely focused on the day and residential schooling system as it emerged in the new 'urban' centre of Inuuvik. Federally-owned schooling structures included the day schools of SAMS and SHSS and the Roman Catholic- and Anglican-operated residential schools, Grollier and Stringer Halls, respectively. Although a study of schooling in Inuuvik reflects a microhistorical approach, the broader implications of this research shed light on the history of Indigenous-state relations in the North. I suggest that macrohistorical conclusions can be made, even when studying a place with a comparatively small population in what some consider a 'remote' location.

Although I focus on student experiences at Inuuvik's residential institutions, it is important to understand the creators and agents of this system and how governing structures were organized. Indeed, a fault of schooling in the North was the haphazard and chaotic nature of the system, which ultimately affected the policies that governed children. A glut of agencies managed northern schooling over several decades: the federal Departments of the Interior (DOI), Mines and Resources (DMR), Resources and Development (DRD), Citizenship and Immigration (DCI), Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR), and Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). In 1965, the

DNANR devolved powers over schooling in the Western Arctic to the territorial government's Department of Education (DOE).

Although the keepers of the system changed in 1965, approaches to schooling remained static. The DOE continued to construct Indigenous northerners as 'Others' and attempted to exclude their voices from important decisions, despite Indigenous peoples comprising the majority of the population. Instead, government agents focused on accomplishing antiquated state-driven goals, although they intermittently but inconsistently acknowledged the value of Indigenous lifestyles and beliefs. The belief that Indigenous peoples were inherently inferior underpinned federal and territorial approaches to schooling until at least 1982, when the Government of the NWT published a comprehensive plan for educational reform, *Learning: Tradition & Change in the Northwest Territories*.[47] This dissertation argues that residential school children and their parents were actively engaging with, acquiescing to, and resisting emerging state policies in the North.

As the federal schooling programs in the North burgeoned, so too did Indigenous involvement. While Educational Studies scholars Heather McGregor and Wyn Millar claimed that there was minimal parental involvement in northern schooling governance until the 1980s, pointing to language and cultural differences as the central culprits of Indigenous alienation,[48] this dissertation offers a different point of view. My analysis begins with Inuuvik's inaugural year in 1959 and demonstrates how Dinjii Zhuh,

[47] GNWT, *Learning: Tradition & Change in the Northwest Territories* (Yellowknife, NWT: Special Committee on Education, Legislative Assembly, 1982).
[48] Heather E. McGregor and W.P.J. Millar, "Introduction: The Territories in the History of Education in Canada: Where Are We Going? (and Why?)," *Historical Studies in Education, Special Issue: Education North of 60* 27, 1 (Spring 2015), 9.

Inuvialuit, Métis, Inuit, Sahtú, Dënesųłįne, and, Tłįchǫ children and their families grappled with an expanding and pervasive schooling system in Nanhkak Thak until 1996.

During this time period, Indigenous families were presented with new challenges that allowed them both to pose new questions about government schooling and institutionalization and to intervene into the existing dialogues at the local, territorial, and federal levels.[49] Indigenous families recognized that the implementation of day schools and residential institutions was fraught with tension since Nanhkak Thak remained largely 'undeveloped' from a capitalist point of view. Harnessing these insights, families sought to create an anti-colonial, customized Indigenous schooling system for their children that had the potential to disrupt hegemonic Uunjit Nanhkak practices around schooling for Indigenous children in Denendeh and Inuit Nunangat.

Indigenous families living in Nanhkak Thak believed that their children could be educated according to Uunjit Nanhkak standards, but they also asked how new forms of schooling could exist alongside rich, healthy, and persisting Indigenous practices. When these state-controlled and church-operated institutions sought not only to oppress but also dismantle Indigenous cultures and practices, parents and their children actively challenged this system and reshaped their tenuous relationship with the state. There were many opportunities for students to resist and their responses were at times carefully calculated and at other times spontaneous. Their parents also understood the implications of their children residing at Grollier and Stringer Halls and their attendance at day schools while demonstrating their awareness that their complicity within the

[49] GNWT, *Learning*.

system did not equate to unqualified approval. They proved remarkably successful in their capacity to transform, to greater and lesser degrees, emerging state structures and policies around schooling.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, voices of local Dinjii Zhuh, Métis, and Inuvialuit people were prominent in responding to a changing educational structure. Indigenous critics participated in local dialogue and engaged in vigorous debates, allowing them more influence over these issues than Indigenous peoples in other regions and eras. Although Indigenous northerners had always thought critically and been outspoken about schooling, my research demonstrates that by the early 1980s, Indigenous children and their parents wielded an increasing amount of power in their ability to shape local schooling conditions and policies. Northerners in Nanhkak Thak had a long history of political expertise and intervened in these conversations, which allowed them a degree of influence over educational policies and the opportunity to reassert their Indigenous sovereignty, their connection to place, and power of self-determination over their futures.[50] This is the central argument of this dissertation.

Methodology

At a 2016 Canadian Historical Association conference panel, Indigenous historian Winona Wheeler argued that "we need to be doing research that matters."[51] This dissertation was crafted from the belief that the best research projects are those that

[50] James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).
[51] Winona Wheeler, remarks on the panel "Historical Scholarship and Teaching in Canada after the TRC [Truth and Reconciliation Commission]" (Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, University of Calgary, May 30 to June 1, 2016).

come from the heart, are deeply personal, and are committed to upholding the sovereignty of Indigenous peoples. My methodology weaves together the desires of community, ethical approaches to archival documents, and rigorous analytical approaches to oral histories. Indigenous Studies scholars Jeff Corntassel and Adam Gaudry suggested that "responsible research implies deeper collaborations that take place at the community level, undertaken for the benefit of the community."[52]

People in Inuuvik, Tsiigehtshik, Teetł'it Zheh, and Akłarvik greatly contributed to how I framed my research question and the interviewing process, often through phone calls, community meetings, radio call-in shows, and social media posts and messages. Rather than producing a dissertation *on* the history of Indigenous peoples, I sought to produce research *with* Indigenous peoples. As such, my research topic significantly shifted after early community consultations, from an interest in the history of marriage, childrearing, and intimacy among Dinjii Zhuh to the history of residential schooling in Nanhkak Thak.[53] Navigating local politics can be a daunting task, but I welcomed it as an opportunity to engage with northerners. Furthermore, there was much to learn about the research licensing process though the Aurora Research Institute in Inuuvik, a research centre that provides those potentially affected by research to learn about the research being undertaken in their communities, question these projects, and wield

[52] Jeff Corntassel and Adam Gaudry, "Insurgent Education and Indigenous-Centred Research: Opening New Pathways to Community Resurgence," in *Learning and Teaching Community-Based Research: Linking Pedagogy to Practice*, Teresa Dawson, et. al., eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 167.
[53] "Love & Intimacy in a Cold Climate: Relationships and Practices Among the Gwich'in People," University of Alberta Research Ethics Approval Pro00020249.

some power over the research licensing process.[54] These measures were enacted as a way to protect our people, land, and sovereignty. Indigenous Studies scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith states that "Indigenous peoples want to tell our own stories, write our own versions, in our own ways, and for our own purposes."[55] For other, more bureaucratic reasons, this dissertation was also influenced by the University of Alberta's ethics application and approval process.[56]

Over the course of two years and drawing upon both personal and professional relationships, I spoke to over seventy-five people in formal and informal conversations. These individuals were, at one time or another, involved in northern schooling or matters around northern education. I discuss oral history methodologies and in particular how they pertain to research in the next chapter, but here I note that oral histories are the backbone of this dissertation. Unsurprisingly, most of the people who wanted to be interviewed were women. I believe this is reflective of community-based gendered stigmas of seeking help and counseling. Women were forthcoming and willing to talk about trauma, whereas men were generally less interested in conversing about their experiences and instead found other ways to engage with me, such as going fishing or taking me on a drive down the highway. I know too that my identity as a cisgendered woman and my existing relationships guided the way I approached people for interviews.

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[54] Aurora Research Institute approvals for Inuuvik, Tsiigehtshik, Akłarvik, and Teetł'it Zheh, license nos. 2294, 2337, 2338, and 2339.
[55] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous People* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 28.
[56] "Residential Schools and Hostels in the Mackenzie Valley Region, 1940-1996," University of Alberta Research Ethics Approval Pro000363375, May 14, 2013.

Most of the interviews took place at the Gwich'in Tribal Council offices in Inuuvik, the Moose Kerr School Library in Akłarvik, the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute's Office in Tsiigehtshik, and the Languages Office in Teetł'it Zheh.[57] Some people welcomed me into their homes, some took me out on the land, and others agreed to phone or video calls. All of the former students highlighted immensely different and emotionally charged memories of their time in the northern schooling system. Some former students did not recall their earliest years at school, but despite the various gaps in memory, Indigenous people maintain social rules about storytelling. People often stated "in my experience…" or "the way I remembered it was…" or "I witnessed…" Other times, they referred me to a particular person who had specific or specialized knowledge or memories.

If they were sharing memories that involved other people, my interview partners cited the person, date, and location as a way to verify and support their knowledge. Although our stories from long ago were not the foundation of the interviews, they surfaced occasionally. William Nerysoo, a Dinjii Zhuh man from Teetł'it Zheh, renowned for his command of Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, outlined some of the protocols involved in sharing accounts and histories, noting that

> My grandfather and uncles told stories in front of me. "Where did you get these stories?" I asked them. "Long ago our grandfathers gave us these stories. That's what we talk about. They are carried on and will not be changed. If we change them, then they will be all mixed up." This is why when Elders talk with us we are able to keep their stories good. We try to keep it that way.[58]

[57] Hà'į̀h to Robert A. Alexie and Fred Koe at the GTC, Velma Illasiak at Moose Kerr School, and Alestine Andre at the GSCI.
[58] Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation and Shirleen Smith, *People of the Lakes: Stories of Our Van Tat Gwich'in Elders/Googwandak Nakhwach'ànjoo Van Tat Gwich'in* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2009), xi.

Although this dissertation is concerned with the recent past, keeping stories "good" is central to my approach. A part of this effort includes writing this dissertation with words that my relatives, interview partners, and northern connections will enjoy.

Additionally, disciplinary standards in History require archival research and the analysis of written documents. The NWT Archives in Sǫǫ̀mbak'è provided insightful materials from the 1960s and into the years leading up to the formal transfer of power over schooling in the Western Arctic in 1969 and the subsequent decade when the territorial government's Department of Education was solely responsible for schooling. After several unanswered requests, I was denied entry to the archives at the Roman Catholic Dioceses of Mackenzie – Fort Smith Diocese but was granted circumstantial entry after a chance encounter, at the Tlegǫ́hłı̨[59] airport, with a family friend, (retired) Bishop Denis Croteau. For ten days, I combed through scattered documents in a poorly-lit basement room at the Diocese office in Sǫǫ̀mbak'è.

The archival collection at the Girl Guides of Canada Alberta Provincial Office was helpful, as was the small collection of teachers' resources at the Glenbow Archives in Monkinstsis. Correspondence with the Grey Nuns in Amiskwaciwâskahikan about accessing archival materials remains unanswered. A lengthy Access to Information and Privacy application to Library and Archives Canada (LAC) in Adawe demonstrated some of the challenges that historians encounter when undertaking archival research that is

[59] Tlegǫ́hłı̨ is commonly known as Norman Wells and rests on land belonging to the Sahtú peoples. See *Treaty No. 11*; Sahtu Tribal Council, GNWT, and DIAND, *The Sahtú Dene and Métis Comprehensive Land Agreement* (Ottawa: DIAND, 1993).

perceived as political.[60] LAC eventually granted me access to some records (about a third of what I requested) and I spent a month there combing through sources that allowed me to understand the years leading up to the opening of Grollier and Stringer Halls in Inuuvik in 1959.

Indigenous Students Strategically Respond to the "Power to Punish" and T'aih, Vit'aih, and Guut'àii: Theorizing Schools in the North

'Agency' lies at the root of theoretical debates related to Indigenous-settler histories in Canada, even if scholars usually do not use this terminology. Historian Jon Wilson defined agency as "how people have the power to act in a self-directed way, to put their own aims and objectives into practice, rather than being the victim of someone else's designs."[61] In assessing the field, Wilson contended that "the attempt to discover the agency of non-European subjects of colonialism has been an important – perhaps the most important – theme in the historical study of colonial studies."[62] Indeed, historians of Uunjit Nanhkak have also been preoccupied with this historiographical trend and have attempted to demonstrate that Indigenous peoples were shrewd peoples and active agents in their ability to grapple with colonialism.

Despite this apparent contribution, Wilson argued that "the concept does not denote a coherent methodological approach or field of study."[63] Rather, "all it does is describe scholars' insistence that non-European people are 'fully human,' and have the

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[60] Crystal Gail Fraser and Zoe Todd, "Decolonial Sensibilities: Indigenous Research and Engaging with Archives in Contemporary Colonial Canada," *L'Internationale, Special Edition Decolonizing Archives* (February 2016).
[61] Jon E. Wilson, "Agency, Narrative, and Resistance," in *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives*, Sarah Stockwell, ed. (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 245.
[62] Wilson, "Agency, Narrative, and Resistance," 245.
[63] Wilson, "Agency, Narrative, and Resistance," 246.

same capacities as Europeans or Americans, in particular the ability to tell their own autonomous stories and to influence events for themselves."[64] Agency begins with the idea that Indigenous peoples were not sovereign, calculated, or intellectually savvy, for histories concerned with this concept seek to prove what Indigenous people already know: that we were and are all of those things. Tellingly, there are either very few or no scholarly books that grapple with the concept of agency as a way to understand the history of settlers in Uunjit Nanhkak.[65]

Beginning in the 1970s, historians began to question the role of Indigenous peoples in expanding Uunjit Nanhkak political and socio-economic contexts. Historians Arthur J. Ray and Robin Fisher demonstrated that Indigenous peoples were astute businesspeople who had the ability to identify lucrative economic opportunities.[66] Sylvia Van Kirk and Jennifer Brown were among the first white feminist settler historians to identify women as key players in fur trade societies.[67] Questions about agency, whether central or peripheral to historiographical arguments, dominated Canadian history in the 1990s. Historian J.R. Miller asserted that former "discussions of nineteenth-century assimilative policies have persisted in an older tendency to treat the Indians as objects rather than agents, victims rather than creators of their history," but that contemporary

[64] Wilson, "Agency, Narrative, and Resistance."
[65] An exception to this is labour and working-class histories, which are concerned with issues (of mostly white) working-class agency.
[66] Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Roles as Hunters, Trappers and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); Robin A. Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1976).
[67] Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in the Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishing, 1980); Jennifer Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980).

historians had heroically "restore[d] indigenous people to their active role in Canadian history."[68]

In 1994, then graduate students Mary-Ellen Kelm and Robin Jarvis Brownlie cautioned historians against using the concept of Indigenous agency, since most analyses tended to deny lived trauma and overlooked the responsibility of settlers to understand their own complicity in colonial processes.[69] Kelm and Brownlie started a long-overdue conversation and although the way historians engage with Indigenous issues is increasingly inclusive and nuanced, the focus on agency remains.[70]

In northern contexts, Kerry Abel argued that the "Dene were active players in the game of history and had worked to maintain a sense of their unique identity in spite of pressures that at times seemed likely to overwhelm them."[71] Matthew Farish and Whitney Lackenbauer contended that Indigenous northerners encountered significant hurdles and were ultimately disempowered beginning in the postwar years through until the 1970s when a new generation of activists emerged.[72] This dissertation does not explicitly consider the familiar question of "were Indigenous people hapless victims or

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[68] J.R. Miller, "Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy," in *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada*, Miller, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 323, 325.
[69] Mary-Ellen Kelm and Robin Jarvis Brownlee, "Desperately Seeking Absolution: Native Agency As Colonialist Alibi?" *Canadian Historical Review* 75, 4 (1994), 545.
[70] Douglas Cole, J.R. Miller, and Mary-Ellen Kelm, "Desperately Seeking Absolution: Responses and a Reply," *Canadian Historical Review* 76, 4 (December 1995).
[71] Kerry Abel, *Drum Songs: Glimpses of Dene History, 2nd ed.* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), xviii.
[72] Matthew Farish and P. Whitley Lackenbauer, "High Modernism in the Arctic: Planning Frobisher Bay and Inuvik," *Journal of Historiographical Geography* 35 (2009), 251.

active agents?"[73] I illuminate how historical actors contested regimes of state power through their myriad actions and reactions, some intentional and other accidental.

Scholarly conversations about theoretical frameworks and their use in relation to histories of residential schooling in Uunjit Nanhkak have been stagnant. In a 1999 book review about Canadian history, historian Bryan Palmer encouraged historians to "wrestle"[74] with dense theoretical tools. Ten years later in 2001, historian Derek Smith echoed Palmer's sentiments in direct relation to residential schooling histories, but few historians have delivered. In his article, Smith examined what he called "projects of governance" by applying theoretical insights from philosopher and social theorist Michel Foucault and in his pursuit of "more explicit theorization of the subject, focusing on power, domination, and resistance and non-compliance where that is possible on the basis of archival sources."[75]

Through his application of Foucault's modes of governance, Smith concluded that Indian Residential Schools were "one part of a complex array of state-building and state-linked governance enterprises of educating and civilizing on this continent which sought to govern and regulate populations."[76] Smith's analysis of discipline as a fundamental aspect of daily student life and the concepts of "modes of domination" and

[73] Lynn Thomas, a historian of Africa, is also critical of 'agency' and attempts to complicate its use as an investigative tool. See Thomas, "Historicizing Agency," *Gender & History* 28, 2 (August 2016).
[74] Bryan D. Palmer, "Foucault and the Historians: The Case of 'On the Case,'" *Literary Review of Canada* 7, 10 (Summer 1999), 11.
[75] Derek G. Smith, "The Policy of Aggressive Civilization' and Projects of Governance in Roman Catholic Industrial Schools for Native Peoples in Canada, 1870-95," *Anthropologica* 43, 2 (2001), 254.
[76] Smith, "The Policy of Aggressive Civilization' and Projects of Governance in Roman Catholic Industrial Schools for Native Peoples in Canada," 264.

"symbolic violence"[77] revealed a new level of exposition to the body of historiography. Although I do not embrace Smith's approach, it is useful to note that historians have used Foucauldian modes of analysis when investigating the histories of Indian Residential Schools in Canada.

In 1994, Indigenous studies scholar K. Tsianina Lomawaima examined power relations among the student body at the Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma and how children "created a school culture influenced but not determined by the bounds of federal control."[78] Lomawaima broadened our understanding of how subversion and resistance were entwined with children's responses to residential schooling policies. I seek to add complexity to this historically understudied theme of student lives. Student narratives demonstrated that children were amazingly resilient and quietly but boldly grappled with decisions, resembling what Foucault called the "strategic reversibility of power"[79] or the ability of individuals to reorder and disperse networks of power to their advantage.

Indigenous Studies scholar Sherry Farrell Racette has more successfully incorporated Foucault's theories of subjugated bodies in her analysis of the "photographic archive," which contained images that were taken by students at the Spanish Indian Residential School during the 1950s.[80] She emphasized the prison-like nature of these institutions by teasing apart disciplinary tactics, punishment, and

[77] Smith, "The Policy of Aggressive Civilization' and Projects of Governance in Roman Catholic Industrial Schools for Native Peoples in Canada," 253.
[78] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), xi.
[79] Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry* 8, 4 (Summer 1982).
[80] Sherry Farrell Racette, "Haunted: First Nations Children in Residential School Photography," in *Depicting Canada's Children*, ed. Loren Lerner (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2009), 52.

surveillance that loomed over the daily lives of Indigenous children, concluding that "although silent, photographs of First Nation children in residential schools have given voice to children who were forced to participate in a disastrous social experiment."[81]

Recently, sociologist Andrew Woolford provided an exemplary comparative study of the history of residential schooling in both Uunjit Nanhkak and American contexts, with close attention given to what he calls the "settler colonial mesh."[82] Woolford

> conceptualizes settler colonial practices of assimilative education as a series of nets that operates at macro-, meso-, and microsocietal levels. These nets tighten or slacken as they stretch across space and time, and when brought together, one on top of the other, they form a settler colonial mesh, which operates to entrap Indigenous peoples within the settler colonial assimilative project."[83]

Woolford contended that by using the "settler colonial mesh," scholars will avoid "oversimplifying the boarding school experience in North America, which is always a risk when one reduces it to distinctly national (i.e. Canadian and American) patterns."[84] This is why, in part, Lomawaima's work[85] on the varied experiences of children is so vital to residential schooling research; without examining the contradictions, nuances, and susurrus of the quotidian, we will not obtain a full picture of the past.

Education scholar Eve Tuck's scholarship offered a different perspective. Nearly a decade ago, she posited a new methodology for working with Indigenous communities on academic projects. Highlighting the vexed and troubled relationships between

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[81] Wilson, "Agency, Narrative, and Resistance," 63-72, 80.
[82] Andrew Woolford, *This Benevolent Experiment: Indigenous Boarding Schools, Genocide, and Redress in Canada and the United States* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015), 3.
[83] Woolford, *This Benevolent Experiment*, 3.
[84] Woolford, *This Benevolent Experiment*, 2.
[85] Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*.

Indigenous peoples and (often) non-Indigenous researchers, Tuck pointed to the "historical exploitation and mistreatment of people and material"[86] as a common experience. This often results in "damage-centered research," where privileged scholars focus on "documenting the pain or loss in an individual, community, or tribe."[87] Historically, Indigenous communities have found themselves at the centre of academic research, but excluded from decision-making process related to which questions to ask, how to frame arguments, and what kind of evidence to draw upon. As such, Tuck invited us to revise "research in our communities not only to recognize the need to document the effects of oppression on our communities but also to consider the long-term repercussions of thinking of ourselves as broken."[88] Tuck called for a moratorium on the use of damage-centered research.[89] Importantly, her approach did not reject the historical injustices and deep-seated trauma that Indigenous communities and peoples have endured over the last several centuries. Rather, her work encouraged us to consider that "even when communities are broken and conquered, they are so much more than that—so much more that this incomplete story is an act of aggression."[90]

Indeed, the people who contributed to this dissertation vocalized similar concerns as I consulted communities, interviewed former students, and conversed with Indigenous leaders. This was shortly after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) National Event in Inuuvik. I arrived in the area just a few weeks after

[86] Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 79, 3 (Fall 2009), 411.
[87] Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," 413.
[88] Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," 409.
[89] Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," 424.
[90] Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," 416.

people had testified in front of TRC Commissioners, collaborated with support workers on their Common Experience and Independent Assessment Process applications, embraced childhood friends, and shed tears with their families and communities. Various representations of Dinjii Zhuh strength – t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii – were felt in the air and seen on the faces of community members; indeed, many agreed that our ancestors were present during this difficult time.

Community members expressed a desire to move beyond damage-centered approaches to their lived experiences. For a junior researcher and Dinjii Zhuh tr'iinj o who is embedded in colonial intergenerational trauma, I found the fortitude and resiliency of Nanhkak Thak residents exceedingly inspirational. Based on community feedback, I sought ways to bring nuance, lived experiences, and respect to a history that had not been fully explored in the scholarly literature. Moving away from damage-centered narratives, this dissertation uses theoretical contributions by Foucault and Tuck combined with Dinjii Zhuh philosophy and language. In doing so, it offers a new and much needed intervention into the history of residential schooling, Indigenous-settler relations, and how we practice academic History in general.

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault theorized the state's raison d'être behind the "power to punish."[91] For Foucault, disciplining unruly and dangerous bodies, "their utility and their docility, their distribution and their submission"[92] were central to the

[91] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 89.
[92] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 25.

vitality of what he called the "sovereign."[93] Tracing how the European penal system was reformed over several centuries, Foucault's assessment of how prisons were used to "insert the power to punish more deeply into the social body"[94] is profoundly applicable to residential schooling systems. For him, unruly bodies needed to be contained to "derive the maximum advantages"[95] in their transformation to becoming disciplined.

Residential schools, by design and policy, restricted the personal freedom and movement of students, though children had a touch more freedom at Inuuvik's Grollier and Stringer Halls than residential school students of an earlier era. As long as chores, homework, and other responsibilities were looked after – and if they were not CBed ("confined to barracks") or undergoing other forms of punishment – students had the ability to sign themselves 'in and out' and leave the residential school. The DOE allowed student employment outside the residential schools and many students held part-time jobs. Students had the freedom to welcome visitors into the parlour; parents and extended family members who lived in Nanhkak Thak had the ability to see where their child lived and interact with the residential school administrators, Leonard Holman and Max Ruyant. Friends, too, visited the students who resided at Grollier and Stringer Halls and could be invited for a cafeteria supper or a Friday night basketball game in the residential school's gymnasium. Students who lived in Nanhkak Thak were privileged, in a sense; if they or their family had the financial resources, they could return home for weekends and holidays.

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[93] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 47.
[94] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 142.
[95] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 142.

Foucault underscored the “flexibility” of the penal machinery and the ways in which this machinery contained “multiplicity itself,” which ultimately allowed for the “characterization of the individual as individual and the ordering of a given multiplicity.”[96] Discipline, then, can create complex spaces and always has the potential to oppress, but these spaces also have the ability to metamorphose depending on the situation and need. These theories will be further discussed in the dissertation and it will become evident that the disciplining of Indigenous bodies was a central goal of these ostensibly ‘educational’ institutions.

Framing Grollier and Stringer Halls as penitentiaries, rather than spaces of learning and development, the microphysics of power become visible in the state’s goal of reshaping and moulding Indigenous children into complicit participants. I discover how the federal and territorial governments, along with the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches, defined new strategies for the “power to punish,”[97] which was at the heart of this project. These new strategies (such as an overhauled curricula in both residential and day schools; sharpening tactics to colonize bodies and sexualities; and encouraging divisions and rivalries among the student body) will be unpacked in subsequent chapters, but church and federal actors used both original and experimental ways to control Indigenous students in ways that demarcated Grollier and Stringer Halls from previous residential schooling practices. This was all in an effort to inculcate

[96] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 148-149.
[97] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 87. The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) also frames residential schools as prisons. See AFN, *Breaking the Silence: An Interpretive Study of Residential School Impact and Healing as Illustrated by the Stories of First Nation Individuals* (Ottawa: AFN, 1994), 4.

foreign social norms, and, in doing so, to instill a new “regime of truth,”[98] one that was designed to better suit the changing socio-economic and political climate north of the Arctic Circle.

For Uunjit policy makers, bureaucrats, teachers, church officials, and residential school supervisors, Indigenous lifestyles were antithetical to the installation of Uunjit Nanhkak schooling structures in Inuuvik. Therefore, it is useful to think of residential schools as prisons rather than educational institutions. According to sociologist Stanley Cohen, the prison was a project of social reform, which set out to accomplish a number of goals. They were designed to render docile the insubordinate (or the ‘Other’[99]), teach habits of discipline and order, as well as to repair “defective humans”[100] for their immersion into the market place.

Indigenous narratives demonstrate that former students themselves understood the oppressive spaces in similar ways, calling residential schools “concentration camps,”[101] “war zones”[102] and asserting that “jail would [have] been better.”[103] The federal and territorial governments perceived northern residential schools in a remarkably similar way. DNANR officials referred to northern students as “inmates”[104]

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[98] David Garland, *Punishment and Modern Society: A Study in Social Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 4.
[99] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
[100] Stanley Cohen, *Visions of Social Control: Crime, Punishment and Classification* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985), 23.
[101] David “Woody” Elias, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Teetł’it Zheh, Nanhkak Thak, 29 July 2013.
[102] Randy Fred, “Foreword,” in *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School*, by Celia Haig-Brown (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1988), 19.
[103] Elias, interview with Fraser.
[104] Jim F. Blewett, Chief, Academic Programs, DOE to Norman J. Macpherson, Director, DOE, “Visit to Stringer Hall – 5/12/74,” December 6, 1974, Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives (ACCGSA) M96-07 Sub Series (SS) 3-3 Box 110 File 11.

and boasted that these institutions were run "like prisons."[105] Indeed, the government used the engineering plans of Grollier and Stringer Halls in the planning of juvenile detention centres during the 1970s.[106] Some children living in these residential schools were quite *literally* inmates. Many young offenders were 'wards of the state' and were placed in Grollier and Stringer Halls as an alternative to sending them to juvenile rehabilitation centres in Alberta and Manitoba. They lived among the student body along with other incarcerated children whose only crime was being Indigenous. The Office of the Commissioner of Penitentiaries had a record of consulting with Indian Affairs and some Grollier and Stringer Hall staff were also trained in corrections, since residential school and prison employees could freely transfer and/or be seconded to prisons and residential schools.[107]

Foucault referred to these types of institutions as "carceral spaces"[108] but Indigenous Studies scholar Dian Million best described this concept. She wrote that

> carceral space defined by Foucault is social power invested into spaces designed to form individuals deemed outside a particular social order by surveillance and

[105] Charles M.G. Bell, Administrator, Akaitcho Hall, Sǫǫ̀mbak'è, DOE to Department of Social Development (DSD), February 18, 1976, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17.
[106] Duncan L. Clark, Welfare Division, NAB, DNANR, Robert N. Harvey, Member, Council of the NWT (CNWT), Frank Vallee, Member, CNWT, J.W. Goodall, Member, CNWT, F.J. Neville, Chief, Welfare Division, NAB, Peter Baker, Member, CNWT, and Stuart Milton Hodgson, Commissioner, CNWT, "Motion on the Commissioner's Opening Address: Correction Services," *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Twenty-Ninth Session, Ottawa, Ontario, February 8-17, 1965, Vol. I* (Ottawa: Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, 1965), 139-161.
[107] Roy A. Gibson, Deputy Commissioner, Bureau of the NWT and Yukon Affairs, Department of Mines and Resources (DMR) to Mr. Sawyer, July 4, 1947, Library and Archives Canada (LAC) RG85 D-1-A Volume 1882 File 630-119-3 Part 2; Norman Larson, Superintendent, Juvenile Training Centre, Department of Justice (DOJ) to C.F. Wilkins, Director, Corrections Services, DOJ, July 30, 1969, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-21; Robert J. Carney, Chief of School Programs, DOE to Director, DSD, "Instructional Programs, Yellowknife Correctional Institution," December 15, 1970, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 3-7; Ann D. Enge, Chief Matron, Correctional Centre, DOJ to William "Bill" H. Stapleton, Superintendent, DOE, June 4, 1974; Robert Budde, Treatment and Training Officer, Correctional Centre, DSD to R. Jim Walker, Assistant Superintendent, DOE, April 29, 1975.
[108] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.

> practice, like schools, the military, prisons, and mental hospitals. Residential schools were quintessential carceral spaces since they were organized to discipline both bodies and minds with the order socially invested in them.[109]

Million wrote that the removal of Indigenous children from their families and communities was necessary, since "it is always the body that is at issue – the body and its forces, their utility and docility, their distribution and submission."[110] As I will show, bodies are particularly crucial when rethinking how students reordered networks of power in these carceral geographies.

In his 2005 article, Religious Studies scholar Jamie Scott discussed a disciplinary ethos in residential schools that "meant that Native children often suffered cruel punishments."[111] This dissertation expands on Scott's concept of "disciplinary ethos"[112] to include an array of disciplinary tactics that characterized student life at Grollier and Stringer Halls between the years of 1959 and 1996. According to Foucault, disciplines are the "collective set of techniques that different institutions use in order to establish and maintain control."[113] Foucault defined this process of 'normalization' based on a model of organized and structured activity on social life, or a disciplinary ethos.[114]

Stringer and Grollier Halls were carceral, oppressive geographical landscapes that were dictated by militaristic order and designed to surveil and monitor bodies. But these northern schools and residences presented new and peculiar scenarios that were

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[109] Dian Million, "Telling Secrets: Sex, Power and Narratives in Indian Residential School Histories," *Canadian Woman Studies* 20, 2 (Summer 2000), 94.
[110] Million, "Telling Secrets," 95.
[111] Jamie S. Scott, "Penitential and Penitentiary: Native Canadians and Colonial Mission Education," in *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions, Scott and Gareth Griffiths*, eds. (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 126.
[112] Scott, "Penitential and Penitentiary, 126.
[113] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 137.
[114] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 184.

unmatched in other regions and times. Although the goal of assimilating Indigenous children remained, there were various distinguishing characteristics that suggest a particular relaxation of rules and disciplinary tactics at Grollier and Stringer Halls. One example is that the separation of day schools and residential institutions was crucial in allowing residential school children some flexibility: walking to and from school, albeit approximately 500 meters, provided children with more opportunities to engage with their environment, see (and be seen by) local residents, communicate with their siblings, and observe environmental landscapes.

This dissertation critically examines how Indigenous parents and students in the North engaged with and responded to the schooling system in Nanhkak Thak. Debates around schooling provided fertile spaces for networks of power to clash, mesh, and explode among those who 'dominated,' but also among students and parents who created and discovered ways to undermine and influence schooling policies.[115] According to Foucault, expressions of political sovereignty were demonstrated through various acts of resistance to state power.[116] The applicability of the "strategic reversibility of power"[117] demonstrates that Indigenous northerners remained in control, to a degree, over their lives well into the second half of the twentieth century. It refers to a particular expression of power relations, a reordering of sorts, that positions inmates and other contained bodies in terms of their ability to maneuver or dissent

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[115] Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with Two Lectures By and An Interview with Michel Foucault*, G. Burchell et. al. eds. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), 91; Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977,* Colin Gordon, ed. (New York: Vintage, 1980); Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.
[116] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-1978,* ed. Michael Senellart and trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Picador, 2004), 195.
[117] Foucault, "The Subject and Power."

"counter-conducts."[118] This applied to both Indigenous parents (the majority of whom were once inmates) and the institutionalized children themselves at Grollier and Stringer Halls.

In other words, the strategic reversibility of power describes the "ways in which terms of governmental [or church] practice can be turned around into focuses of resistance."[119] Political theorist Mark Osslen called this strategic reordering of power relations "ontological freedom," in that it allowed people to "utilize the techniques of power in achieving their own ends."[120] Power, then, is not simply repressive but productive. Working as a system, power operates in multi-dimensional ways that has the ability to destabilize or undermine its own ends. Using power – which is omnipresent and ubiquitous – Indigenous students and their parents harnessed it as a necessary force in ways that were sometimes both productive and positive.

Foucault's theory of the strategic reversibility of power fit with Tuck's desire-based research framework. Her work empowers us to understand the "complexity, contradiction, and self-determination of lived lives."[121] Desire, as a theoretical concept, Tuck explained, "interrupts the binary of reproduction versus resistance"[122] and provides a new tool to both analyze data without the stark dichotomies that are encapsulated in so many conversations about agency. Desire, for Tuck,

> fleshes out that which has been hidden or what happens behind our backs. Desire, because it is an assemblage of experiences, ideas, and ideologies, both

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[118] Colin Gordon, "Governmental Rationality: An Introduction," in *The Foucault Effect*, 5; Foucault, "Governmentality," 91.
[119] Gordon, "Governmental Rationality," 5.
[120] Mark Olssen, *Michael Foucault: Materialism and Education* (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1999), 30.
[121] Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," 416, 422.
[122] Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," 419.

> subversive and dominant, necessarily complicates our understanding of human agency, complicity, and resistance.[123]

Following Tuck's example, I use sociologist Avery Gordon's theory of complex personhood in conjunction with desire. Gordon describes complex personhood as "conferring the respect on others that comes from presuming that life and people's lives are simultaneously straightforward and full of enormously subtle meaning."[124] In my reading of complex personhood, this approach will allow us the best consider the fraught, tense, similar yet different, and complicated experiences of Indigenous children while institutionalized. These two frameworks, together, lead to better a understanding how Indigenous peoples in the North respond to new challenges in complex ways without drawing upon paradoxical concepts of agency.

Anishinaabe cultural theorist Gerald Vizenor theorized a framework of survivance as "an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name. Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy and victimry."[125] Tuck takes up Vizenor's work and writes that "survivance is a key component to a framework of desire."[126] A desire-focused analysis encourages research that demythologizes Indigenous histories, grants scholars the ability to understand Indigenous peoples with renewed empathy and complexity, and adds to our understanding of residential schooling experiences that are currently focused on historical damage and trauma. A fundamental element in Tuck's work is the

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[123] Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," 420.
[124] Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) qtd. in Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," 420.
[125] Gerald Robert Vizenor, *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), vii.
[126] Vizenor, *Survivance*, 422.

centrality of Indigenous knowledge. In this work, Dinjii Zhuh philosophy amplifies how we understand power and complex personhood.

In Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, there are many words that relate to the strength of people (either individual or collective) and coping mechanisms during times of adversity. In 2002, Athabascan scholar Phyllis Fast identified the concepts of vit'aih and yinjih in understanding Gwichyaa Zhee community life, leadership, and womanhood.[127] At the root of the vit'aih is the word "t'aih," meaning "strength."[128] I first learned this word in 2013, when I was at Diighe'tr'aajil with Gwichyà Gwich'in anthropologist and traditional harvester Alestine Andre. During my time there, I was committed to my comprehensive exam reading schedule of one monograph per day while being an active member of the camp: cooking, maintaining fires, hauling water, feeding animals, harvesting, fileting, drying fish, and being a student of the land. At the end of that trip, Alestine bestowed me the with Dinjii Zhuh name "T'aih."

For Fast, t'aih reflects skills and values that are driven by epistemology that is imparted from Dinjii Zhuh ancestors and is symbolic of individual fortitude.[129] Because of their ongoing relationships with their ancestors, their sovereignty, their connection with the land and animals, and their history of strength as collective peoples, Dinjii Zhuh and other Indigenous people are autonomous and have a pronounced ability to navigate

[127] Phyllis Fast, *Northern Athabascan Survival: Women, Community, and the Future* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002). In her PhD dissertation, anthropologist Thea Luig also mentions these concepts as a way to better understand Teetł'it Gwich'in wellbeing. Luig, "Ontological Security, Movement, and Well-Being: Teetł'it Gwich'in Experiences of Life Transformations" (PhD diss., University of Alberta, 2015).
[128] Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk spellings differ according to dialect. Gwichyà spell this word t'aih, while others use t'aii.
[129] Fast, *Northern Athabascan Survival*, 158.

adversity. The personalized version (his/her) of t'aih is vit'aih.[130] Fast explained that t'aih means personal or mental strength whereas vit'aih indicates a public demonstration of strength or the strength that arises from people uniting around one cause. Finally, yinjih specifically refers to "acting with one mind." In her PhD dissertation, anthropologist Thea Luig interviewed Teetł'it Gwich'in women about their understandings of strength and well-being. Bertha Francis claimed that yinjih refers to mind, while "yinjih ijlak gatsii" translates to "they make one mind," referring to a group of hunters who seek caribou.[131] "They make up one mind. Only then can they go and get caribou together."[132] Anj o Agnes Mitchell suggested that the Gwichyà Gwich'in word of "guut'àii" is better suited for this research and I will use guut'àii going forward when discussing collective strength.

The three concepts of t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii form the theoretical foundation for the chapters and analysis to come and build on Tuck's framework of desire. Dinjii Zhuh teachings of t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii add to our knowledge about what comprises complex personhood. When defining complex personhood, sociologist Avery Gordon notes that people

> get stuck in the symptoms of their troubles, and also transform themselves…that the stories people tell about themselves, about their troubles, about their social worlds, and about their society's problems are entangled and weave between

[130] Terry Norwegian-Sawyer, *Gwich'in: Language Lessons, Arctic Red River Dialect (Gwichyàh Gwich'in)* (Whitehorse: Yukon Native Language Centre, 1994), 24.
[131] Luig, "Ontological Security, Movement, and Well-Being," 91. Recently, Dene Nahjo, Qanak, and Our Voices released a document entitled, "We Are One Mind," referring to the Tłı̨chǫ concept of "ekwǫ̀ wını̨̀ıłè zǫ lanì." This translates to "all caribou have one mind" demonstrating the strength and wisdom that caribou have when acting together. Dene Nahjo, Qanak, and Our Voices, "We Are One Mind: Perspectives From Emerging Indigenous Leaders on the Arctic Policy Framework" Report (The Gordon Foundation, 2018).
[132] Luig, "Ontological Security, Movement, and Well-Being," 91.

> what is immediately available as a story and what their imaginations are reaching toward.[133]

Survivance, complex personhood, and desire are interconnected and underscore people's ability to navigate historical misfortunes and demonstrate personal resilience in light of adversity. Here, Dinjii Zhuh concepts of fortitude and adaptability (t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii) add sophistication and refinement to how we understand the experiences of Indigenous peoples, particularly during their time at Canadian residential schools or institutions. Dian Million explains that these practices and values "exist, not in an unchanging oral traditional necessarily, or in an unchanging world, but *in change*, in the moment by moment struggle to live Gwich'in meaning into another day."[134]

Indigenous Studies scholar Aileen Moreton-Robinson insisted that "Indigenous people do not need Foucault."[135] Indeed, Foucault was profoundly silent on expressions of power in non-western marginalized or colonial societies. As such, his theories on power are hindered by a lack of analysis of Indigenous ontologies and I use Foucauldian insights with caution, acknowledging that the best theorizers about Indigenous philosophy and ontology are Indigenous peoples themselves. Although Foucault provided the theoretic launching pad for this research, Tuck's work underpins the essence of this dissertation. Her work on desire-based research methodologies illuminated a new framework for understanding "complexity, contradiction, and the

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[133] Gordon, qtd. in Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 420.
[134] Dian Million, "There Is a River in Me: Theory from Life," in *Theorizing Native Studies*, eds. Audra Simpson and Andrea Smith (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 39. Italics appear in original quotation.
[135] Aileen Moreton-Robinson, "Aboriginal Sovereignty, Foucault, and the Limits of Power" (paper presented at Indigenous Foucault Symposium, University of Alberta, October 26, 2015).

self-determination of lived lives."[136] Tuck's approach "yields analyses that upend commonly held assumptions of responsibility, cohesiveness, ignorance, and paralysis within dispossessed and disenfranchised communities."[137] Additionally, I add nuance to Tuck's important work by discussing and applying the Dinjii Zhuh concepts of t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii, which will provide a locally-specific Indigenous, Dinjii Zhuh perspective in understanding how Indigenous peoples in the North resurged and resisted colonial schooling policies and the institutionalization of their children.

Analyzing the actions of Indigenous peoples in Nanhkak Thak within the context of the "strategic reversibility"[138] of power, Tuck's desire-based frameworks, and the Dinjii Zhuh concepts of t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii, it becomes apparent that – despite the trauma and carcerality of everyday life in northern residential institutions and at day schools – there was a window of opportunity for "subversion, appropriation, and reconstitution."[139] T'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii are central pillars of this dissertation and work alongside desire and power.[140] By taking up these concepts and applying them to Indigenous people and children in Nanhkak Thak, various planes of Indigenous fortitude are visible. This "strategy of struggle"[141] that was so frequently used in the North allows us to further theorize how Indigenous peoples reacted to, engaged with, and understood their relationship to a quickly encroaching Canadian nation state.

[136] Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," 415.
[137] Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," 416.
[138] Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 194.
[139] Sam Hickey and Giles Mohan, *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development* (London: Zed Books, 2004), 81.
[140] I attempted to gain information about Inuvialuit concepts of strength but unfortunately was not directed to a knowledge keeper who could share stories about these concepts with me.
[141] Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 194.

The work of Tuck and Foucault pushed the agency conversation forward in innovative and productive ways, eliminating binary-driven approaches of hapless victims or active agents. Tuck argues that although desire "accounts for the deep loss and despair" that institutionalization and day schooling undoubtedly generated, it also reveals "the hope, the visions, the wisdom of lived lives and communities."[142] Further, by embracing Dinjii Zhuh philosophy, I argue that that the strength of our ancestors, complex personhoods, and survivance afforded Indigenous children and parents a measured degree of freedom to influence, reshape, and resist northern colonial schooling policies.

Chapter Summaries

In the next chapter, Gwiiyendoo kak gwinahìh,[143] I critically engage with the various historiographical contributions from scholars concerned with the histories of the North, Indigenous peoples, and residential schools. I also take a special interest in the ways that oral histories have been used as a methodological framework, but also how Indigenous story telling, an important cultural activity that Dinjii Zhuh and other Indigenous peoples have engaged in since Ts'ii Dęįį, can shed new light on Indigenous philosophies and the ways we think about the past. I find that there continue to be wide gaps in the historical literature and I hope that this research will add new knowledge and expose the various degrees of nuance in residential schooling histories.

[142] Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," 417.
[143] Research. Direct translation: "really looking for something." Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Mitchell, Andre, Marilyn Savage, and André.

In my third chapter, Yeenoo Dą̀į,'[144] I outline important historical details that highlight how Indigenous northerners have been engaged with schooling matters for far longer than previously thought. Dinjii Zhuh, Inuvialuit, and Métis families wanted their children educated in Euro-Canadian thought, since they knew the "winds of change"[145] had arrived. Despite this desire, they wanted their children to remain at home, ensuring their families would remain united and intact. They used Dinjii Zhuh concepts of strength to persevere through various obstacles and new challenges, such as the construction of Inuuvik and the opening of two new, massive Indian Residential Schools.

In Chapter Four, Adachoo Kat Chit Gįįlii' Kwàh,[146] I begin with the frustration of Inuvialuit parents living in and around Ikaahuk;[147] in order to receive an education, their children were relocated to Inuuvik and institutionalized at Grollier and Stringer Halls for ten months a year. There were dynamic conversations in the region about how the construction of day schools in smaller communities could ensure that children remain with their families. These Indigenous northerners refused to abide by all of the rules and policies established by the federal government, the NWT Council, and the churches. At the same time, they exerted significant political pressure in relation to schooling and held the various parties to account.

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[144] Recent history. Literal translation: yeenoo = to this time; dą̀į' = at that time, Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 119.

[145] Johnny Charlie Tetlichi, interview with Joanne Barnaby, Mitsuru Shimpo, and Cyntha Struthers, *Rhetoric and Reality: Education and Work in Changing Denendeh* (Waterloo, ON: University of St. Jerome's College, 1991), 7.

[146] "They were not the leaders of what was being said or done there." Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Mitchell, André, and Fraser.

[147] This is the Inuvialuit name for Sachs Harbour, meaning "place where one crosses" and is located on Inuvialuit territory. See IRC, GNWT, and, DIAND, *Inuvialuit Final Agreement* (Ottawa: DIAND, 1984).

Next, in Ezhii Dìgìteech'aa Gagìnaajàt,[148] I shift to experiences of institutionalized Indigenous children at Grollier and Stringer Halls in Inuuvik from 1959 to 1979. Upon their arrival, it was clear that oppressive policies were at play that were expressed through rules, standards, schedules, and inspection. I analyze how students navigated the carcerality of everyday life and responded to the state and churches' *modus operandi*, which consisted of the "power to punish."[149] Residential school students harnessed the strategic reversibility of power[150] to tolerate their new living conditions and create a life away from their families.

In Nits' o Edik'iginaatyee,[151] I consider how instilling new teachings about bodies, health, and hygiene were essential in 'educating' Indigenous students at Grollier and Stringer Halls over a twenty-year period. Adding to the carcerality of institutional life, the basis for this curricula was that Indigenous bodies were inherently diseased, immoral, and unclean. Making unsuspecting students whiter, cleaner, and moral would facilitate their entry into the modern Canadian nation. This chapter, and the next, demonstrate that students struggled with oppressive policies of the body, but continued to make decisions that continued to their well-being as Indigenous peoples.

In my seventh chapter, Geetàk Gwiizih Kwaa Nihts'at T'agidi'ìh,[152] I continue to investigate how Indigenous bodies were fertile sites of potential change at residential schools. The campaign to assimilate Indigenous students came at a high cost for these

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[148] "They were scared to go somewhere different." Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Mitchell, André, and Fraser.

[149] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 89.

[150] Foucault, "The Subject and Power.".

[151] "How they look after themselves." Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik (Gwichyà dialect), Mitchell, André, and Fraser.

[152] "Sometimes they do wrong to each other." Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Mitchell, André, and Fraser.

youngsters and girls and young women were the most affected. The “power to punish” is analyzed here through the lens of gender, sexuality, and violence. I detail how the management of sexuality, ts’ik diits’an nathilìt,[153] pregnancies, and sexually transmitted infections added to the carcerality of life at Grollier and Stringer Halls.

The last chapter considers the strength and resiliency of institutionalized Indigenous children and I discuss how the sport of cross-country skiing developed at Grollier and Stringer Halls through the Territorial Experiment Ski Training (TEST) during the 1960s and 1970s. The carcerality and trauma of everyday life was discussed in the previous two chapters; here, I analyze sport – specifically skiing – as an outlet for youngsters. Although the TEST program and the teaching of other Euro-Canadian sporting and recreational activities were underpinned by assimilative agendas, Indigenous students emerge as resilient, active, and playful. Their bodies and minds continue to be strong and they unite together to have fun, spent time on the land, and become athletes.

In the final chapter, I come full circle back to Adachoo Kat Chit Gį̨įlii’ Kwàh and examine the intervention of parents into their children’s education. Most of these individuals had attended residential schooling themselves. Although most Indigenous northerners wanted their children educated in Euro-Canadian ways, they also valued a balanced education, which included Indigenous and northern content. They also believed that children should remain close to their lands, families, homes, and cultures.

[153] Menstruation/menstrual cycle. Literal translation: ts’ik = sickness; diits’an = one’s own; nathilìt = became to be. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl’it ts’at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi’dinehtl’ee,’* 154. This term is currently under revision as menstruation is linked to Dinjii Zhuh medicine power and therefore is not an illness.

This chapter begins in 1969, when the federal government devolved powers over schooling in Denendeh to the territorial government. Although there was much optimism that schooling policies and practices would improve as a result of devolution, the territorial government's Department of Education proved that it continued to be invested in assimilating Indigenous peoples into broader Canadian society. This did not, however, stop Indigenous parents, Elders, activists, and leaders from using t'aih, vit'aih and guut'àii to make their demands known and hold the government to account.

Neekąįį.[1] Gwiiyendoo kak gwinahìh[2]: Historiographies of the North, Residential Schooling, and the Inclusion of Indigenous Perspectives

The past, our stories local and global, the present, our communities, cultures, language and social practices – all may be spaces of marginalization, but they have also become spaces of resistance and hope.

- Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.[3]

This dissertation contributes to three different yet similar historiographical bodies. First, I will discuss some of the important works of the extensive body of northern histories that examine a wide breath of topics, adding to the richness of both regional and national historical narratives. Nearly all of these narratives are concerned with sovereignty, nation building, and the influence of the Canadian nation state on northern development. I then provide a critical scan of the residential schooling historiography beginning in the 1970s. These studies examine the national history of Indian Residential Schools in relation to government and church policies, the intent and design of the system, and how these schools operated. Scholarship overwhelmingly focuses on institutions in southern Canada between 1879 and 1975 and is often contextualized as studies of Indigenous-state relations.[4] Within these two bodies of literature, scholars, who primarily use archival sources, offer crucial arguments that

[1] Two. Gwich'in Language Centre (GLC) and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee', Gwich'in Language Dictionary (Fort McPherson and Tsiigehtchic dialects), 5th Ed.* (Teetl'it Zheh & Tsiigehtchic, Northwest Territories (NWT): GLC and GSCI, March 2005), 255.
[2] Research. Literal translation: "really looking for something." Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Agnes Mitchell, Alestine Andre, Marilyn Savage, and Lisa André.
[3] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples, 2nd ed.* (London: Zed Books, 2012), 35.
[4] John L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline of History of Canada's Indian Policy," in *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada*, ed. J.R. Miller (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

advance our knowledge about colonialism, policy, and state agendas. Nevertheless, the historiography largely focuses on the history of government policies and the apparent success or failure of Indigenous peoples in responding to colonial agendas. Although these contributions are valuable, the voices of living Indigenous peoples, former residential school students, and Indigenous knowledge keepers are often excluded.

Within the scholarship reviewed here, there is a clear temporal sequence that guided scholarship and it is divided into three different time periods. The first comprises the years between 1970 and 1995. Interest among academics about the history of Indigenous peoples and their role in Canadian society appeared by the mid-1970s, following the *White Paper*[5] and various high-profile land disputes. In 1995, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (RCAP) changed the way academics engaged with Indigenous histories by bringing new research questions and greater sensitivity to scholarship, demonstrated by the work of John Milloy in *A National Crime* in 1999.[6] Community engagement, the inclusion of Indigenous voices, and sensitivity to contemporary issues, however, began with Celia Haig-Brown's analysis, which is discussed below.[7] But historians have routinely overlooked the North, an immense region that has the potential to shed new light on questions that will fundamentally change the way we think about residential schooling, Indigenous peoples, and Canadian Indian policy. Finally, recent national discourse has focused on reconciliation, efforts at

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[5] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy* (Ottawa: DIAND, 1969).
[6] John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986 with a foreword by Mary Jane Logan McCallum, 2nd ed.* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017).
[7] Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1998), 21.

redressing Indigenous-state relations, the experiences of Indigenous children at residential schools, the ongoing consequences colonialism, and the inter-generational trauma apparent in most Indigenous communities, whether on or off reserve and in both rural and urban geographies.

The shift towards examining the experiences of Indigenous peoples at residential schools, through their own words, as interpreted by Indigenous scholars has only come of late, after Indigenous peoples began to tell their stories, often as memoirs.[8] Māori education scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith notes that although our stories – as Indigenous peoples – "may be spaces of marginalization […] they also have become spaces of resistance and hope."[9] The best histories of resistance and hope for Dinjii Zhuh and other Indigenous peoples are those that reflect and reveal our philosophies, cultures, and story-telling traditions. As such, I argue that the inclusion of oral evidence into histories about Indigenous peoples is one of the most powerful, accurate, and respectful acts historians can undertake. Thus, the third body of literature I examine here includes studies that offer frameworks for how to integrate oral testimonies into rigorous historical analysis, thereby providing us with fresh insights into the motives and desires of Indigenous northerners.

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[8] There are now dozens of Indigenous memoirs published. For a sample, see: Jesse Thistle, *From the Ashes: My Story of Being Métis, Homeless, and Finding My Way* (Toronto: Simon & Schuster, 2019); Joseph Auguste Merasty and David Carpenter, *The Education of Augie Merasty* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2015); Bev Sellars, *They Called Me Number One: Secrets and Survival at an Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2013); Alice Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart Shook Like a Drum: What I Learned at the Indian Mission Schools, Northwest Territories* (Ottawa; Borealis Press, 2009); Shirley Stirling, *My Name is Seepeetza* (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1997); Basil Johnston, *Indian School Days* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1988).
[9] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 35.

Yeedyè' Nanhkak Thak ts'at Dinjii Zhuh[10]: Historical Perspectives About Indigenous Peoples and the North.

In 1970, William L. Morton argued that historians neglected nearly everything northern, writing that "no scheme of Canadian historiography yet advanced is wholly satisfactory because none as yet takes account of the influence of the 'North.'"[11] Neither had traditionally-trained historians turned to histories about Indigenous peoples in Canada more broadly.[12] But a shift in the profession began to take place with Morris Zaslow, a prominent scholar of settler Canadian ancestry, who wrote about the North and reflected on the expansionist agenda of the Canadian state. Zaslow, though, largely focused on exploration, economies, politics, and administration. In *The Opening of the Canadian North* (1971), Zaslow sought to "distil the experience of the innumerable individuals, agencies, and institutions and set them into their proper perspectives for more specialized future studies" of the period between 1870 and 1914.[13] *The Northward Expansion of Canada* (1988) chronicled the expansion of Canadian sovereignty, economic development, and political institutions in the North from 1914 to 1967. Zaslow argued that Indian Affairs' officials in Adawe had a "generally reactionary

[10] The North and Indigenous peoples. Literal translation: yeedyè' Nanhkak Thak = "way up that way." Dinjii Zhuh = Indigenous peoples (Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, Gwichyà dialect), Mitchell and L. André.

[11] William L. Morton, "The 'North' in Canadian Historiography," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Series IV, Volume VIII (1970): 31.

[12] Specifically, this includes classical training in the discipline of history as it relates to western European traditions. For more on Indigenous historians and how they contributed to the discipline, see Robin Jarvis Brownlie, "First Nations Perspectives and Historical Thinking in Canada," in *First Nations, First Thoughts: The Impact of Indigenous Thought in Canada*, Annis May Timpson, ed. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).

[13] Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870-1914* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971) and *The Northward Expansion of Canada, 1914-1967* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1988), xiii.

attitude [that] was exemplified by its treatment of reformist ideas that emanated from Indian sources."[14]

Scholars valued Zaslow's contributions and referred to the "Zaslow School" of northern history because he trained a generation of graduate students.[15] But Zaslow framed the North as an empty, "primitive" land that was developed for the pleasure and benefit of settler Canadians.[16] He called the discovery of gold around the Tr'ondëk[17] "the most important single event in history of the Canadian North," ignoring the environmental and social tragedies that resulted from the Gold Rush.[18] For him, the expansion of the Canadian nation state was necessary in setting "aside the pre-existing Indian society."[19] Zaslow offered few remarks on residential schooling, but surmised that "residential schools were needed in areas of scattered, nomadic populations,"[20] despite "the high mortality rate from tuberculosis […that] was assuming the proportions of a national scandal."[21] Zaslow argued that between 1870 and 1914, "a significant degree of state control over Indian education – including a blow against French as a language of instruction – had been achieved, though management remained firmly in the hands of the churches."[22] Yet he did not discuss the strength of Indigenous

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[14] Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada*, 165.
[15] William R. Morrison, "Review," *Arctic* 42, 2 (June 1989), 175.
[16] Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North*, 125.
[17] Tr'ondëk is known as the "Klondike River" in English. The name is derived from the Hän word "hammerstone," a tool which is used in salmon fishing. In Canada, the river's headwaters travel through Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, Tutchone, Tàgish, and Łingít territories. Other Indigenous nations have different words for this river (for example, Chu Nìikwàn in Dän K'e).
[18] Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North*, 101.
[19] Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North*, 135.
[20] Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North*, 230.
[21] Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North*, 229.
[22] Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North*, 231.

northerners to interact with and contest missionary and state efforts. Finally, Zaslow closed *The Northward Expansion of Canada* noting that

> the great progress in developing, settling, and organizing so much of Canada's frontier lands since 1914 should give all Canadians well-merited pride in their peaceful achievements as a nation, coupled with the determination to deal more justly with the people and the land of the North.[23]

That the North supposedly benefitted from southern, Uunjit influences was intrinsic to Zaslow's *modus operandi*.

In 1974, historical geographer Arthur Ray, another non-Indigenous academic, published a watershed monograph on the history of the fur trade in western Canada; it analyzed how Indigenous peoples responded and adapted to the various socio-economic and environmental aspects initiated by new fur trading relationships.[24] By using Hudson Bay Company statistical records, Ray led the conversation about the reaction of Indigenous peoples to new and encroaching economies; indeed, he insisted on the strong position of Indigenous negotiators and that they retained their autonomy rather than becoming dependent on European goods and relationships. While Ray chose not to consider social history and the cultural implications of the fur trade,[25] his important contribution to historical literature sparked new debates about the involvement of Indigenous peoples in the fur trade and changed scholarly perceptions of Indigenous peoples.

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[23] Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada, 375.*
[24] Arthur Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Hunters, Trappers and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).
[25] The works of Sylvia Van Kirk and Jennifer S.H. Brown filled historiographical gaps in 1980. Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in the Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1980); Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1980).

In 1985, historian Kenneth Coates in *Canada's Colonies* analyzed the relationship between the Yukon and the Northwest Territories (NWT) governments and Adawe.[26] His popular history demonstrated the federal government's shift from neglect to increased participatory action in the North, particularly after questions about resource development and sovereignty arose. Coates briefly touched on residential schools and acknowledged that the "system forced painful adjustments for all family members."[27] But he was egregiously wrong when he stated that parents retained sole decision-making powers over whether their children were institutionalized, although he did concede that "parents often regretted their decision."[28] This book challenged long-established southern stereotypes about the North but the words and experiences of Indigenous peoples were nowhere to be found. Coates comes from a settler family and although he was raised in Whitehorse, his story centered around southern perspectives and archival documents located at southern institutions; moreover, the narrative was clearly written for a southern audience. While Coates employed the "colonizer vs. colonized" dichotomy, which perhaps will sway some readers, this approach lacks depth and nuanced historical understanding about Indigenous-state relations in the North.

Historian Shelagh D. Grant, also of non-Indigenous ancestry, undertook a broad study on policy, focusing on the period from 1936 to 1950, and linked sovereignty,

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[26] Kenneth Coates, *Canada's Colonies: A History of the Yukon and Northwest Territories* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1985).
[27] Coates, *Canada's Colonies*, 126.
[28] Coates, *Canada's Colonies*, 127.

stewardship, and national security to the shifting approaches to the North.[29] She concluded that

> the process involved in policy decisions was extremely complex owing to the interplay of diverse internal and external influences. The result was the emergence of the oft-times confusing and contradictory set of policies by which the territorial north has been governed.[30]

Grant briefly discussed the history of schooling in the North and noted that "the practice of removing young children to residential schools destroyed any cohesion that still remained in the social structure of their lives."[31] Grant focused on the small circle of Uunjut bureaucrats who lived in southern Canada, and their profound role in changing federal policy in the North from laissez-faire to interventionist; but she concluded that they were not interested in real change. Grant's work adds to our understanding of northern administrative and bureaucratic networks and how Uunjit Nanhkak ideologies shaped the North.

In 1992, the year of Canada's quasquicentennial, new and vigorous debates about who should interpret Indigenous histories appeared. Appropriately, this was also the year of Métis historian Olive Dickason's first book, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*.[32] Fifteen years earlier, she had completed her doctoral dissertation which was later published as *The Myth of the Savage and the*

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[29] Shelagh Grant, *Sovereignty or Security? Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936-1950* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988).
[30] Grant, *Sovereignty or Security?*, 238.
[31] Grant, *Sovereignty or Security?*, 33-34.
[32] Olive Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992).

Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas.[33] She was the first classically-trained Métis historian.[34]

In *Canada's First Nations*, a sweeping survey, Dickason traced the experiences of Indigenous peoples from Ts'ii Dęįį to the so-called 'Oka Crisis' in 1992. Rather than prioritize the voices and experiences of non-Indigenous peoples – an approach which was all too common in Canadian historical perspectives – Indigenous peoples themselves were at the centre of her analysis. Dickason's book proved to be foundational for both methodological and interpretive approaches to Canadian history. It won the 1993 Sir John A. Macdonald prize and a fourth edition was published as recently as 2009.[35] Dickason was also a mentor to many students and faculty and a symbol of how the discipline of Canadian history was shifting. Although Dickason was Indigenous herself, she homogenized the Indigenous stories throughout the book, likely due to the traditional chronological organization of her work. In this dissertation, I add nuance to Dickason's work by demonstrating that Indigenous nations were affected differently by time and region.

In her 1993 monograph *Drum Songs*,[36] settler Canadian historian Kerry Abel undertook a massive cultural analysis. She sought to

> reconstruct some important moments in Dene history in order to answer the question of how these northern people have been able to maintain a sense of

[33] Olive Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in America* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984).
[34] Dickason also famously filed a complaint against the University of Alberta to the Alberta Human Rights Commission in an effort to resist mandatory retirement.
[35] Olive Dickason and David McNab, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples From Earliest Times, 4th Ed.* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2009).
[36] Kerry Abel, *Drum Songs: Glimpses of Dene History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

> cultural distinctiveness in the face of overwhelming economic, political, and cultural pressures from the European newcomers to their homelands.[37]

She begins "when the earth was new" and finishes with the history of the Dene Nation during the 1980s. Abel was among the first to write academic Indigenous history and engage with debates about agency. She argued that despite the increasing presence of Uunjit, "Dene were active players in the game of history and had worked to maintain a sense of their unique identity in spite of pressures that at times seemed likely to overwhelm them."[38] Abel's research delved into fur-trading economies, the arrival of missionaries, the sweeping socio-economic and political changes of the second half of the twentieth century, and the rise of Indigenous interventions into Canadian politics.

Considering the history of residential schooling in Denendeh, Abel notes that parents were "very concerned that their children should receive as good academic and vocational training as possible while at the same time retaining the tradition of learning from their parents the vocations of trapping, hunting, and fishing."[39] At the same time, she finds that "parents were unwilling to send their children away to residential schools if it could be avoided."[40] These findings are supported in my chapters that follow. Abel did not claim to speak for or on behalf of Indigenous northerners, stating that we can write our own histories, but she did examine how Dene communities "maintained cultural distinctiveness" through "cultural flexibility and creative adaptability."[41] She concluded that "if there is a single theme emerging from the long history of the Dene

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[37] Abel, *Drum Songs*, xxxi.
[38] Abel, *Drum Songs*, xviii.
[39] Abel, *Drum Songs*, 231-232.
[40] Abel, *Drum Songs*, 232.
[41] Abel, *Drum Songs*, xi.

experience, it may be simply that the Dene aptitude for creative adaption has permitted the survival of a sense of self and community through very different times and challenges."[42]

Abel offered a valuable contribution to northern historiography and initiated an early conversation about complex personhood in the North. Although Abel incorporated published transcripts of Dene, her analysis underscored the limitations of archival records as non-Indigenous peoples figure prominently. Finally, she homogenized the many sovereign Indigenous nations of Denendeh by placing them under the broad umbrella of the "Dene"; there is little room for the diverse and exceptional Dinjii Zhuh, K'asho Got'įnę, Sahtú Got'įnę, Shúhta Got'įnę, Dënes łįné, Tłįchǫ, T'satsaot'ine, and Métis histories. Rather than taking a pan-Dene approach, my dissertation offers a more nuanced approach that provides insights into how specific nations interacted with the colonial state in ways that were unique to region.

For historians, the question of "agency" as it related to the history of Indigenous peoples was central to disciplinary debates during the mid-to-late 1990s. Then graduate students, Mary-Ellen Kelm and Robin Jarvis Brownlie cautioned historians against using Indigenous agency, since most analyses denied lived trauma and skirted the responsibility of settler Canadians to understand their own complicity in colonial processes.[43]

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[42] Abel, *Drum Songs*, 265.

[43] Mary-Ellen Kelm and Robin Jarvis Brownlee, "Desperately Seeking Absolution: Native Agency As Colonialist Alibi?" *Canadian Historical Review* 75, 4 (December 1994), 545.

As these debates emerged, it appeared as though northern geographer Frank Tester and historian Peter Kulchyski had already considered many of these issues, no doubt by working closely with Indigenous communities. In *Tammarniit: Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-63*, Tester and Kulchyski examined draconian federal policies in the Inuit Nunangat, notably the forced relocation of established Inuit families. Tester and Kulchyski carefully intertwined archival research and interviews with state officials with Inuit testimony, documented from the House of Commons Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs.[44] For that, *Tammarniit* marks an important moment in northern history because the voices Indigenous northerners were heard, although they were still marginalized in mainstream scholarly works and academia.[45]

Additionally, Tester and Kulchyski incorporated French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre's framework of "totalization."[46] They wrote that a totality "is defined as a being which, while radically distinct from the sum of its parts, is present in its entirety, in one form or another, in each of those parts, is present in its entirety, in one form or another, in each of those parts, 'totalization' is a developing activity."[47] They used this concept to both "describe a moment in a broader historical process" and "a process of consciousness, a way in which consciousness apprehends the world."[48] This allowed them to understand the expansion and inner-workings of the Canadian state in the Inuit

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[44] Frank J. Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-63* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994).
[45] A second publication a decade later demonstrated these qualities as well. Frank J. Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Kiumajut (Talking Back): Game Management and Inuit Rights, 1900-1970* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).
[46] Jean-Paul Sarte, *Critique of Dialectical Reason, Vol. 1*, trans. Alan Sheridan-Smith (London: Verso, 1982).
[47] Tester and Kulchyski, *Tammarniit*, 4.
[48] Tester and Kulchyski, *Tammarniit*, 5.

Nunangat and examine paternalism and ethnocentrism in northern government administration.[49]

Non-Indigenous scholars Matthew Farish and Whitney Lackenbauer also considered the role of Indigenous northerners through their examination of the construction of Inuuvik during the mid-to-late 1950s, which they called an example of "high modernist planning."[50] They contended that Indigenous peoples in Nanhkak Thak grappled with significant hurdles imposed by the state and were ultimately disempowered during the 1950s. It was not until the 1970s that a new generation of activists would emerge. Historian Paul Sabin's research during the 1990s supported Farish and Lackenbauer's findings regarding increased Indigenous activism; he perceived the Berger Inquiry, an investigation into the construction of a pipeline in the Mackenzie Valley between 1974 and 1977, as a watershed moment when Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit knowledge systems threatened Canadian policies, specifically resource development.[51] My research, however, demonstrates that Indigenous peoples had long been dialoging with federal agents about emerging complex socio-economic challenges.

Historical scholarship during the 1990s was largely authored by non-Indigenous academics and based heavily on archival documents as primary sources, although that began to change in later years with the incorporation of published oral testimonies. The work of Tester and Kulchyski and Abel represents a shift in approach, but there was little evidence of community-based methodologies, collaborative relationships with

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[49] Tester and Kulchyski, *Tammarniit*, 35.

[50] Matthew Farish and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "High Modernism in the Arctic: Planning Frobisher Bay and Inuvik," *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009), 521.

[51] Paul Sabin, "Voices from the Hydrocarbon Frontier: Canada's Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (1974-1977)," *Environmental History Review* 19, 1 (Spring 1995).

northerners, and the recognition of ongoing colonial damage. In the next section, I discuss the broader residential school historiography in Canada and find that research trends in this area are remarkably similar.

Gadiiyihanàatan Geenjit Zheh Goo'aii[52]: Creating a National Network of Indian Day and Residential Schools, 1867 to 1996

From the early histories of Indian Residential Schools during the mid 1970s through to contemporary historical interpretation, there have been those who have adopted what historian Scott Trevithick has called the "traditionalist" approach, which "posits a mix of cynical and humanitarian motives" and includes theories of a benevolent government and the tendency to "emphasize the altruistic (if terribly misguided) intentions of policy makers to a greater extent."[53] There are many examples of these, but here I point to only a few.

In an early watershed piece from 1975, historian Jacqueline Gresko analyzed the Qu'Appelle Indian Residential School on the Wa-Pii Moos-toosis Indian Reserve in Saskatchewan between the 1880s to the 1940s.[54] Gresko argues that

> the efforts to transform western Indians into civilized Christians through educational programs did not halt but encouraged native involvement in traditional social and religious institutions, stimulated resistance to the

[52] Residential schools. The breakdown of the literal translation is: gadiiyihanàatan = teaching; geenjit = for it; zheh goo'aii = a house is there. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Teetł'it dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee*,' 196.
[53] Scott Trevithick, "Native Residential Schooling in Canada: A Review of Literature," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 18, 1 (1998), 52.
[54] Jacqueline Gresko, "White 'Rites' and Indian 'Rites': Indian Education and Native Responses in the West, 1870-1910," in *Western Canada: Past and Present* (Anthony W. Rasporich, ed. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1975), 163.

> assimilative efforts of white government and missionaries, and encouraged the generation of modern Indian rights movement.[55]

Teetering on a dangerous argument that highlighted residential schooling as positive, Gresko suggested that removing children from their communities, subjecting them to austere conditions, and inculcating them with a Euro-Canadian education contributed to their desire to "resist the industrial schools' programs with their own educative program" and equipped them with the ability to become "trained and politicized personnel for modern Indian-rights movements."[56] Then PhD student Scott Trevithick criticized Gresko for her lack of empathy towards the institutionalized children and her positive assessment of school staff.[57]

For Gresko, the perceived benefits of residential schools, such as cultural resurgence and political engagement, were worthy of discussion, rather than the trauma of residential schooling. I believe a historical analysis of how students responded to these carceral spaces – which sometimes resulted in a smattering of independence – should be expressed in tandem or alongside the violent, criminal, and distressing nature of being institutionalized at residential schools. Gresko's scholarly contribution, however, lay in her assertion that Indigenous peoples did not passively respond to government and missionary attempts to impose schooling, but remained committed advocates for children.[58]

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[55] Gresko, "White 'Rites' and Indian 'Rites,'" 164.
[56] Gresko, "White 'Rites' and Indian 'Rites,'" 164, 181.
[57] Scott Trevithick's comments were aimed at Gresko's MA thesis, which formed the basis for her article "White 'Rites' and Indian 'Rites." Jacqueline Gresko, "The Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White 'Rites' for the Indians of the Old Northwest" (MA Thesis, Carleton University, 1970); Trevithick, "Native Residential Schooling in Canada," 56.
[58] Gresko, "White 'Rites' and Indian 'Rites,'" 164.

In 1984, historian Kenneth Coates contributed to the emerging historical debates around residential school with an article on the history of the Chooulta Indian Residential School in Carcross, Yukon from 1911 to 1954. After considering the "enthusiastic if unrealistic"[59] intentions of the Anglican Church and federal government in assimilating Indigenous children, he found that the immediate environment and local context required school policies and practices to be flexible. This flexibility, however, negated much of what educators attempted to instill: a strong and disciplined Euro-Canadian work ethic.[60] Coates asserted that because the school gained an increasingly poor reputation around student health, Indigenous parents often prematurely removed their children from institutional life and that the school at Carcross was ineffective and peripheral.[61] Coates concluded that "acting with great sincerity and a firm conviction that their program was the best for the native children, the Anglican clergy readily (though never adequately) modified their educational offerings to make the school relevant to life in the native village."[62] More than thirty years later, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's (TRC) final report[63] confirmed that the school encountered difficulties when retaining students, but also highlighted the many tragic deaths and severe living conditions until its closure in 1969.[64]

[59] Kenneth Coates, "'Betwixt and Between,': The Anglican Church and the Children of Carcross (Chooulta) Residential School, 1911-1954," *BC Studies* 64 (Winter 1984/85), 28.
[60] Coates, "'Betwixt and Between,'" 35.
[61] Coates, "'Betwixt and Between,'" 38-43.
[62] Coates, "'Betwixt and Between,'" 47.
[63] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), *Canada's Residential Schools: The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 6 vols.* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press).
[64] TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience, The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Vol. 2* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 58-65.

In 1986, settler historian Jean Barman, settler education scholar Yvonne Hébert, and settler anthropologist Don McCaskill produced a two-volume edited collection that examined Indian schooling policies[65] and sought to reach a broad audience and initiate conversations among educational planners, teachers, students, and the public.[66] In the first volume, the central argument connecting the essays is that, although Indigenous reactions to residential schooling were historically varied, Indigenous people were overwhelmingly "taking control over their lives."[67] In the second volume, the articles focused on the developments that took place after the adoption of new federal policy in 1973 that provided Indigenous peoples greater autonomy over educational choices. But they concluded that these endeavours remained "incomplete both in substance and in degree."[68] The editors drew on the work of Indigenous scholars from various nations: Mi'kmaq educational studies scholar Marie Battiste of the Potloek First Nation, Lakota anthropologist Beatrice Medicine, and Mohawk author Diane Longboat of the Six Nations Grand River territory. Battiste's work appears in both volumes but given that she is the only Indigenous author in *The Legacy* it is clear that, as late as the 1980s, Indigenous peoples had very little control over academic interpretations of their past.

There are other problems with the articles; Barman, Hébert, and McCaskill established a binary between the past and the present, suggesting that Indigenous peoples failed to retain a trace of authority after 'contact,' but that progress had been

[65] Jean Barman, Yvonne Hébert, and Don McCaskill, "The Legacy of the Past: An Overview," in *Indian Education in Canada. Volume I: The Legacy*, eds., Jean Barman, Yvonne Hébert, and Don McCaskill (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986), xviii.
[66] Barman, Hébert, and McCaskill, "The Legacy of the Past: An Overview," vii.
[67] Barman, Hébert, and McCaskill, "The Legacy of the Past: An Overview," 1.
[68] Jean Barman, Yvonne Hébert, and Don McCaskill, eds., *Indian Education in Canada. Volume II: The Challenge* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986), ix.

considerable since 1973.[69] In the first volume, the analysis was framed around "cultural interaction,"[70] which understated oppressive colonial policies that sought to eliminate Indigeneity in all its forms. Several of the essays discussed efforts to "civilize the savage," but Barman et. al. concluded that "the concerted efforts by the dominant society to assimilate Canada's Indians through education has failed."[71] They argued that Indigenous peoples experienced a cultural "revitalization" that helped them to reaffirm "their identity by selecting aspects of the old ways and blending them with the new," resulting in "an emerging philosophy of Indian education as similarly bicultural."[72] The trauma and cultural loss that Indigenous peoples experienced as a result of residential schooling was downplayed and the editors failed to acknowledge the fluidity of Indigenous cultures since Ts'ii Dęįį. There are other minor problems, such as the homogenization of Indigenous nations living within the geopolitical boundaries of what today comprises Canada.[73] Nevertheless, this collection, the first of its kind, greatly contributed to our historical understanding of residential schools and ominous federal policies between the seventeenth and nineteenth-centuries in New France, Old Ontario, the West, and the North.[74]

Historian J.R. Miller has also studied residential schooling policies. In 1990, his seminal article called into question the effectiveness of Indian Residential Schools and argued that cultural change as a result of schooling policies "was much less effective

[69] Barman, Hébert, and McCaskill, eds., *Indian Education in Canada. Volume II*, 1. There are currently 634 state-recognized First Nations in Canada, accompanied by dozens of Inuit and Métis communities.
[70] Barman, Hébert, and McCaskill, eds., *Indian Education in Canada. Volume II*, 2.
[71] Barman, Hébert, and McCaskill, eds., *Indian Education in Canada. Volume II*, 17.
[72] Barman, Hébert, and McCaskill, eds., *Indian Education in Canada. Volume II*, 5.
[73] Barman, Hébert, and McCaskill, eds., *Indian Education in Canada. Volume II*, 7.
[74] See *Indian Education in Canada* table of contents, Barman, Hébert, and McCaskill, v.

than generally thought ” and that the “conventional picture of residential schools as totalitarian institutions run arbitrarily by all-powerful missionaries and bureaucrats is also not universally accurate.”[75] Miller argued that this schooling system “never reached more than a minority” of Indigenous children and that it failed to retain students, and he concluded that oppressive measures at these schools had been over exaggerated.[76] Like Gresko and Barman et. al., Miller understood the system from a settler Canadian perspective, sympathizing with early colonial policy makers, and emphasizing the benevolent aspects of the systems and illuminating the few success stories of residential school alumni. Miller did concede, though, that the responses of Indigenous peoples to schooling policies was characterized by “strategies of resistance, evasion, and defiance.”[77]

Six years later, Miller published an exhaustive history of the Indian Residential Schooling system that spanned more than two centuries. In *Shingwauk's Vision*, he detailed the three factors responsible for the emergence of Indian Residential Schools: the federal government, the churches, and Indigenous families.[78] He began with the earliest days of French missionary work and proceeded through to the decade where “the twin processes of integration and retention that Indian Affairs and Native communities were promoting in the late 1960s culminated in the emergence of a new

[75] J.R. Miller, “Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy,” *Ethnohistory* 37, 4 (Fall 1990), 386, 404.
[76] Miller, “Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy,” 397-398.
[77] Miller, “Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy,” 386.
[78] J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), ix.

policy of Aboriginal control of the education of Native children."[79] Miller argued that Indigenous peoples played a role in developing the schooling system and that some families willingly institutionalized their children. By analyzing government and church archival records, Miller admitted that indeed there were oppressive colonial forces shaping the system, but that these generally failed, despite the harsh and sometimes violent treatment of Indigenous students.[80]

The monograph is divided into three different sections, with the first analyzing the establishment and reasons for residential schools, describing the increasingly racialized and assimilative intent of the system. In the second section called "Experiencing Residential Schools," Miller attempted to portray and understand the experiences of children at these institutions, but he explored the lives of missionaries and teaching staff. Miller did provide an interesting chapter which argued that gender and sexuality were aspects of student life that the church and state sought to control. But he failed to incorporate Indigenous voices and first-hand experiential accounts into national historical narratives. We continue to hear too little from those most affected by Indian Residential Schools.

Miller offered his assessment in the third section and noted that "of the three parties involved in residential schooling, the government had the clearest goals, objectives that Ottawa pursued with an implacable determination and consistency from the 1880s until the 1960s."[81] And Miller rightly implicated the Canadian state in the

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[79] Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 405.
[80] Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 409, 418.
[81] Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 414.

genocide of Indigenous peoples. But he concluded that Indigenous students nevertheless benefitted from their institutionalization: "Natives wanted education that would enable them to adjust successfully to the dominant Euro-Canadian economy and society."[82] By the 1960s,

> Native peoples in Canada still have a vision of the healthy and effective education of their children and the development of their communities, and they still look to the people who have usurped their lands for assistance in bringing it to reality. Now, as always through the history of Native policy and residential schools, it is up to the Euro-Canadian majority to decide if they will help or hinder, facilitate or oppress, support or tyrannize.[83]

Miller neglected the North almost entirely; had he included colonial schooling policies in the Yukon, Denendeh, and Inuit Nunangat, his research would have gone far beyond the 1960s – a period he called "winding the system down."[84] In the North, government and church agents continued to re-envision residential schooling and as they rolled out a whole new system that would reach a greater number of children. Still, *Shingwauk's Vision* has several strengths, not the least of which is its meticulous detail.

In *A National Crime*, historian John Milloy presented a comprehensive history of residential schools and, diverging from Miller's approach, squarely focused on the role that the Canadian government played in establishing and maintaining the system.[85] Based on research for the RCAP, Milloy's book considered the national context of Indigenous schooling policies, but also explored how they were executed and varied regionally. He successfully stitched together extensive archival research to construct a

[82] Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 416-417.
[83] Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 438.
[84] Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, "Chapter 13 – 'Our Greatest Need Today Is Proper Education,'" 377-405.
[85] Milloy, *A National Crime*.

narrative that demonstrated how the system changed over time. He also emphasized the fact that assimilating Indigenous children into Euro-Canadian society remained at the heart of the project. Milloy began his analysis in 1879 with Nicholas Flood Davin's recommendation in 1879 that led to the establishment of the industrial schooling era, and concluded with crimes being publicly revealed through the Canadian court system in 1986.[86] The title, *A National Crime*, suggests that criminal injustices characterized the system for over a century.

While *Shingwauk's Vision* disappoints readers interested in the North, *A National Crime* does not. In a lengthy entire chapter, Milloy explored how residential schooling policies were deployed in the North after the 1946 Special Joint Parliamentary Committee of the Senate and House Commons decided to wind down the residential schooling system. Despite the experiences over the past century, "the northern system followed the same path that had been travelled by its southern counterpart."[87] Milloy analyzed the residential schooling system in the North and introduced key characters, like Jean Lesage, Minister of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, who dismantled the crumbling church infrastructure and replaced it with "an extensive program of schools and hostels to provide a better education."[88] Although he convincingly argued that the residential schooling system in the North was similar to southern Canada, he also showed that there were important differences. Apart from the fact that Inuit presented special funding challenges, both Indigenous and non-

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[86] Milloy, *A National Crime*, 293.
[87] Milloy, *A National Crime*, 293.
[88] Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada File 600-1, Vol. 2, Press Release, "New Education Programme in the Northwest Territories, 20 March 1955, qtd. in Milloy, *A National Crime*, 244.

Indigenous children could potentially attend residential schools.[89] As such, federal bureaucrats felt it important to design programming to be "multicultural."[90]

Other strategies were innovative, such as the hiring of Indigenous management teams for the North's "small hostels" and there was sensitivity displayed by federal officials who believed that the majority of Indigenous children would return to on-the-land economies after completing school.[91] Therefore, a plan to offer interracial schooling and a localized curriculum that could better accommodate Indigenous students was implemented.[92] But the "plan shared the fate of many of the southern schemes for reforms" and the northern system similarly "left behind a sorrowful record of neglect and abuse."[93]

Milloy's focus on archival records is to the detriment of the voices of Indigenous peoples.[94] At the time, Milloy chose not to undertake oral interviews since he was unable to offer proper supports and post-interview counselling.[95] Nevertheless, he was sensitive to historical trauma and how these issues persisted; he linked the past to the present in ways that other historians were rarely able to accomplish. He emphasized that "the system is not someone else's history, nor is it just a footnote or a paragraph, or a preface or chapter, in Canadian history. It is *our* history, *our* shaping of the 'new

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[89] Milloy, *A National Crime*, 242.
[90] Milloy, *A National Crime*, 250-251.
[91] Milloy, *A National Crime*, 249.
[92] Milloy, *A National Crime*, 250.
[93] Milloy, *A National Crime*, 250, 257.
[94] Although Mary Jane McCallum, member of the Munsee-Delaware Nation, wrote the foreword to the second edition, the book remains devoid of Indigenous voices.
[95] Milloy, *A National Crime*, xxxii.

world.'"[96] He closed by writing "that the future must include making a place for those who have been affected by the schools to stand in dignity, to remember, to voice their sorrow and anger, and to be listened to with respect."[97]

In 1995, anthropologist Elizabeth Furniss was asked by the Cariboo Tribal Council (CTC) to examine the profound effects of colonial policies on Indigenous bodies at the Williams Lake Residential School in Williams Lake, British Columbia over the course of a century.[98] Furniss worked closely with the CTC, but did not interview former students, relying instead upon archival documents – claiming that these records were "unusual in that Native voices have been very well documented in the form of affidavits and letters."[99] Furniss' analysis was based on an unusually small sampling of primary sources – two files in the archival records of the Department Indian of Indian Affairs (DIA) – and she found that the Oblates of St. Joseph's Mission and the federal government instilled a "grandiose and fatal plan" of assimilation for Indigenous peoples in the region.[100] Student experiences at this school were characterized by an overwhelming amount of tragedy and injustice, culminating in the preventable deaths of two Indigenous students: Duncan Sticks and Augustine Allan.

The parents of students, for Furniss, were present, actively protesting the 'care' that their children received, but the DIA believed the problem was the result of poor student discipline. The Oblates were even less willing to reform their ways as they "took

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[96] Milloy, *A National Crime*, xviii.
[97] Milloy, *A National Crime*, 305.
[98] Elizabeth Furniss, *Victims of Benevolence: The Dark Legacy of the Williams Lake Residential School* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1995).
[99] Furniss, *Victims of Benevolence*, 10-11.
[100] Furniss, *Victims of Benevolence*, 13.

deliberate steps to intimidate the local Native people into silence."[101] In Furniss' depiction of the Williams Lake Indian Residential School, church and federal officials succeeded in 'taming' and 'civilizing' local Indigenous peoples.[102]

As an anthropologist, Furniss had developed a relationship with the community, something that historians are increasingly seeking out in the pursuit of community-engaged research. She had been tasked with assessing "the long term psychological and social impacts of the residential schools on their communities."[103] As such, her intended audience was residential school survivors and broader Indigenous communities in the Williams Lake area. While she does not discuss her methodologies and theories, or utilize oral histories, she does explore the importance of Indigenous culture to the narrative.

The work of Gresko, Barman et. al., Miller, Milloy, and Furniss takes significant steps towards understanding residential schools in Canada. They analyzed, in different ways, the formation of church and state policy, the "benevolent" intentions that guided the system, and how Indigenous people emerged as resilient and respondent historical actors. All, however, ignore the fact that these oppressive, carceral institutions continued to operate during the late twentieth century, as they researched and wrote their monographs. Indigenous families continued to be affected, either directly or through intergenerational trauma. Indeed, the remaining two residential schools, located in Inuuvik and on the Gordon First Nation in Saskatchewan, remained open until

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[101] Furniss, *Victims of Benevolence*, 105-106.
[102] Furniss, *Victims of Benevolence*, 107.
[103] Furniss, *Victims of Benevolence*, vii.

1996. Nevertheless, RCAP in 1995 was a key turning point and some academics began re-examining their research practices and relationships.

There are dozens of book chapters and articles that provide compelling histories of residential schooling policies. Nearly twenty years ago, historian Mary-Ellen Kelm argued that shaping of Indigenous bodies was embedded into Canadian colonial policy and "ill-health was created not just by faceless pathogens but by the colonial policies and practices of the Canadian government."[104] Outlining the federal government's desire to train workers, she found that children were instead weakened, became ill, and were plagued by persisting health problems. Two years later in 2001, historian Maureen Lux published *Medicine That Walks*, where she investigated Indigenous health on the Plains.[105] Similarly, she scrutinized how racialized ideologies about 'backwards' Indigenous cultures were at the root of federal Indian policy and thus ignored the desire of parents to educate their children. Residential schools were "a social experiment intended to 'Christianize and civilize.'"[106] And like Kelm, she showed that they provided "fertile space for disease."[107]

By 2010, more scholars turned their attention to the histories of schooling and education in the North. Educational Studies scholar Heather McGregor provided an important interpretation of schooling in the Nunavut during the period from 1945 to

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[104] Mary-Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900-1950* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988), xix, 57-80.
[105] Maureen Lux, "'I Was in Darkness': Schools and Missions," *Medicine That Walks: Disease, Medicine and Canadian Plains Native People, 1880-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 103-137.
[106] Lux, *Medicine That Walks*, 5.
[107] Lux, *Medicine That Walks*, 137.

1999.[108] In *Inuit Education and Schools in the Eastern Arctic*, McGregor "offers educators, administrators, and researchers a historical overview of educational change in the Eastern Arctic, focusing on themes of cultural negotiation, decision-making power, and the role of tradition in education."[109] As a Qallunaaq and former Iqaluit resident, she offered a northerner's interpretation that can only be gleaned by living in the North. McGregor identifies "aspects of Inuit education employed in schools, what purpose those aspects were thought to serve, and to what extent that purpose was realized in practice."[110] McGregor concluded that

> parents, educators, and even students had the opportunity to grapple with these challenges and to effect change through the mechanism of regional school boards, which helped to empower local education authorities. The result was locally driven education, which was increasingly reflective of Inuit culture and Inuit ways of knowing, being, and doing.[111]

Similarly, in her MSc research, Raila Salokangas investigated the degree of local engagement with federal policies in Tuktuyaaqtuuq.[112] Salokangas discovered a number of "home factors" among Inuvialuit families that encouraged student success, including parental involvement, the negotiation of expectations and goals, and dependence on local social networks.[113]

In their 2011 case study of Akłarvik's residential schools, historians Anthony Di Mascio and Leigh Hortop-Di Mascio suggested that schooling was "more than a socio-

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[108] Heather McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools in the Eastern Arctic* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).
[109] McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools in the Eastern Arctic,* 2.
[110] McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools in the Eastern Arctic* 2.
[111] McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools in the Eastern Arctic* 168.
[112] Raila Maarit Salokangas, "The Meaning of Education for Inuvialuit in Tuktoyaktuk, NWT, Canada" (MSc Thesis in Rural Sociology, University of Alberta, 2009). For more on the history of education in Inuit communities, see: Joanne Tompkins, *Teaching in a Cold and Windy Place: Change in an Inuit School* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).
[113] Salokangas, "The Meaning of Education for Inuvialuit in Tuktoyaktuk, NWT, Canada," 143.

economic or socio-cultural process of assimilation. Rather, it was one of violent acculturation."[114] Chronicling the history of these schooling policies during the 1930s and 1940s, they guide the reader through school curricula, the difficulty students experienced when they returned home from residential schools, and the impact of these schools on Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit lifestyles. Although Di-Mascio and Hortop-Di Mascio displayed greater sensitivity than earlier interpretations of residential schooling, they neglected the strength and determination of local families. Instead, they emphasized that "Aboriginal children were taken from home, stripped of their identity, and left to return with incompatible senses of self and community. These children were no longer Aboriginal, but neither could they ever be Euro-Canadian."[115] The authors failed to consider what it meant to be Indigenous in Nanhkak Thak, the power of parental intervention, and cultural flexibility. Di Mascio and Hortop-Di Mascio, though, recognized the need for oral histories in the North, claiming that they "would be a welcomed addition to the historiography."[116]

Recently, the scholarly journal *Historical Studies in Education* published a special volume entitled "Education North of 60," which demonstrated the intensifying interest in northern histories.[117] Editors Heather McGregor and Wyn Millar highlighted ongoing historiographical needs: the lack of comparative histories across the North; few regional analyses that illustrate unique approaches to schooling; and scant research on the

[114] Anthony Di Mascio and Leigh Hortop-Di Mascio, "Residential Schooling in the Arctic: A Historical Case Study and Perspective," *Native Studies Review* 20, 2 (2011), 33.
[115] Di Mascio and Hortop-Di Mascio, "Residential Schooling in the Arctic," 49.
[116] Di Mascio and Hortop-Di Mascio, "Residential Schooling in the Arctic," 34.
[117] *Historical Studies in Education, Special Issue: Education North of 60*, 27, 1 (Spring 2015).

perseverance of Indigenous languages and traditions.[118] Like Di Mascio and Hortop-Di Mascio, McGregor and Millar see oral histories as crucial to the path forward in northern research.[119] An immediate drawback to their approach, however, is the persistent centering of histories by southern, non-Indigenous academics who are often under- and sometimes ill-informed about the communities' research interests and local political considerations that can guide research objectives.[120] There is very little discussion about the history of northern residential schooling, yet this aspect is so critical to conversations about northern government policies into the 1990s.[121]

The extensive work of the TRC culminated in its final report in 2015;[122] it included a volume entitled *The Inuit and Northern Experience*.[123] Dividing their report into two sections entitled "Mission Schools in the North: 1867 to 1960" and "Bureaucrats Replace Missionaries: Residential Schooling in the North after 1950," TRC researchers outlined the distinct history of the North, citing its comparatively recent schooling developments; the unique creation of day schools and hostels under the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources; the fact that the administration of these schools were passed onto territorial governments; and that student bodies had

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[118] Heather E. McGregor and W.P.J. Millar, "Introduction. The Territories in the History of Education in Canada: Where Are We Going? (and Why?)," *Historical Studies in Education, Special Issue: Education North of 60*, 27, 1 (Spring 2015).
[119] McGregor and Millar, "Introduction," 6.
[120] Morgan Moffitt, Courtney Chetwynd, and Zoe Todd, "Interrupting the Northern Research Industry: Why Northern Research Should Be in Northern Hands," *Northern Public Affairs* 4, 1 (February 2016).
[121] The exception here is a brief discussion of Akaitcho Hall in Sǫ̀mbak'è. 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, Special Issue: Education North of 60* 27, 1 (Spring 2015), 40, 45.
[122] TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools, 6 vols*.
[123] TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience*.

Indigenous majorities.[124] While this volume provided a "thematic and chronological history," it drew heavily on archival sources rather than the written or spoken narratives of former students.[125]

Moreover, the TRC's Executive Summary argues that "residential schooling was always more than simply an educational program: it was an integral part of a conscious policy of cultural genocide."[126] This argument runs throughout all volumes, but the overall analysis unfortunately fails to engage critically with the body of scholarly literature on residential schools and paints a picture of a homogenous North for its audience in southern Canada. Readers should also note that the TRC had a political agenda at its core; it was created as a result of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement.[127]

Despite the work of the TRC and various historians in adding to our understanding of residential schools, there has been a return to the "traditionalist approach" in recent years. Retired Anglican Bishop Eric Bays claimed that if we desire a "fair judgment on the work of schools," then a multitude of perspectives need to be considered.[128] Bays purported to outline the "positive picture" by defending the church's desire to bring Indigenous cultures to their "fullest" potential through Christian

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[124] TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 3-4.
[125] TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 5.
[126] TRC, *Executive Summary: Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 2015), 54-55. The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (NIMMIWG) also found that the Canadian state to be guilty of genocide in its treatment of Indigenous women, girls, and S2LGBTQQIA* peoples. NIMIWWG, *Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2 vols.* (June 2019).
[127] One of its main goals was to compensate survivors for the harms they endured while institutionalized at Indian Residential Schools in Canada.
[128] Eric Bays, *Indian Residential Schools: Another Picture* (Ottawa: Baico Publishing, 2009), iii.

teachings.[129] He refuted the accusations that overt disciplinary methods were used, the timely responses of school administrators to health concerns, and the practice of relying on 'anecdotal' evidence in physical and sexual assault cases.[130]

Northern historian Kenneth Coates, too, has been critical over recent negative interpretations of residential schools and claimed that they "leave the country with distorted views of Indigenous realities."[131] Coates, as a settler Canadian, asserted that he has "struggled" to make sense of Indian schooling policies.[132] He suggested that historians turn their attention to other topics and Educational Studies scholar Helen Raptis has publicly supported this opinion.[133] After the release of the TRC's final report,[134] Educational Studies scholar Rodney Clifton and Anthropologist Hymie Rubenstein published a special piece with the *National Post*, claiming that the TRC "reinforces the many half-truths, exaggerations, and selective reporting about the schools and missions."[135] These harmful ideologies continue to be demonstrated by

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[129] Bays, *Indian Residential Schools*, 11.
[130] Bays, *Indian Residential Schools*, 13, 57, 91.
[131] Kenneth Coates, "Second Thoughts About Residential Schools: Were Residential Schools All 'Bad'?" *The Dorchester Review* 4, 2 (Autumn/Winter 2014).
[132] For an assessment of his article, see Crystal Fraser and Ian Mosby, "Setting Canadian History Right? A Response to Ken Coates' 'Second Thoughts about Residential Schools," *Active History* published papers (April 7, 2015), www.activehistory.ca.
[133] Helen Raptis, "Complicating the Residential School Narrative: Indigenous Students' Enrolment Patterns in British Columbia, 1900-1951," Conference Presentation Panel "Stories about Schooling: Indigenous Peoples, Settler Colonialism, and Residential Schools in Western Canada (Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, University of Calgary, May 30 to June 1, 2016).
[134] TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools, 6 vols*.
[135] Rodney E. Clifton and Hymie Rubenstein, "Clifton & Rubenstein: Debunking the Half-Truths and Exaggeration in the Truth and Reconciliation Report," *National Post* (June 4, 2015), www.nationalpost.com. University of Manitoba scholars, including historians Adele Perry and Jarvis Brownlie, responded in a published letter calling Clifton and Rubenstein's understanding of residential schools and genocide "half-baked" and rightly accuses them of ignoring the historical record. University of Manitoba, "Letters: Setting the Record Straight on the TRC," *National Post* (June 5, 2015), www.nationalpost.com. Clifton has a long history of supporting Indian Residential Schooling. See: Clifton, "Not All Residential Schools Were Bad Places," *National Post* (June 2, 2008),"Many Dedicated Lives to

national leaders and institutions within Canadian settler politics. Conservative Senator Lynn Beyak, as one example, has recently applauded the assimilative mandates of residential schools.[136]

Dinjii Zhuh Googwandak[137]: The Use of Oral Evidence in Analyzing Indigenous Complex Personhood

Recalling Eve Tuck's recommendation to instill a moratorium on damage-centered research,[138] I follow sociologist Avery Gordon's concept of complex personhood. This will enable us to "draw on Indigenous understandings of collectivity and the interdependence of the collective and the person rather than on the Western focus on the individual."[139] Complex personhood, particularly when including the voices and stories of Indigenous peoples themselves, makes "room for the contradictions, for the mis/re/cognitions" and "can mean resisting characterizing one another in ways that tacitly reduce us to being either trapped in the irrelevant past or fouled up by modernity."[140] The pursuit of embracing and better understanding complex personhood compliments Indigenous storytelling and stories.

I believe that using oral histories as a key historical methodology will not only allow Indigenous peoples to speak for themselves, but also provide insight and nuance

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Aboriginal Students: All School, Church Employees Shouldn't Be Tainted, Made to Pay for Other's Actions," *Winnipeg Free Press* (March 6, 2003), and "Residential Schools Accomplished Much Good," *Calgary Herald* (September 25, 2000).

[136] Although the Conservative Party of Canada officially stated that Beyak's views do not align with her party's, Conservative senators supported Beyak after her removal from the Senate's Aboriginal peoples committee. John Paul Tasker and Katie Simpson, "Conservative Party Senators Defend Lynn Beyak, As Media Called 'Parasites,'" *CBC News* (April 6, 2017), www.cbc.ca/news.

[137] Literal: Indigenous peoples' stories. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Mitchell, André, and Fraser.

[138] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 420.

[139] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 420.

[140] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 421.

into the experiences of institutionalized children. Anthropologist Julie Cruikshank explains that

> increasingly, indigenous people are demanding that their oral traditions be taken seriously as legitimate perspectives on history. The issue, for them, centers on who controls the images and the representations of their lives portrayed to the larger world. While there is growing awareness in Canada about the need to re-evaluate the history of Native-white relations, it is clear that Aboriginal peoples' views of their own history rarely appear in academic literature.[141]

My dissertation demonstrates that oral histories can and should be used as a fundamental pillar within critical historical research.

In *Life Lived Like a Story*, Cruikshank rigorously analyzed the life histories of Yukon Elders Angela Sidney, Kitty Smith, and Annie Ned, asking readers to consider how storytelling is culturally embedded in Indigenous cultures.[142] Adopting a framework that illustrates how life histories reflect greater cultural processes, she contended that life histories are central to understanding models of cultural stability and change.[143] Cruikshank also drew on her vast and intimate knowledge about Indigenous cultures in the Yukon in *Do Glaciers Listen?*[144] By examining how natural, social, and cultural worlds collide, she argued that local Indigenous knowledge is "never crudely encapsulated in closed tradition, but is produced during human encounters, rather than discovered."[145]

[141] Julie Cruikshank, "Oral Tradition and Oral History: Reviewing Some Issues," *Canadian Historical Review* 75, 3 (September 1994): 403.
[142] Julie Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story: The Stories of Three Yukon Elders* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990), x.
[143] Julie Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story*, 2, 12.
[144] Julie Cruikshank, *Do Glaciers Listen? Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, & Social Imagination* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005).
[145] Cruikshank, *Do Glaciers Listen?*, 4. Other important works by Julie Cruikshank include: Cruikshank, "Images of Society in Klondike Gold Rush Narratives: Skookum Jim and the Discovery of Gold," *Ethnohistory* 29, 1 (Winter 1992); *Reading Voices: Oral and Written Interpretations of the Yukon's Past* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1991); "The Gravel Magnet: Some Social Aspects of the Alaska Highway

Central to Cruikshank's methodology is the contention that oral histories are never static; rather, they are fluid and shift according to the social construction of the present.[146] For her, "rather than acting as clear-cut reflections of society," the task of oral narratives is to "resolve symbolically those issues that cannot necessarily be worked out in the sphere of human activity."[147] In other words, Cruikshank acknowledged that Indigenous peoples are in control of their knowledge and stories and contended that they share their insights as a way to respond to and grapple with strong social forces that are not easily resolved with other methods.

In the North, Dinjii Zhuh academics have been at the forefront of scholarship that prioritizes oral histories over archival documents. In 2007, the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute partnered with historian Michael Heine to produce *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, a local study of Gwichyà Gwich'in histories.[148] It began as a place names project but soon into the research, Dinjii Zhuh Anjòo recognized that their knowledge was fragile and ought to be documented for future generations.[149] This book was closely followed by the work of the Vun Tut Gwitchin First Nation and anthropologist Shirleen Smith. *People of the Lakes* was a critical guide for both undertaking and analyzing

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on Yukon Indians," in *The Alaska Highway: Papers of the 40th Anniversary Symposium*, ed. Kenneth Coates (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1985).

[146] Cruikshank, "Oral Tradition and Oral History: Reviewing Some Issues," 407.

[147] Cruikshank, "Oral Tradition and Oral History," 406.

[148] Michael Heine, Alestine Andre, Ingrid Kritsch, and Alma Cardinal, *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak: The History and Stories of the Gwichya Gwich'in* (Tsiigehtshik and Fort McPherson, NWT: GSCI, 2007).

[149] After more than twenty years of documenting Dinjii Zhuh place names, the GSCI documented thousands of sites in the NWT and Yukon. In partnership with the Geometrics and Cartographic Research Centre at Carleton University, the GSCI has published the *Gwich'in Place Names Atlas* (2016), an interactive, online resource that allows people to learn about Dinjii Zhuh land, resources, culture, and heritage. www.atlas.gwichin.ca. Alestine Andre and Ingrid Kritsch, Department of Cultural Heritage, Gwich'in Tribal Council, "Place Names, Stories & Maps: Telling Our Own History in the Gwich'in Settlement Region" (paper presented at UAlberta North Special Event, University of Alberta, February 15, 2017); Heine et. al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, xv.

interviews with northerners.[150] The book arose out of a community-driven desire to record the histories of Van Tat Gwich'in[151] Anjòo in an effort to "pass the history and knowledge of the elders, across the barriers of language and changing lifestyles, to the youth and future generations."[152] Producing a book that is highly accessible and adopting stylistic techniques that highlight the spoken words of Van Tat Gwich'in people, the authors captivate readers with a history that spans from Ts'ii dęįį to the present.

Anthropologist Nancy Wachowich, in her multi-generational study of Inuit women, also recognized "the historical value of bringing Inuit histories into dialogue with the large body of western accounts of Arctic peoples written by cultural outsiders."[153] She worked with Apphia Agalakti Awa, Rhoda Kaukjak Katsak, and Sandra Pikujak Katsak to trace their life histories over half a century and documented the vast cultural change that each woman witnessed. Wachowich's project was a result of RCAP's call for more histories that examine three-generational life histories. Other scholars who research northern issues have also incorporated oral histories.

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[150] Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation and Shirleen Smith, *People of the Lakes: Stories of Our Van Tat Gwich'in Elders/Googwandak Nakhwach'ànjòo Van Tat Gwich'in* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2009).
[151] People people of the lakes. Literal translation: van = lakes; tat = among; gwich'in = people. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Van Tat dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 170. There have been various spellings of Van Tat Gwich'in, including Vuntut Gwitchin (reflecting the name of the First Nation under *Indian Act* legislation), Loucheux, Kutchin, Rat Indians, and Tukudh. Van Tat Gwich'in is the current preferred written name in modern orthography. Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation and Smith, *People of the Lakes*, xx. Most Van Tat Gwich'in live in Tèechik.
[152] Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation and Smith, *People of the Lakes*, xii.
[153] Nancy Wachowich, Apphia Agalakti Awa, Rhoda Kaukjak Katsak, and Sandra Pikujak Katsak, *Saqiyuq: Stories From the Lives of Three Inuit Women* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 5.

Anthropologist Stephanie Irlbacher-Fox used the Dinjii Zhuh concept of dahshaa,[154] a specific type of dried rotted spruce wood essential to the proper tanning of moose hides, in theorizing self-government in the Denendeh. Using first-hand personal interviews, Irlbacher-Fox demonstrated the social suffering and injustices triggered by government intervention and the dissolution of Indigenous self-government frameworks.[155] As an extension of Irlbacher-Fox's use of Indigenous theory, I suggest that the Dinjii Zhuh concepts of t'aih, vit'aih, and guu'tàii, like dahshaa, will demonstrate the strength and resiliency of Indigenous northerners, particularly when they are forced to engage with the Canadian colonial state.

In 1988, historian Celia Haig-Brown explored Indigenous perspectives at the Kamloops Indian Residential School in *Resistance and Renewal*.[156] Based on her MA research, Haig-Brown's interpretation departed from existing scholarly literature that emphasized the loss of Indigenous culture as a result of residential schooling.[157] By weaving together thirteen interviews with former residential schools students, Haig-Brown depicted life at residential school for Tk'emlúps te Secwėpemc children as oppressive, debilitating, and vastly different from their lifestyle at their family homes.

In this ethnography, Haig-Brown rendered "a picture of strong individuals and a strong culture growing, adapting and surviving" and contended that "the strength which resisted the onslaught of cultural invasion perpetuated by the residential school for

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[154] Punk wood. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Teetł'it dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 273. This kind of wood is most commonly used to smoke hides.
[155] Wachowich, Awa, Katsak, and Katsak, *Saqiyuq*, 154.
[156] Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1998), 21.
[157] Celia Haig-Brown, "Invasion and Resistance: Native Perspectives of the Kamloops Indian Residential School," (MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1986).

almost a century is the strength of a people and a culture which continues to grow and survive."[158] Haig-Brown stressed the numerous forms of resistance and focused on accounts that demonstrated the ingenuity and creativity of Indigenous children in responding to their everyday conditions. Scholars criticized Haig-Brown's focus on oral testimony, arguing that she failed to provide a balanced historical interpretation.[159] The book, however, was widely read and should be recognized as an early contribution to a growing collection of titles that incorporate the perspectives of Indigenous peoples into analytical frameworks.[160]

As noted earlier, the desire to better understand Indigenous histories, in part by incorporating oral evidence, is not surprising given the various political developments over the last forty years and especially more recently. By the early-to-mid 1990s, academics and Canadians more generally were moved by a shift in Canadian politics that placed Indigenous issues at the forefront of national discussion. In 1990, a bitter land dispute driven by the protection of a sacred Kanien'kehá:ka burial ground resulted in a 78-day standoff between Kanien'kehá:ka, the Ontario provincial police, and the Canadian military. The so-called "Oka Crisis" uncovered ongoing tensions between Indigenous peoples and the state. Also in 1990, the Head of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs Phil Fontaine publicly shared his memories of being physically and sexually abused at the Oblates of Mary Immaculate at Sagkeeng and called for an inquiry into

[158] Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*, 22, 151.
[159] Jacqueline Gresko, "Review," *The Canadian Historical Review* 70, 3 (1989), 453; Robert J. Carney, "Review," *Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology* 26, 5 (November 1989), 852.
[160] See also: Rosalyn Ing, "The Effects of Residential Schools on Native Child-Rearing Practices," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 18 (1991); Linda R. Bull, "Indian Residential Schooling: The Native Perspective," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 18 (1991).

these crimes. A year later, the Canadian Government convened RCAP, which was designed to study the historical relationships between Indigenous nations and the Canadian colonial state. During Canada's quasquicentennial in 1992, *R. v. Sparrow* was the first Supreme Court decision that tested Section 35 of the *Constitution Act*, which ruled in favour of inherent Indigenous hunting and fishing rights.

These legal and political issues show how resistance to colonial state oppression and Indigenous responses to historic and contemporary injustices included the use of prolific oral testimonies and stories that drew upon various forms of Indigenous knowledge and storytelling methodologies. Dene scholar Dian Million explains that

> narrative may bear the marks of their production in chaos, but they cannot be ignored, since they too represent discursive strategy. These Indigenous concepts of how the world works, and how it came to be, can never be summarily dismissed. They work differently. Story has always been practical, strategic, and restorative. Story *is* Indigenous theory. If these knowledges are couched in narratives, then narratives are always more than telling stories. Narratives seek inclusion; they seek the nooks and crannies of experiences filling cracks and restoring order. Narratives lay boundaries. Narratives give orphans homes.[161]

This is why stories must also be incorporated into historical scholarship. When Indigenous peoples share their experiences and histories through the medium of orality, they are connecting to their ancestors in a way that is often misunderstood. Drawing upon methodological cultural practices from thousands of years ago, Indigenous peoples theorize their lives, share various forms of Indigenous knowledge, ensure that their experiences live on and do so in a way that is guided by cultural rules. Scholars have sometimes questioned if the expertise of Indigenous peoples should be considered

[161] Dian Million, "There Is a River in Me: Theory from Life," in *Theorizing Native Studies*, Audra Simpson and Andrea Smith, eds. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 35.

as unbiased, naively assuming that their own work incorporates such characteristics or that objectivity is tangible and can be acquired.

Missing from the historical literature is a history of residential schools in Nanhkak Thak that is told from a Gwichyà Gwich'in perspective, from a historian who herself has suffered the intergenerational trauma of residential schools, and who has been trained in Dinjii Zhuh oral tradition since she was a toddler. Indeed, I recall my great grandmother Julienne Andre telling me stories when I was three years old. She wore a 'traditional' head scarf, was constantly draped in blankets, and walked with a cane. When I knew her, as she neared her ninety-fourth birthday, Julienne's favourite spot was her bed, which consisted of a pallet on the floor covered in blankets and pillows. At this particular time, I was her only great-grandchild and had full monopoly over her time and attention; I plunked myself down in front of her and listened hour after hour as she told me stories in our language, Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk. As is custom, there were sometimes long pauses in storytelling, but I always knew she was still awake when I saw a puff of smoke escape the bowl of her pipe. After Julienne passed away, my dìd Marka ensured that my training in story telling (and listening!) continued into my teenage years.

Above, I examined three different bodies of historical literature. I suggested there continue to be wide gaps in the historical literature that critically analyzes Indigenous people in the North, residential schooling in Canada more broadly, and how Indigenous storytelling advances our historical knowledge. In the early 1970s, Canadians were wrestling with emerging ideas about 'Indian' rights, land conflicts, and power

being returned into Indigenous communities. By the late 1980s and early-to-mid 1990s, some non-Indigenous academics began to re-examine their relationship (or lack thereof) with Indigenous peoples and how they approached their research questions. By the second decade of the twenty-first century, a new generation of scholars framed research questions in vastly different ways; northerners, such as Heather McGregor, were writing their historical interpretation of histories of the North. Others had realized that an analysis of residential schooling north of sixty was plainly absent. This dissertation contributes to the bodies of literature examined above in several ways and attempts to add further insight and nuance to existing research areas and methodologies. But additionally, I seek to add a new perspective and approach on how to incorporate oral histories, uphold Indigenous voices, acknowledge and celebrate existing Indigenous historians who have received their "PhDs on the land,"[162] while also promising to resist ongoing colonial efforts to undermine, displace, and destroy Indigenous cultures and lands.

[162] One of my mentors, Sarah (nilìh ch'uu Tetlichi) Jerome, always said that she received a "PhD on the land." This year, she was awarded an Honorary Doctor of Laws at the University of Alberta, Augustana campus on June 2, 2019.

Tyek:[1] Yeenoo Dąįį.'[2] "If anyone is going to jail for this, I'm taking it"[3]: Early Interventions into Schooling in Nanhkak Thak From Early Days to 1959

In 2015, Teetł'it Gwich'in Anjòo Mary Effie Snowshoe shared a "sad story" from her parents, Ronnie and Laura Pascal. She recounted an occasion during the early 1920s when Dinjii Zhuh families gathered on the banks of the Teetł'it Gwinjik[4] to send their children to St. Peter's Indian Residential School in Xátł'odehchee.[5] Families were filled with sorrow as they watched Anglican missionaries load their children, some as young as two years old, onto boats for the long trip up the Nagwichoonjik.[6] On this day, Chief Julius Salu was grieving the loss of his daughter who had tragically died at the school earlier that year.[7] He said,

> No more, no more. Nobody is to send their children away again not to Hay River, nowhere. If anybody is threatened that they are going to go to court over their children, I'm going to be there. I'm the one who is going to stand there in place of whoever is going to be there. If anybody is going to go to jail for this I'm taking

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[1] Three. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Gwich'in Language Centre (GLC) and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,' Gwich'in Language Dictionary (Fort McPherson and Tsiigehtchic dialects), 5th Ed.* (Teetl'it Zheh & Tsiigehtchic, Northwest Territories [NWT]: GLC and GSCI March 2005), 246.

[2] Recent history. Literal translation: yeenoo = to this time; dąįį' = at that time, Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 119.

[3] Mary Effie Snowshoe, interview with Arlyn Charlie, Teetł't Zheh, GSCI, 21 July 21 2015, Teetł'it Gwich'in Googwandak Project, re: Residential School. Dinjii Zhuh Anjòo Christie Thompson also shared these memories. See Christie Thompson, "Reminiscence – Part #1," in *Gwich'in COPE [Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement] Stories* (Fort McPherson, NWT: GSCI, 2010), 671.

[4] Peel River. Literal translation: "head of the waters – along the course of." Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), " www.altas.gwichin.ca.

[5] Xátł'odehchee, K'atlodeeche, and Métis ancestral lands comprise the current Town of Hay River. See *Treaty No. 8, Made June 21, 1899 and Adhesions Reports, etc.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966).

[6] There is still living memory of this in the community. When she was two years old, Doris Itsi was institutionalized at St. Peter's. Additionally, Dinjii Zhuh man Robbie Pascal was threatened with legal action if he did not send his three-year-old toddler to the same school. Doris Itsi, interview with William Firth, Sandra Dolan, and Laura Peterson, GSCI, *Interviews* (Fort McPherson, NWT: April 9, 1999).

[7] Julius Salu, born on September 19, 1874 in the Tth'oh Zraii Njik (Blackstone River) area, was the last 'traditional' Dinjii Zhuh chief, www.altas.gwichin.ca.

> it. After everybody go back up, go back home and when you're ready I want everybody to gather at my place.[8]

This was a risky decision; Teetł'it Gwich'in families knew that school administrators and Indian Agents reported uncooperative parents and absent children to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP).[9] Salu and his Councillors, Johnny Kay Sr., Andrew Kunnizzi, and Abraham Francis, had carefully weighed their decision; they did not oppose schooling, just residential institutionalization. Thus, these families collected their children, walked up the embankment, and returned to their homes in Teetł'it Zheh to organize a collective response to the removal of their children from their community.

After community discussions, these families partnered with local religious officials of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC) to petition the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) to construct a new residential school on the lower Nagwichoonjik, in the heart of Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit territory, to spare their children the experience of travelling to and being institutionalized at schools in Xátł'odehchee, Zhati Kų́ę́, and Deníu Kų́ę́.[10] According to Anjòo Christie Thompson, Salu had a well-established relationship with the few Indian Agents in the region, yet that did not dissuade him from threatening to reject treaty payments and severing his

[8] Snowshoe, interview with Charlie.
[9] In 1913, a mother attempted to remove her daughter from the St. Joseph's Convent Indian Residential School (SJCIRS) in Deníu Kų́ę́. Upon being reported to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), she was forced to return home alone. "English Language Summary of the Fort Resolution Chronicles, Vol. 1, 1903-1942," 3, qtd. in The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience, The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Vol. 2* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 33.
[10] The official name for Deníu Kų́ę́ is Fort Resolution. Fort Resolution sits on lands belonging to the Denínu Kų́ę́ peoples and Métis peoples. See *Treaty No. 8 Made June 21, 1899 and Adhesions, Reports, Etc.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1899); Government of Canada, NWT Treaty #8 Tribal Corporation, and the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT), *The Akaitcho Territory Dene First Nations Framework* (Yellowknife, NWT: Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, GNWT, 2000).

relationship with the Crown.[11] The DIA denied the community's request, blaming federal austerity programs.[12]

This chapter sets the stage for subsequent chapters and demonstrates how Indigenous northerners engaged with the churches and federal government during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The dissertation asks how Indigenous peoples in Nanhkak Thak strategically responded to matters of schooling in Inuuvik and used Dinjii Zhuh forms of strength – t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii – between 1959 and 1996. This chapter highlights the challenges and activism around residential and day schooling before the construction of Inuuvik and argues that parents and caregivers were spirited evaluators long before the postwar period. Their desire and perseverance to create a schooling system to best suit their needs led to lasting methods of intervention. They role-modeled these concepts to their children, some of whom were placed at Grollier and Stringer Halls, meaning that the next generation were poised to become active participants in northern politics.

I underscore how Dinjii Zhuh families embodied t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii when grappling with residential schooling and other damaging state policies. Given that many colonial policies largely spared Nanhkak Thak until the twentieth century, northerners remained well versed in and deeply engaged with familiar traditions and concepts of

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[11] In 1937, people at Deníu Kų́ę́ refused to accept Treaty payments while protesting school conditions, since "it is like the children are living in hell." Report, Acting Sergeant G.T. Makinson, "N.W.T. – General Policy File – Education and Schools, 1905-1944, Resolution, N.W.T.," July 3, 1937, Library and Archives Canada (LAC) RG85 Vol. 1505, File 600-1-1, Pt. 1, qtd. in TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience,* 34; Thompson, "Reminiscence – Part #1," *Gwich'in COPE Stories*, 671.

[12] Gabriel Breynat, Bishop of Adramyte, Vicar Apostolic of Mackenzie, The Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI) Mission to Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent General, Department of Indian Affairs (DIA), October 6, 1932, LAC RG10 Vol. 6475 File 918-5 Pt. 1; TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience,* 18.

strength well into the twentieth century. When interacting with state agents, parents and leaders embodied the concepts of t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii in their pursuit of strategically reordering networks of power in productive and lasting ways.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first briefly considers Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit histories before the establishment of day and residential schools and broadly discusses Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit perspectives around education.[13] Rooted in strength-based approaches, Indigenous knowledge was integral to the persistence and flourishing of northern societies. Parents and kin networks valued their children and the survival and wellbeing of communities were dependent on educating future generations. There are no scholarly resources that examine the histories of childrearing among Nanhkak Thak families. Here, I use oral histories and local northern resources.

Second, I examine the history of missionary day and residential schooling in Nanhkak Thak. Leaders were politically well-versed and knowledgeable about the state and how to use church machinery to influence federal decision makers. This was applied when Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit[14] entered into treaty negotiations; Dinjii Zhuh formalized their relationship with the Queen through Treaty 11 in 1921 while Inuvialuit families chose otherwise.[15] I highlight the deep unrest among families who desired day schooling

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[13] For more on Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit teaching philosophies and pedagogy, see Michael Heine, Alestine Andre, Ingrid Kritsch, and Alma Cardinal, *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak: The History and Stories of the Gwichya Gwich'in* (Tsiigehtshik and Fort McPherson, NWT: GSCI, 2007); Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC), *Taimani: At That Time, Inuvialuit Timeline Visual Guidelines*, eds. Charles Arnold et. al. (Inuvik, NWT: IRC, 2011).

[14] We call Inuvialuit Chuuvee Gwi'ineekaii. Literal translation: chuuvee = the Coast; gwi'ineekaii = Inuvialuit. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 133.

[15] *Treaty No. 11 (June 27, 1921) and Adhesion (July 17, 1922) with Reports, etc.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1957).

for their children but refused to accede entirely to emerging federal policies of residential institutions, demonstrating the breadth of complex personhood during this time period and in this region. Despite their efforts, national residential schooling policies were imposed with the construction of All Saints Indian Residential School and Immaculate Conception Indian Residential School in Akłarvik in 1926 and 1936, respectively.

In the last section, I provide important contextual information about the development of northern schooling policies during the 1950s that came to define the schooling experience in Inuuvik for thousands of Indigenous children over nearly four decades. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR) Minister Jean Lesage launched an aggressive project of northern development that replaced the archaic and ramshackle residential schools in Akłarvik with a lattice of new, modern, colonial schooling structures in Inuuvik. This energetic program sought to alter the fabric of northern Indigeneity and usher families into 'modern' Canada. Although Indigenous families desired schools for their children, it was impossible for them to foresee an invasive schooling system designed to dispossess them of their ancestral lands, dismantle their cultures, and assimilate them into uunjit society.

The development of Inuuvik and the opening of Grollier and Stringer Halls, 'modern' Indian Residential Schools, meant that Inuuvik was a new northern hub; indeed, it was the administrative centre of the region, but its influence reached much further. Indigenous youngsters travelled to Inuvik from Denendeh, Inuit Nunangat, the Yukon, and Alberta to receive their education. As such, the power of Indigenous parents

and families naturally dissipated as their children had the potential of being institutionalized thousands of kilometers away. The first decade of residential schooling (1959-1969) was managed with intense federal oversight; parents no longer had the ability to negotiate some aspects of their children's education with residential school administrators, as they did in Akłarvik. Nevertheless, as argued in subsequent chapters, they embodied t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii when responding to and resisting church and government power.

Indigenous Education scholar Eve Tuck leads the conversation about the dangers of "damage-centered research" and this dissertation is, in part, modeled on her work. While I briefly discuss the carcerality and violence of Akłarvik's All Saints and Immaculate Conception Indian Residential Schools, I follow Tuck's caution about the dangers of damage-centered research and thus seek to uncover how Indigenous students and their families intervened in and guided conversations about schooling during these early years of state and church meddling. As demonstrated in the vignette that opened this chapter, Indigenous leadership combined with Dinjii Zhuh strength afforded people the ability to overcome struggles and act in the best interest of their children and families. Here, examples of t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii and the "strategic reversibility of power"[16] underscore my desire to better understand the complex personhoods[17] of Indigenous northerners during the twentieth century.

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[16] Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry* 8, 4 (Summer 1982).
[17] Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 79, 3 (Fall 2009), 411.

This chapter argues that during these formative years, despite setbacks and challenges, Indigenous northerners refined their engagement with colonial schooling structures and agents, providing them with the knowledge and expertise they needed to tackle problems in Inuuvik as they unfolded. I demonstrate that the Dinjii Zhuh concepts of t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii were entrenched and actively used by Dinjii Zhuh families as their relationships with Christian missionaries, the Canadian nation state, and residential schooling grew. French philosopher Michel Foucault argues that resistance to state power is inextricably linked to assertions of political sovereignty.[18] This is demonstrated through various Indigenous nations in the North countering state and church power in their endeavor to remain sovereign and self-asserting.

They "finished telling a story, then another one would begin…You went around, you heard story-telling all over"[19]: Indigenous Histories and Education in Nanhkak Thak Before the Arrival of Uunjit

Dinjii Zhuh are Indigenous to the northerly subarctic boreal forest of contemporary Alaska, Yukon, and Denendeh. Living in the region since Ts'ii Dęįį, Anjòo have fondly recalled the days when people and animals were considered kin, equal to each other, and had the special ability to shape shift between worlds.[20] Enormous spirit beings and animals called Chijuudiee[21] and ninaa'įh,[22] mysterious bush giants, monitored the land during Ts'ii Dęįį. Complex social relations characterized this larger

[18] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-1978,* ed. Michael Senellart and trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Picador, 2004), 195.
[19] Heine et. al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, 58.
[20] Heine et. al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, 3.
[21] Monster. Literal translation: under water monster. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Teetł'it dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 158.
[22] Bushman. Literal translation: one who hides. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 37.

community; some animals were hostile towards humans while others, such as Daadząįí, responded with kindness and compassion. Atachuukąįį[23] and Ch'ii Choo,[24] ancient leaders, guided families and shared their expertise as warriors. When Scottish explorer and fur trader Alexander Mackenzie visited Nanhkak Thak in July 1789, most people had lost the ability to shape shift and transcend the material world, with the exception of dinjii dazhàn.[25] Vàhzhìt ga'dìndàii became the new medium for communication among worlds.[26]

In the late eighteenth century, there were nine Dinjii Zhuh communities.[27] These families travelled the land extensively, formed partnerships, and followed vàdzaih into the mountains in the winter by dogteam and returned to the flats in birch bark canoes and rafts in the summer for fishing and cultural gatherings.[28] Fishing, snaring, trapping, and gathering provided communities with both sustenance and wealth. Kin structures were matrilineal and polygamous intimate relationships were widely accepted. Women were leaders, highly skilled social managers, and had the ability to influence hunting

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[23] Atachuukąįį was one of the earliest Gwichyà Gwich'in travelers in the Delta. He was also known as Kwan Ehdan. There are several stories about Atachuukąįį and his relations with Deetrin, Wolverine, and Ch'ii Choo. See Heine et. al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak;* Alestine Andre with Mary Kendi, "Legends of the Gwich'in," GSCI (s.l., s.n.).

[24] Ch'ii Choo was a giant and is famously known for his role in the story where he chases Atachuukąįį up the Nagwichoonjik. There are various ways this story ends. For more, see Heine et. al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*.

[25] Medicine person. Literal translation: dinjii = man; dazhàn = one who possesses spiritual medicine. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 153.

[26] In his dreams. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (unspecified dialect), Heine et. al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, 97.

[27] Heine et. al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, 48. Anthropologist Shepherd Krech III speculated on the possibility of a tenth Dinjii Zhuh community, the Nakotcho Kutchin who purportedly succumbed to disease. Shephard Krech III, "The Nakotcho Kutchin: A Tenth Aboriginal Kutchin Band?" *Journal of Anthropological Research* 35, 1 (Spring 1979), 109.

[28] Heine et. al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, 62.

economies with shan.[29] The neighbouring Inuvialuit and Sahtú Got'įnę nations were well known to Dinjii Zhuh; indeed, local histories shed light on international social relations that were at times both amicable and hostile.[30]

During the nineteenth century, both men and women were skilled fur traders and partnered with the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). Dinjii Zhuh families valued trade goods, such as axes, irons, kettles, muzzleloaders, and rifles. Naagajį were the most lucrative trade item, "just like diamonds to the people in those days," according to Gwichyà Gwich'in man Billy Cardinal.[31] Valued against the HBC currency Made Beaver, people used naagajį extensively in economic transactions well into the twentieth century. As the Canadian national wage-labour economy expanded, men commonly worked as pilots on York boats and steamships or as loggers to supply the growing transportation industry with fuel.[32]

Inuvialuit share similar lifestyles with Inuit[33] across the entire arctic and Kalaallit Nunaat, I upiat in contemporary Alaska, and Yupik people of Sivuqaq[34] and Siberia. When reflecting on the past, Inuvialuit Elders talk about Ingilraani, the Inuvialuktun word for Time Immemorial.[35] Around the fourteenth century, the Inuvialuit's distant ancestors, the Thule, established roots on the arctic coast. Thousands of people formed

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[29] Spiritual medicine. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 153.

[30] Missionaries, ethnologists, and anthropologists have emphasized the violent historical relationships between Inuvialuit and Dinjii Zhuh nations. There is little evidence, however, that they were constantly at war with each other. Rather, I suspect that missionaries and early scholars framed Indigenous northerners as 'savage' and 'unruly' to credit uunjit with the ability to 'tame' their hostility.

[31] Heine et. al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, 182.

[32] Heine et. al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, 190.

[33] Dinjii Zhuh call Inuit people "Ineekajį." Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (unspecified dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 83.

[34] IRC, *Taimani*, 10. Sivuqaq is also called the St. Lawrence Islands.

[35] IRC, *Taimani*, 11.

eight Siglit groups and life was guided by seasonal activities. Labour was balanced by gender: women prepared food, sewed clothing, assembled and deconstructed camps, and guided the umiaq so men could harpoon whales.[36] Men led communities, crafted the tools necessary for on-the-land living, and were hunters. According to historian Renée Fossett, "Inuit created highly complex, holistic systems of law, justice, and leadership and an oral canon for teaching the generations the rules for correct living."[37] Historically, the tree line served as a border for Inuvialuit and Dinjii Zhuh, but Dinjii Zhuh regularly travelled into Inuvialuit territory and Inuvialuit often ventured into Nanhkak Thak, as far south as Vihtr'ii tshik to gather cooking stones and flint.[38]

Figure 7. Inuvialuit visit Tsiigehtshik for the seasonal herring run. In 1915, people wore clothing made from furs and skins, while incorporating uunjit items (such as the captain's naval hats). Although this image was posed, these men held young children demonstrating that child-rearing was the responsibility of all family members. Untitled. Archival Caption: "Mackenzie Delta Inuit. 'These were nearly all the eskimos [Inuvialuit]. I saw a number of them last summer. They come from further north for the herring run at Arctic Red River. Summer of 1915, Arctic Red River.'"[39]

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[36] IRC, *Taimani*, 28.
[37] Renée Fossett, *In Order to Live Untroubled: Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550-1940* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001), 5.
[38] Heine et. al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, 53.
[39] Northwest Territories Archives (NWTA) Alma Guest fonds, acc. no. N-1979-067, item no. 0041.

Although Métis people now reside in Nanhkak Thak, they are not indigenous to nakhwinan. Anthropologist Richard Slobodin's *Metis of the Mackenzie District* is the singular study that examines Métis people in this region, but his analysis is underpinned by inaccurate understandings of identity that elevate "mixed" ancestry above kin networks in the Red River area.[40] Indigenous Studies scholar Chris Andersen argues that to "continue to understand the Métis in terms of some apparently innate mixedness is thus to reproduce the same racist depictions through which less critical commentators – among them scholars – recognize indigeneity."[41] For many Métis Studies scholars, including Darryl Leroux, Adam Gaudry, and Andersen, those who come from the Métis Nation (proper) come from the historic Red River area; ascribing 'metis-ness' based on blood quantum and the 'mixing' of European and Indigenous blood is inaccurate.[42]

Red River Métis families have, however, resided in Nanhkak Thak since Francois Beaulieu travelled as a voyageur with Alexander Mackenzie during the late eighteenth century.[43] Historian Nathalie Kermoal analyzes the contribution of Métis women's labour in the Mackenzie Basin, but finds that Red River Métis were settling in the regions southeast of Łíídlįį Kų́ę́[44] and the greater Tinde'e[45] area as late as the twentieth

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[40] Richard Slobodin, *Metis of the Mackenzie District* (Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, Saint-Paul University, 1966), 12-13.
[41] Chris Andersen, *Métis: Race, Recognition, and the Struggle For Indigenous Peoplehood* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), 11.
[42] Adam Gaudry, "Communicating with the Dead: The 'New Métis,' Métis Identity Appropriation, and the Displacement of Living Métis Culture," *American Indian Quarterly* 42, 2 (Spring 2018); Adam Gaudry and Darryl Leroux, "White Settler Revisionism and Making Métis Everywhere: The Evocation of Métissage in Quebec and Nova Scotia," *Critical Ethnic Studies* 3, 1 (Spring 2017).
[43] Northwest Territory Métis Nation, "Northwest Territory Métis Nation Declaration," www.nwtmetisnation.ca.
[44] Fort Simpson is officially known as Łíídlįį Kų́ę́ or the "place where rivers come together." See *Treaty No. 11*; *The Akaitcho Territory Dene First Nations Framework*.

century.[46] Métis who grew roots south of Tinde'e developed a strong presence and a number of those families migrated to Nanhkak Thak and fostered intimate ties with Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit.[47] Métis students were also institutionalized at Grollier and Stringer Halls and therefore their experiences and responses to the schooling system are critical in understanding student experiences.

Before the official implementation of church- and state-based schooling in 1867, education for Indigenous northerners was integral to all aspects of life and lessons extended well into adulthood. Learning and teaching focused on observation, participation, engagement, on-the-land experiences, and the (re)telling of history, stories, and legends.[48] Oral histories were especially important since they connected people to Ts'ii Dęįį and Ingilraani[49] and underscored the significance of human-spirit-

[45] Tinde'e (T'satsaot'ine) means "Big Lake," which refers to Great Slave Lake.

[46] Nathalie Kermoal, "Missing from History: The Economic, Social and Political Roles of Métis Women of the Mackenzie Basin, 1790-1990," in *Picking Up the Threads: Métis History in the Mackenzie Basin*, ed. Métis Heritage Association of the Northwest Territories (Winnipeg: Métis Heritage Association of the Northwest Territories, 1998).

[47] There is a body of literature that explores the histories of intimacy, particularly in colonial contexts. For a brief sampling, see: Adele Perry, *Colonial Relations: The Douglas-Connolly Family and the Nineteenth-Century Imperial World* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in the Fur-Trade Society, in Western Canada, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishing Ltd.); Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1980).

[48] I disagree with the phrase 'traditional knowledge' (TK) and agree with anthropologist Stephanie Irlbacher-Fox that "debates about TK have been and continue to be a political fight dressed up as an intellectual one." Irlbacher-Fox contends that settler Canadians have used knowledge about TK, coupled with their white privilege, to become arbiters of the process when control over TK should remain in the hands of Indigenous peoples. Stephanie Irlbacher-Fox, "Traditional Knowledge, Co-Existence and Co-Resistance," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* 3, 3 (2014), 149; Lynn Gehl, "From Cognitive Imperialism to Indigenizing 'The Learning Wigwam,'" *World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium* (2010), 11; IRC, *Taimani*, 106; Catherine A. McGregor, "Creating Able Human Beings: Social Studies Curricula in the Northwest Territories and Nunavut, 1969 to Present," *Historical Studies in Education Special Issue: Education North of 60* 27, 1 (Spring 2015), 58.

[49] Time Immemorial, Inuvialuktun.

environmental relationships.[50] Societies prioritized participation over verbal explanations and valued a high engagement with and interconnectedness to the land.

In his memoir *I, Nuligak*, Inuvialuk author Bob Cockney recalled that at the turn of the twentieth century, "my school was the ocean and the steppe."[51] Gwichyà Gwich'in man Tony Andre recalled his parents testing him during the 1920s on place names: "Yes, he's testing me. He's trying to tell me some crazy word, and then…he says, 'What's the name of this lake?' Well, I can't be stuck, I just got to say it right there."[52] Elders were valued for their insight and wisdom and families relied on their expertise to teach younger generations. Dinjii Zhuh Anjòo Joan Nazon recalled that a family member "finished telling a story, then another one would begin…You went around, you heard story-telling all over."[53]

For Indigenous northerners of Nanhkak Thak, these teachings and stories carried on because of the ability to channel and practice ancestral strength, personal strength, and community strength. Without the many different forms of strength, ancient teachings about the land and animals would have waned, individuals would have suffered, and relationships between extended families and partnering families would have dissolved.[54] The desire of Indigenous parents to keep their children at home and families intact derived from all forms of strength – t'aih (ancestral), vit'aih (personal),

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[50] Heine et al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, 58-59.
[51] Bob Cockney, *I, Nuligak*, trans. Maurice Métayer (Richmond Hill: Simon & Schuster, 1966), 89.
[52] Heine et al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, 57.
[53] Heine et al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, 58.
[54] Although a work of fiction, Dinjii Zhuh strength is at the centre of a story about two elderly women who needed each other to survive. See Velma Wallis, *Two Old Women: An Alaskan Legend of Betrayal, Courage and Survival* (Kenmore, WA: Epicentre Press Inc., 1993).

and guut'àii (communal) – since oral pedagogies and knowledge systems had been rooted in nakhwinan since Ts'ii Dęįį.

"My people are not used to being anywhere without their children"[55]: The Establishment of Day and Residential Schools in Nanhkak Thak, 1850s to 1950s

After the arrival of Oblate and Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries in 1858, a pedagogical shift occurred as families acknowledged the value of training their children in select Euro-Christian practices. Through international communications, northerners were prepared for the arrival of major Christian religious orders.[56] Missionaries visited camps and communities, sometimes at the invitation of families, to 'supplement' Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit pedagogies.[57] Bob Cockney wrote that he did not attend school, but the Tanaomerk taught him how to read and write at his camp, despite his community looking "distrustfully on all this."[58]

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[55] Christine Watson, "Autobiographical Writing as Healing Process: Alice Masak French in Conversation with Christine Watson," *Hectate* 25, 1 (May 1999), 178.
[56] James Hunter, "Exploratory Mission Journey to the Mackenzie River Districts," *Church Missionary Intelligencer* 10 (1859); Frank A. Peake, *The Bishop Who Ate His Boots: A Biography of Isaac O. Stringer* (Don Mills, ON: The Anglican Church of Canada [ACC], 1966), 16.
[57] Archibald Lang Fleming listed detailed accounts of these trips in his autobiography, *Archibald of the Arctic* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956).
[58] Cockney, *I, Nuligak*, 62.

Figure 8. Anglican Bishop Isaac O. Stringer visits an Inuvialuit camp near Teetł'it Zheh or Tsiigehtshik. This structure was made from aatr'ii. Dinjii Zhuh anthropologist explains that "large pieces of bark are peeled from trees in the spring when the sap is running and used as shingles and siding for smokehouses."[59] Aatr'ii provides good temperature regulation in the smokehouse. Untitled, undated, c. 1920s. Archival Caption: "Bishop Stringer of the Anglican Mission Yukon and Northwest Territories at Eskimo summer camp at either Fort McPherson or Arctic Red River. The sides of this camp are sheets of spruce bark peeled from spruce trees."[60]

Guidelines to 'manage' Indigenous peoples were outlined in the *British North America Act* (1867), the *Northwest Territories Act* (1875), and the *Indian Act* (1867),[61] but the Northwest Territories (NWT) had only become Canada's responsibility in 1870. Northerners and the missionaries who resided among them were largely left to their own devices well into the twentieth century. As such, in 1877, Anishinaabe-Scottish CMS missionary Robert McDonald established the only missionary day school in Nanhkak Thak, in Teetł'it Zheh.

[59] Alestine Andre and Alan Fehr, *Gwich'in Ethnobotany: Plants Used by the Gwich'in for Food, Medicine, Shelter and Tools, 3rd ed.* (Inuvik and Tsiigehtchic, NWT: GSCI and Aurora Research Institute, 2010), 20.
[60] NWTA, Hal Evarts fonds, acc. no. N-1979-031, item no. 0067.
[61] Government of Canada, *Indian Act, 1876* and its amendments (1880, 1894, 1920, 1927, and 1951). Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1951. For a good introduction to the *Indian Act*, see Bob Joseph, *21 Things You May Not Know About the Indian Act* (Port Coquitlam, BC: Indigenous Relations Press, 2018).

Figure 9. Summer in Teetł'it Zheh, 1901. A child is seen looking around the corner of a tipi-like structure that is covered in animal skin. There are several buildings in the distance, presumably the HBC trading post, the school house, and St. Matthew's Mission. Untitled, 1901. Archival Caption: "Fort McPherson, the most northerly post of the HBCo. It is on Peel River, within the Arctic Circle, 2000 miles north of Edmonton. The midnight sun shines here for about two weeks. The Esquimaux [Inuvialuit] quite frequently come as far south and [sic] McPherson for trade."[62]

With the opening of a day school, some families relocated to Teetł'it Zheh but others remained on nakhwinan. Both were calculated acts of t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii in a changing socio-economic climate. For children who attended day school, lessons consisted of translating biblical texts and studying English orthographies.[63] Religious Studies scholar Jamie Scott argues that missionaries perceived education as essential to civilize Indigenous peoples, but anthropologist Patrick Moore contends that McDonald extensively incorporated local Dinjii Zhuh culture into his curricula and pedagogy.[64]

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[62] NWTA, C.W. Mathers fonds, acc. no. N-1979-058, item no. 0004.

[63] Patrick Moore, "Archdeacon Robert McDonald and Gwich'in Literacy," *Anthropological Linguistics* 49, 1 (Spring 2007).

[64] Jamie S. Scott, "Penitential and Penitentiary: Native Canadians and Colonial Mission Education," in *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions*, Scott and Gareth Griffiths, eds. (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 113-114; Moore, "Archdeacon Robert McDonald and Gwich'in Literacy," 27.

Outbreaks of disease and the unavailability of instructors hampered school operations, allowing McDonald to offer only part-time lessons.[65] By 1892, he reported 80 students in attendance and in 1899 the DIA provided the school with a small salary stipend, the first federal intervention into schooling in Nanhkak Thak.[66] Further, the DIA appointed fur trader John Firth the first "government law officer," but local families, in partnership with missionaries, generally controlled decisions related to schooling.[67] As missionaries infiltrated northern communities, more day schools were established but by the turn of the twentieth century, there were only a handful of day schools and two residential schools spanning the entire 3,376,698 square kilometers of the NWT.

Historian Michael Heine estimates that between 1900 and 1930, approximately 200 children from Nanhkak Thak attended schools that were over 1400 kilometers away from their families and territories.[68] In 1867, the Grey Nuns of Montréal established the first residential school north of the sixtieth parallel, Sacred Heart Indian Residential School in Zhati Kų́ę. More than two decades passed before the Anglican residential

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[65] Norman John Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions: Education in the Northwest Territories From Early Days to 1984* (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1991), 87; ACC, "Anglican Residential Schools: Fleming Hall, Fort McPherson, NWT," (September 2008), www.anglican.ca/relationships.

[66] Although there had been a Hudson's Bay Company post in Teetł'it Zheh since 1840, nearly fifty years passed before the federal government established its presence in Nanhkak Thak. Peake, *The Bishop Who Ate His Boots*, 16; ACC, "Anglican Residential Schools: Fleming Hall"; *NWT Data Book 1990/91: A Complete Information Guide to the Northwest Territories and its Communities* (Yellowknife, NWT: Outcrop, 1990), 142; Advisory Commission on the Development of the Government in the Northwest Territories (ACDGNWT), *Settlements of the Northwest Territories: Descriptions Prepared for the Advisory Commission on the Development of Government in the Northwest Territories, Vol. 2* (Ottawa: Education Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources [DNANR], 1966), 44; ACC, "Anglican Residential Schools: Fleming Hall, Fort McPherson, NWT."

[67] *NWT Data Book 1990/91*, 142.

[68] Michael Heine, "Gwich'in Tsii'in: A History of Gwich'in Athapaskan Games," PhD Dissertation, Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation, (University of Alberta, 1995), 2. Most of the children travelled south to these schools, but some travelled north from ᓂᐢᑕᐚᔮᐤ (Nistawâyâw; Fort McMurray). TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 17. Nagwichoonjik children of Tsiigehtshik attended Catholic schools and Teetł'it Gwinjik children of Teetł'it Zheh Anglican schools, reflecting the evangelical success of Church Missionary Society missionary James Hunter and Henri Grollier, OMI.

school in Xátł'odehchee, St. Peter's, opened and St. Joseph's Indian Residential School in Deníu Kų́ę́ followed in 1903. Not all children during this era attended residential schools, particularly for those remaining on nakhwinan where they remained unbothered. Children who lived in close proximity to missionaries were subjected to church officials, Indian Agents, and RCMP officers who enforced the *Indian Act* and mandatory attendance; these children often had no choice and were institutionalized.

Teetł'it Gwich'in Anjòo Johnny Tetlichi contended that by the early 1920s, Nanhkak Thak families recognized imminent "winds of change"[69] and prepared for dramatic lifestyles changes; as a result, some made the heart-rending decision to voluntarily send children to residential schools. These parents did not share the same 'civilizing' vision as the federal government and churches and it was impossible for them to foresee the growth of a destructive system. Literary Studies scholar Sam McKegney argues that Indigenous peoples requested schools as a "strategy for coping" with the changes spurred on by colonialism, but the system that was created was "a significant contradiction of Native desires rather than acquiescence to them."[70] Historians Jean Barman, Yvonne Hébert, and Don McCaskill argue that some Indigenous peoples were skeptical of Euro-Canadian schooling, while others focused on the "practical advantages" of such training.[71]

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[69] Joanne Barnaby, Mitsuru Shimpo, and Cyntha Struthers, *Rhetoric and Reality: Education and Work in Changing Denendeh* (Waterloo, ON: University of St. Jerome's College, 1991), 7.
[70] Sam McKegney, *Magic Weapons: Aboriginal Writers Remaking Community After Residential School* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2007), 21-22.
[71] Jean Barman, Yvonne Hébert, and Don McCaskill, "The Legacy of the Past: An Overview," in *Indian Education in Canada, Vol. 1: The Legacy*, Barman, Hébert, McCaskill, eds. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986), 5.

At the same time, various political developments slowly changed the North. The *Northwest Territories Act* was revised in 1905, creating the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan and a four-member council was appointed to administer the North, led by NWT Commissioner Lieutenant-Colonel Fred White.[72] White distributed small quarterly grants on behalf of the Department of the Interior (DOI) and DIA, while the DIA sporadically provided supplies and employed teachers for the seven schools operating in the Denendeh.[73] In 1910, the DIA assigned Indian Agent Reverend Gerald Card to Łíídlįį Kų́ę́ to prepare for treaty negotiations and two years later, the RCMP and HBC established a post down the Peel Channel at the Inuvialuit camp, Pokiak.[74] The 'discovery' of oil in 1920, near present day Tulít'a[75] and Tłegǫ́hłį, sparked private interest just south of Nanhkak Thak and Treaty 11 in 1921.[76]

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[72] Despite the appointed council, White held sole power of northern governance. As Commissioner, he was also the head of the North-West Mounted Police. Council of the Northwest Territories (CNWT), *Ninth Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories* (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1983), 62-63.
[73] The seven schools were located in small communities surrounding Tinde'e, as well as in Teetł'ti Zheh and on Qikiqtaruk. Indian Residential Schools received $400 per year and day schools $200. At the time, $3,000 of NWT Administration's annual budget of $7,000 went to schools. DNANR, *Education in Canada's Northland*, (N.P.: December 1954), 4; John Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986, 2nd ed.* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017), 241; Mark O. Dickerson, *Whose North? Political Change, Political Development, and Self Government in the Northwest Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), 3, 13, 29.
[74] DIA, "Officers and Employees, Sessional Paper No. 27," and "Fort Simpson Agency, N.W.T. General Expenses [$350.02]," DIA, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended March 31, 1911* (Ottawa: Dominion of Canada, 1911), 779, 816; Ken Coates and William R. Morrison, "Treaty Research Report – Treaty No. 11 (1921)," (Ottawa: Treaties Historical Research Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada [INAC], 1986). Pokiak was the original community of Akłarvik. There is no documented Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk word for the Peel Channel of the Nagwichoonjik.
[75] In Dene, Tulít'a means "where the rivers or waters meet." For a short time period, the community was called Fort Norman. See Dominion of Canada, *Treaty No. 11 (June 27, 1921) and Adhesion (July 17, 1922) with Reports, etc.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1927); The Sahtu Tribal Council, GNWT, and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, *The Sahtú Dene and Métis Comprehensive Land Agreement* (Ottawa: DIAND, 1993).
[76] Indigenous northerners were aware of the presence of oil stores before the arrival of aachin.

The Treaty 11 provision to pay teachers' salaries came in the vague promise of "in such manner as His Majesty's Government may deem advisable."[77] In October of 1921, Dinjii Zhuh parents in Tsiigehtshik met with Treaty Commissioner H.A. Conroy as they also understood the building of schools to be included in the treaty. As such, they demanded the construction of day schools, prompting Conroy to write that these were the wishes of "practically all the bands."[78] Differing ideologies between federal agents, however, hampered progress, with some seeking to improve conditions and others displaying little compassion.[79] There was no noticeable benefit for children and families; schooling continued according to church standards and parents remained deeply dissatisfied with sending their children south for residential schooling.[80]

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[77] Jean Lesage, "Enter the European, v. Among the Eskimos (Part II)," *The Beaver* (Spring 1955), 3-4.
[78] René Fumoleau, *As Long as This Land Shall Last: A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, 1870-1939* (Calgary: University of Calgary, 2004), 237, 253.
[79] Fumoleau, *As Long as This Land Shall Last*, 360.
[80] The only visible outcome shortly after the *Treaty No. 11* 'signing' was the establishment of new Indian Agent posts along the Nagwichoonjik. Fumoleau, *As Long as This Land Shall Last*, 308.

Figure 10. A unidentified Dinjii Zhuh child is shown in 1922, dressed in a fur and skin outfit and holding a dead muskrat that he likely trapped. Missionaries, RCMP officers, and Indian Agents removed infants, toddlers, and children, such as this one, from their homes and institutionalized them in Indian Residential Schools. At this time, Teetł'it Gwich'in children were sent to the Anglican residential school in Xátł'odehchee, St. Peter's Indian Residential School. Untitled. Archival Caption: "A Loucheux Indian boy shows his spring catch of musquash. Fort McPherson. 1922."[81]

Beginning in 1922, RCMP Inspector S.J. Wood noted that Akłarvik residents petitioned for a local school, explaining that "owing to the great distance, the parents cannot see their children during that period, and are generally averse to sending their children to the school."[82] Wood suggested Qikiqtaruk as a suitable choice, considering

[81] NWTA Fred Jackson fonds, acc. no. N-1979-004, item no. 0025.
[82] S.J. Wood, Inspector, RCMP to The Commissioner, RCMP, Ottawa, November 29, 1922, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 File 919-1 Pt. 1.

its good fishing.[83] At the same time, MSCC officials repeatedly sought permission from the DIA to build a residential school to service the region.[84] The Oblates proved unwilling to wait for federal permission and constructed Immaculate Conception Indian Residential School in Akłarvik in 1926.[85] This provided a new option for Catholic families. The Oblates consistently and vigorously sought new followers in the region and the opening of the new school further fueled toxic religious rivalries in Nanhkak Thak.[86] MSCC officials called this move a “flagrant and unjustifiable invasion of an area which has been exclusively a C.E. [Church of England] area” while chastising the DIA for allotting per capita grants to the new school.[87]

NWT Archives/Canada. Dept. of the Interior/G-1989-006-0046

[83] Wood to The Commissioner, RCMP, Ottawa, October 30, 1924, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 File 919-1 Pt. 1.
[84] Sydney Gould, General Secretary, Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC), Toronto to Scott, September 23, 1924, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 File 919-1 Pt. 1; Gould to Scott, October 12, 1926, Roman Catholic Diocese of the Mackenzie Archives [RCDMA] OMI Box 4 of 12.
[85] Breynat, Zhati Kų́ę́ to W. Harris, Indian Agent, DIA, Łíídlįį Kų́ę́, July 26, 1923, RCDMA [Denis] Croteau Files Box 2 of 3 Education RC Correspondence.
[86] Three years earlier, MSCC missionaries promised to withdraw from Nagwichoonjik communities, but only if their Oblate counterparts did the same among Inuvialuit families. The Oblates refused. TRC, *Canada’s Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience*, *Inuit* 20.
[87] Gould to Scott, October 12, 1926.

Figure 11. Immaculate Conception Indian Residential School and Mission Hospital in Akłarvik, undated, circa 1930s. Located on the east side of town, the residential school was close to the river (and adjacent to the current airstrip). Untitled. Archival Caption: "R.C. Hospital and Residential School, Aklavik."[88]

Protestant families in the region continued to lobby for an Anglican school, "where their children may be trained, free from the Roman influence."[89] Parents demanded their children be closer and this was so crucial to them that they proposed to build these schools and finance the teachers' salaries themselves.[90] The Bonnetplume, Stewart, Charlie, Blake, and Francis families were the most persistent in their petitions and worked with MSCC Archdeacon Charles Whittaker.[91] During Treaty 11 negotiations, they had gained invaluable experience in manipulating their relationship with the church and state. Guut'àii was the backbone of this movement as they drew upon ancestral knowledge to guide them through international negotiations, but vit'aih undoubtedly was present as people counted on, guided, and supported each other. NWT Branch director Oswald S. Finnie considered their petitions, but he was reluctant to become

[88] NWTA Dept. of the Interior fonds, acc. no. 1989-006, item no. 0046.
[89] Gould to Scott, December 16, 1935, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 919-1 Pt. 1. The MSCC estimated that approximately 160 students in the region would benefit from an Anglican school. All Saints' Mission to the Henry Herbert Stevens, Acting Minister, DIA, "Petition, Part I," June 29, 1926; Archdeacon Charles E. Whittaker, Commissioner for the Diocese of Mackenzie River to Scott, July 31, 1926 LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 Reel C-8792, File 919-1 Pt. 1, qtd. in Anthony Di Mascio and Leigh Hortop-Di Mascio, "Residential Schooling in the Arctic: A Historical Case Study and Perspective," *Native Studies Review* 20, 2 (2011); J. Harold Webster, *Arctic Adventure* (Ridgetown, ON: G.C. & H.C. Enterprises, 1986), 10.
[90] Wood to The Commissioner, RCMP, November 29, 1922; People of Mackenzie Delta Region to Minister, DIA, June 29, 1926, "Extract of Commissary's Report, August, 1926"; Stringer to Scott, December 30, 1926; Scott to I.O. Stringer, Bishop of the Yukon, Church of England in the Dominion of Canada (CEDC), January 5, 1927, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 919-1 Pt. 1; Fleming to Robert Alexander Hoey, Acting Director, Indian Affairs Branch (IAB), Department of Mines and Resources (DMR), March 9, 1945; Hoey, Acting Director to Fleming, March 12, 1945, Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives (ACCGSA) M96-7 Sub Series (SS) 1-3 Box 27 File 4; Bob Simpson, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 12 July 2013.
[91] Whittaker to the Minister, DIA, June 29, 1926, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 File 919-1 Pt. 1.

involved in local matters; a year later the NWT Branch was dissolved under R.B. Bennett's Conservative government.[92] Expansion was left to the MSCC and Oblates.[93]

In 1929, the MSCC opened the Shingle Point Experimental Eskimo Residential School at Dupkak and provided schooling for Inuvialuit children.[94] After consistent low enrolment, coastal storms, and crude living conditions, the school closed after three years.[95] Immediately, Nanhkak Thak families partnered with MSCC missionaries and petitioned the DIA to construct a new school on the lower Nagwichoonjik. With the help of Indigenous parents, the newly established Department of Mines and Resources (DMR) granted the All Saints Anglican Mission in Akłarvik a small grant of $2,000 to replace both residential schools at Dupkak and Xátł'odehchee.[96] Local families invested in this school; Ehdii Tat Gwich'in men constructed the school and, to the surprise of Indian Agent Mindy Christianson, produced a "quality" structure.[97] Drawing upon guut'àii that brought communities together in the past through collective strength, Dinjii Zhuh, Inuvialuit, and Métis families accomplished their goal of having new schooling locally.

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[92] The NWT Branch was contained within the Department of the Interior.

[93] TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 33.

[94] A school at Dupkak (Shingle Point) had been discussed since 1922. See INAC and IRC*, The Western Arctic Claim: Inuvialuit Final Agreement As Amended* (Inuvik, NWT: IRC, 1987).

[95] Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions*, 15-23; ACC, "Shingle Point School – Yukon," http://www.anglican.ca/relationships/histories/shingle-point-yukon; ACDGNWT, *Settlements of the Northwest Territories: Descriptions Prepared for the Advisory Commission on the Development of the Government in the Northwest Territories, Vol. 1* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1966), 5, 11; Di Mascio and Hortop-Di Mascio, "Residential Schooling in the Arctic: A Historical Case Study and Perspective," 35.

[96] Gould to Harold H. McGill, Deputy Superintendent General, DIA, December 16, 1935, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 919-1 Pt. 1; Fumoleau, *As Long as This Land Shall Last*, 353.

[97] Christianson's inspection notebooks are housed at the Glenbow Museum Archives: Canada. DIA. Mindy Christianson Fonds, 1932-1936, "M 2208, AB Canada Dept. of Indian Affairs – Christianson." Thomas Buchanan Reginald Westgate, Field Secretary, MSCC to The Secretary, DIA, July 25, 1936; Christianson, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Alberta Inspectorate to McGill, Deputy Superintendent General, August 13, 1936, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 919-1 Pt. 1.

Although their demands for local schools had been heard, Nanhkak Thak families were deeply unsatisfied with both the residential requirement of these schools and what their children learned while institutionalized. Their petitioning continued. In 1937, DMR Director Roy Gibson noted that parents were complaining "that the children do not learn practical things that are of use to them in future life. They also object to their children being kept from them [for] five years."[98] Families loved their children and despite their desire for schools, they were "most anxious to have their children with them."[99] Their request was simple: they wanted access to Euro-Christian education for their children and for those children to also return home to their families every night.

Figure 12. "First Year, School Girls at All Saints School in Aklavik," 1936-1937.[100]
Dinjii Zhuh, Inuvialuit, and Métis girls stand in front of All Saints Indian Residential School during the first year of its operations. Students were permitted to wear their 'traditional' outdoor clothing since European-style outdoor gear was inadequate for the local climate. Notable in this photograph is the wearing of mother hubbard parkas, fur mitts, and khaiichun. Most of the children, as depicted above, wore a beret as part of their school uniform.

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[98] Roy A. Gibson, Director, Lands, Parks, and Forests Branch, DMR to McGill, Director, IAB, "Schools, Churches and Indians," August 6, 1937, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 919-1 Pt. 1.
[99] Fleming to Hoey, Director, April 23, 1946, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 1-3 Box 27 File 4.
[100] NWTA Archibald Fleming Fonds, acc. no. N-1979-050, item no. 0101.

Although this dissertation heeds Tuck's calls for a moratorium on damage-centered research,[101] it is worth briefly detailing the carcerality of life at All Saints and Immaculate Conception Indian Residential Schools. Each child's story was different. Some returned home during the summer, a welcomed opportunity to reconnect with their families, lands, and cultures. Others remained at residential schools for years upon years.[102] This was for a number of reasons. Parents were poorly informed about when to pick up their child; missionaries lacked the knowledge to communicate with and locate families; insufficient transportation and unpredictable weather hampered student travel; illnesses (commonly tuberculosis) necessitated student hospitalization; orphaned children required continual care; missionaries feared that certain children would not return and held them year around; and Inuit children from the Eastern Arctic could not make a return trip over the short summer.[103] Further, School administrators unilaterally decided if homes of Indigenous families were 'fit' for children. Alex Illasiak remembered that during the 1940s, All Saints Principal Harry Shepherd refused to release him to a 'broken' home for the summer break. His parents prioritized the care of their son and chose to reunite every summer to ensure Alex's return.[104]

Educators utilized a three-pronged approach to curricula: academics, vocational training, and evangelization. Academic achievement was not the primary goal; rather,

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[101] Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 79, 3 (Fall 2009), 422.

[102] Cook to D.M. MacKay, Director, IAB, Department of Citizenship and Immigration (DCI), "Re: Summer Pupils," May 9, 1951; MacKay to Cook, "Re: Summer Pupils," May 14, 1951, LAC RG10 Vol. 6040 File 160-2 Pt. 4-1; Eugene Rheaume, Welfare Office, Arctic Division, DNANR to Chief, Arctic Division, Monthly Report – November, 1958," LAC RG10 384 Vol. 252-5 119 Pt. 1.

[103] David "Woody" Elias, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Teetł'it Zheh, Nanhkak Thak, 29 July 2013; TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 34.

[104] Alex Illasiak, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Akłarvik, Nanhkak Thak, 14 August 2013.

children learned basic skills to a Grade Four level. Teetł'it Gwich'in Anjòo Robert Alexie Sr. called his education at All Saints "very poor, you know."[105] Curricula included the teaching of English, French, or Latin, basic mathematics, the "making" of Canada (including the superiority of the British Empire), and the accomplishments of European explorers, fur traders, and missionaries. The teaching of Christianity was fundamental, especially at Akłarvik's Indian Residential Schools from 1926 to 1959. Former students recalled the intensity of religious training. At Immaculate Conception Indian Residential School, students incessantly engaged in prayer.[106] Inuvialuk man Tommy Thrasher wrote that, "all of the prayers were in Latin and I had to learn them by heart…this was all religion, no history – nothing but pray and more pray. What could we do?"[107] John Banksland, an Inuvialuk student from Uluksaqtuuq, remembered Immaculate Conception as "a very very medieval closed religious type of an existence."[108]

The elimination of Indigenous languages was a crucial aspect of colonial schooling policies nationwide and this rang true in Akłarvik too. Administrators, teachers, and religious staff forbid children from speaking their Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik and Inuvialuktun and this tactic remained static at these institutions from 1926 to 1959. Banksland recalled that it took him several years to learn English, "about five years of

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[105] Robert Alexie Sr., interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Nataiinlaii, Nanhkak Thak, 26 July 2013.
[106] Leonard P. Holman, Principal, All Saints Indian Residential School to Donald B. Marsh, Bishop of the Arctic, ACC, February 22, 1957, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 2-1 Box 47 File 3.
[107] Tommy T. Thrasher, *Footprints to the Stars: The Story of My Life, These Are the Footprints of My Ancestors That I Followed, If You Follow Them Too, You will Make It* (Inuvik, NWT: Boreal Books, 2009), 3. Other testimony supports the experience of spending the majority of school days praying. Henry Simba, "Kakisa, N.W.T., July 17, 1976, Proceedings at Community Hearing, Volume 69," in *Transcripts of Public Hearings: Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry*, ed. Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (MVPI) (Ottawa: The Inquiry, 1975-1977), 7938.
[108] John Banksland, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 17 July 2013.

constant…what you might call assimilation. That's a word for genocide, but it's still called assimilation."[109] Despite this, children were familiar with t'aih and vit'ah and channeled the strength of their languages. Determined Indigenous children stole private moments to speak and practice their language.[110]

Johnny Tetlichi recalled hiding behind All Saints Indian Residential School to converse with his friends in Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik: "My friends and I hid ourselves behind the buildings and spoke Loucheux. Since I was at school for such a short time, I did not forget Loucheux, but many of the children who stayed at the school longer, did."[111] Rosie Albert remembered that when she arrived at the Immaculate Conception Indian Residential School in 1939, children who were arriving at the school for the first time did not speak English. Rosie was fluent in both Inuvialuktun and English by listening to the radio and talking to her multilingual parents.[112] Rosie acted as a translator for teachers and students, which fostered and strengthened new relationships, gave her the opportunity to learn new dialects, but also instilled t'aih or personal strength in her.[113]

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[109] Banksland, interview with Fraser.
[110] Rosie (nilìh ch'uu Steffanson) Albert, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 13 July 2013; Doulhus Shay, "Fort Franklin, N.W.T., June 24, 1975, Proceedings at Community Hearing, Volume 8," in *Transcripts of Public Hearings*, 686; Cathy Cockney, ed. *Inuvialuit Oral History Project: Inuvialuit Elders Share Their Stories*, (Inuvik, NWT: Parks Canada, 2004), 46; Stephanie Irlbacher-Fox, *Finding Dahshaa: Self-Government, Social Suffering, and Aboriginal Policy in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 144; Alice Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart Shook Like a Drum: What I Learned at the Indian Mission Schools, Northwest Territories* (Ottawa: Borealis Press, 2009), 23; TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 24.
[111] Barnaby, Shimpo, and Struthers, *Rhetoric and Reality*. The NWT's official spelling of Uluksaqtuuq is Ulukhaktok (*Inuvialuit Final Agreement*).
[112] There are other histories of children serving as translators in the north. See: Abraham Alexie Sr., "When I Was a Boy," in *Gwich'in COPE Stories,* 14; Albert, interview with Fraser.
[113] Albert, interview with Fraser. Anglican missionary Thomas Westgate reported that students at All Saints Indian Residential school acted as translators for new incoming students, but also provided translation services to the local RCMP detachment in emergency situations. Westgate to Hoey, Superintendent, December 14, 1939, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 919-1 Pt. 1.

As we will see, so many children were faced with carceral and dangerous conditions, but drew on different forms of strength to add richness to their lives while institutionalized.

Being caught speaking Indigenous languages was an imminent concern since personal safety at these institutions was precarious. Staff commonly resorted to their "power to punish" to enforce the rules, but also to demonstrate the consequences of disobedience to other children.[114] When Inuvialuk man Tony Green of Paulatuuq[115] arrived at Immaculate Conception Indian Residential School in 1951, he recalled that students caught speaking their language would

> get a good beating from sisters, eh? They take a brush on you and put you in a…you know a post, eh? Put you there until your bones quit feeling anything. I went through that, I remember that. I used to suffer. Never forgot, them days it was all discipline, yeah.[116]

The threat of violence further 'encouraged' children to learn English.

Despite the minimal federal oversight of these schools, residential school administrators in Akłarvik were expected to follow federal guidelines.[117] The DIA placed a premium on 'practical' education and subscribed to the half-day system designed by Egerton Ryerson, which allowed four hours or less per day for classroom instruction.[118] Officials believed that manual labour "help[ed] the native after leaving school" and

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[114] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 89.

[115] The English spelling of Paulatuuq is Paulatuk and means "place of coal" in Inuvialuktun. See *Inuvialuit Final Agreement*.

[116] C. Cockney, ed. *Inuvialuit Oral History Project*, 46. See also: Shay, "Fort Franklin, N.W.T., June 24, 1975, Proceedings at Community Hearing, Volume 8," 686.

[117] Wood to the Commissioner, RCMP, November 29, 1922.

[118] Sister O. Lavoie, Teacher, Roman Catholic Day School, Thebacha to Breynat, May 31, 1932, RCDMA Croteau Files Box 2 of 3 Fort Smith School; Barnaby, Shimpo, and Struthers, *Rhetoric and Reality*, 6; Heine et. al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, 213; Marjorie Irene Aimé, *Northern Memories* (Red Deer, AB: Hampton Press, 2004).

students who had achieved Grade Four remained for further 'manual' instruction.[119] Arctic landscapes were unsuitable for large-scale agricultural development and manual instruction reflected local customs, which were slightly familiar to students but were also highly gendered according to Euro-Canadian customs.[120] Indeed, recalling Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit teachings, there would have been some similarities in gender-based approaches, but there was a very different intent behind these teachings at Indian Residential Schools.

Boys hunted, trapped, cared for dog teams, handled boats, harvested ice, weaved nets, chopped and hauled wood, and gardened.[121] Girls were relegated to the domestic duties of cleaning, emptying wastewater, preparing meals, and sewing.[122] Although students were familiar with these chores, imposed labour was onerous and taxing although indispensable to the management and upkeep of residential schools.[123]

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[119] Sister Mack, Principal, St. Joseph's Indian Residential School to Hoey, Superintendent, March 21, 1937, LAC RG10 Vol. 6033 File 150-60 Pt. 1; "Extract from the Report of the Inspection Trip by Mr. Gibson and Mr. Cumming to Mackenzie District, August 1938," LAC RG85 D-1-A Vol. 1882 File 630-119-3 Pt. 1; Snowshoe, interview with Charlie.

[120] S. Lesage, OMI, Roman Catholic Mission, Łíídlįį Kų́ę́, "Vocational Training in Horticulture," December 1, 1954; S. Lesage, "Tables," December 15, 1954," RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 14.

[121] Harry Sherman Shepherd, Principal, All Saints Indian Residential School to Hoey, Superintendent, April 5, 1938, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 919-1 Pt. 1; "How It Was," *The Drum* 2, 11 (March 16, 1967), 3; Shepherd to Hoey, Superintendent, September 17, 1942, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 919-1 Pt. 1; Student Newsletter, "The Voice of Our School," July 1943, July 1944, July 1945, July 1946, 1953, 1957-58, 1958-59, Immaculate Conception Indian Residential School (ICIRS), RCDMA Unnumbered Box #3; William G. Devitt, Superintendent of Schools, Office of Education, Northern Administration and Lands Branch (NALB), DNANR, "Inspector's Report for St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Mission Residential School, Fort Resolution, NWT," April 1954, RCDMA Box 1 File 3; Edward Nazon, "My Life After School," *The Drum* 9, 6 (February 7, 1974), 11.

[122] Devitt, Superintendent of Schools, "Inspector's Report for St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Mission Residential School, Fort Resolution, NWT," April 1954, RCDMA Box 1 File 3; Student Newsletter, "The Voice of Our School, July 1943," ICIRS, RCDMA Unnumbered Box #3; Harry R. Low, *Report to the Northwest Territories Council* (s.l.: s.n., 1951), 36.

[123] Alestine Andre, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Tsiigehtshik, Nanhkak Thak, 2 August 2013; Donald Andre, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 15 August 2013; Anonymous #2, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Teetł'it Zheh, Nanhkak Thak, 26 July 2013.

Indigenous parents had firm expectations about the quality of their children's education. These parents remain nameless in the historical record, but they were critical about school curricula and did not hesitate to share their feedback with Indian Agent Dr. P.W. Head.[124] Historian J.R. Miller found that Indigenous parents in Ontario and Manitoba during the late 1930s protested the teaching of hunting and trapping at residential schools, instead wanting their children to be trained for future wage-labour opportunities.[125] Conditions in the North, however, were different. Northern parents, like those in the South, were concerned with their children being successful in an emerging world, but northerners asserted that Indigenous knowledge should remain a crucial component in schooling. During a treaty trip in 1937 to Rádeyîlîkóé,[126] Tulít'a, and Tsiigehtshik, Head reported that

> one of the complaints of this band that I have to draw attention to of the Dept. is the question of school instruction. They claim their children are taught nothing useful to them in their mode of living and that when they come home they are useless for work in the bush. Some even go so far as to state that they will not let their children go to school.[127]

Student truancy or withdrawal tarnished the reputation of the Department and made Head's job of 'civilizing' northerners exponentially more difficult. DMR Superintendent Roy Hoey was aware of the situation and encouraged Akłarvik administrators to "submit

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[124] Head also served as the Medical Superintendent for the federal Department of Health.

[125] J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 158.

[126] Dinjii Zhuh call people from Rádeyîlîkóé "Chiidaii Zheh Gwich'in." Literal translation: chiidaii = rock/stone; daii = at the opening (outside); zheh = house; gwich'in = people. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 97. Rádeyîlîkóé ("where the rapids are") is known in English as Fort Good Hope and Tulít'a was once known as Fort Norman. See *Treaty No. 11*; *The Sahtu Dene and Metis Comprehensive Land Agreement*.

[127] Dr. P.W. Head, Medical Superintendent, IAB, DMR, "Re: Treaty Trip Good Hope, Fort Norman, and Arctic Red River," July 9, 1937, "Re: Treaty Trip Good Hope," July 26, 1937, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 919-1 Pt. 1.

to the Department for consideration a revised curricula for their northern schools in the immediate future."[128]

Frustrated with outspoken parents, Hoey wrote to Principal Shepherd and explained that the "Department is continually being urged to make the training at Indian Residential Schools as practical as possible in order to properly fit the pupils for their future life."[129] All Saints staff disagreed that children were not learning valuable skills while institutionalized and cited examples of students they considered "success stories" and placed the blame squarely on Indigenous parents by suggesting that "badly-informed people" had provided the Department with erroneous information. Instead, they continued to be "deeply convinced that this class of school is conferring on the Indians and Eskimo of Canada one of the greatest benefits they are receiving."[130] Mines and Resources Director Gibson urged Akłarvik's school administrators to consider local perspectives and embrace flexibility and adaption.[131] DMR staff were particularly motivated in this regard as historian A. Webster notes that the survival of fur trade economies "was the only insulation against total welfare dependence."[132] The goal was to assimilate Indigenous youngsters into broader Canadian society, but it was accompanied by the fears of unemployment for these newly-trained youngsters.

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[128] Gibson, Director to McGill, Director, "Schools, Churches and Indians"; Hoey, Superintendent to Westgate, August 31, 1937, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 919-1 Pt. 1.
[129] Hoey, Superintendent to Shepherd, March 17, 1938, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 919-1 Pt. 1.
[130] Westgate to Hoey, Superintendent, December 14, 1939.
[131] Gibson, Director to McGill, Director, "Schools, Churches and Indians." Similar initiatives were developed at Yukon Indian Residential Schools. Kenneth Coates, "A Very Imperfect Means of Education: Indian Day Schools in the Yukon Territory, 1890-1955," in *Indian Education in Canada. Volume I: The Legacy*, eds. Jean Barman, Yvonne Hébert, and Don McCaskill (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986), 137.
[132] A. Webster, *They are Impossible People, Really: Social Administration and Aboriginal Social Welfare in the Territorial Norths, 1927-1993*, Research Report to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Ottawa, 1993), qtd. in Milloy, *A National Crime*, 241.

Although parsimonious federal interests may have been an underlying reason to train students for local harvesting economies, it is also clear that the DMR felt pressured by local parents to revise official curricula. In 1937, Hoey encouraged schools to adopt practices that better reflected local conditions. He wrote:

> My personal opinion is that in our educational programme, provision should be made for a course of study that would enable the pupils to spend at least one third of their time at manual training or vocational instruction. The general public have an impression that the instruction given in our Indian schools is altogether, too abstract and academic. They feel that there should be a more direct relationship between this instruction and the tasks that confront the pupil after his departure from school.[133]

Despite this recommendation, Indian Agent Head continued to "receive complaints from Indians regarding the education their children were receiving" at Akłarvik's schools.[134] The persistence of guut'àii meant that Indigenous families organized, networked, and strategized with each other, a common cultural practices that stemmed from on-the-land living when families partnered with each other to ensure successful harvests and comfortable living.[135]

National Indian schooling policies failed to reflect the local realities and, at the urging of Indigenous parents in Nanhkak Thak, administrators were forced to develop their own programming. In a remarkable example of the "strategic reversibility of power,"[136] Dinjii Zhuh, Inuvialuit, and Métis parents drew on their collective strength as a community – guut'àii – to form one mind. They held the residential administrators to account, demonstrating that they had much more control over their children's

[133] Hoey, Superintendent, January 15, 1937, LAC RG10 Vol. 6003 File 150-60 Pt. 1.
[134] Gibson, Director to Dr. Harold W. McGill, Director, IAB, DMR, "Schools, Churches and Indians."
[135] "'Partners': Families Helping Each Other," in Heine et. al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, 101-106.
[136] Foucault, "The Subject and Power."

education than anyone thought. Although the churches reported to the DIA in distant Adawe and were guided by federal rules and regulations, there was little operational oversight and the flexibility of penal machinery[137] allowed for parents to successfully convince administrators to consider their arguments.

Revised or not, curricula at All Saints and Immaculate Conception Indian Residential Schools were underpinned by racialized assumptions about Indigenous peoples. In 1927, Roman Catholic Bishop Gabriel Breynat claimed that Indigenous northerners were of the "lowest computation" and "as a general rule, do not need a higher degree of mental culture than that afforded by the realization of the present programme."[138] DOI officials embraced the similar beliefs that linked intellect to Indigeneity. In 1931, they discussed the establishment of a high school in Denendeh and decided against it, asking "how many children, actually living in the North, are mentally fit for higher intellectual attainments?"[139]

Racialized assumptions about the low intellect of Indigenous children, the inept biology of the 'Other,' the elimination of Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik and Inuvialuktun, and rendering children docile were embedded in the larger project of colonial strategies to prepare these children for their eventual immersion into capitalistic economies. Incarcerating Indigenous students in Indian Residential Schools and attempting to discipline their minds and bodies while instilling white Canadian nationalism fits snugly into sociologist Stanley Cohen's theory that incarceration is a "larger rationalization of

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[137] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 28.
[138] Memorandum, Breynat, "Schools," 1927, RCDMA Box 1 File 15.
[139] "Schools," undated, c. 1931, RCDMA Croteau Files Box 3 of 3 Day School.

social relations in nascent capitalism."[140] The fur trade, however, continued to be vibrant in the North. The tension between reshaping Indigenous northerners into modern Canadian citizens and the need to keep them engaged in on-the-land economies underscores the fraught nature of colonial schooling.

At both schools, children faced immense hardship and poor treatment.[141] Schools were grossly understaffed, quarters were dangerously crowded, and children were nourished inadequately, which created poor living conditions resulting in high rates of illness, disease, and death.[142] Physical and sexual abuse and overtly harsh disciplinary tactics were prevalent. Parents were critical about the burden placed on their children and voiced concerns to missionaries, Indian Agents, and RCMP officers; they were often ignored, forcing parents to take action and defy the so-called authority of the church and state. Despite rules about religious affiliation outlined in the *School Ordinance* and the *Indian Act*, some parents transferred students between All Saints and Immaculate Conception Indian Residential Schools.[143] Rarely, in an effort to educate their children for future careers, Indigenous parents secured admission at southern residential schools for their children. For example, after eight years at All Saints Indian Residential School, Alex Illasiak of Vadzaih Degaii Zheh[144] attended Shingwauk Indian

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[140] Stanley Cohen, *Visions of Social Change: Crime, Punishment and Classification* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985), 23.
[141] Joseph-Marie Trocellier, Titular Bishop of Adramyttium, Vicar Apostolic of the Mackenzie, OMI Missions of Mackenzie to Dr. Andrew Moore, July 15, 1945, LAC RG85 Vol. 1505 File 600-1-1 Pt. 2.
[142] TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 23, 27-32.
[143] Student transfer between Anglican and Roman Catholic schools was contentious and contributed to local denominational rivalries. The DMR feared friction between the two denominations, but parents usually worked out local arrangements and did not include the Department. TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 21.
[144] Reindeer Station or Reindeer Depot. Literal translation: vàdzaih = caribou; degaii = white [reindeer]; zheh = town, Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik, (Gwichyà dialect). www.atlas.gwichin.ca.

Residential School beginning in 1950 to finish high school.[145] Others removed their children from school altogether, displaying no fear of possible consequences.[146]

Under immense pressure from Indigenous families and kin networks, school administrators were forced to be somewhat flexible. Children at Immaculate Conception embarked on short on-the-land trips with their parents, where they gained invaluable cultural knowledge. All Saints School, on the other hand, attempted to manage local criticism by implementing trapping courses in the fall of 1937.[147] The following year, Shepherd asked the DMR for assistance in hiring "a native seamstress who could instruct the girls in the making and care of fur clothing, and a practical man who could instruct the boys in wood work, engines, nets, trapping and other practical things."[148] Sewing lessons included the "sewing of native costumes," local 'parkeys,' kamiks, and khaiichun.[149]Although parents persuaded local All Saints School staff to demonstrate pliability in the school's policies, it was harder to reach federal supporters and the DMR refused to support the hiring of local Indigenous staff to instruct students.[150]

Parents and children were enthusiastic about All Saints' trapping program, particularly because both boys and girls managed traplines, a custom that was widely

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[145] A. Illasiak, interview with Fraser; Albert, interview with Fraser; Milloy, *A National Crime*, 239; TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 26. Others include Benjamin Oudlanak and Samuel Pudlutt from Southampton and Baffin Islands who attended schools in Ontario during the late 1920s. Betty Martin and Bella Lazarus, among others, attended the Shingwauk School before they went to nursing school.

[146] Hoey, Superintendent to Westgate, August 31, 1937.

[147] Gibson, Director to McGill, Director, "Schools, Churches and Indians."

[148] Shepherd to Hoey, Superintendent, April 4, 1938, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 File 919-1 Pt. 3.

[149] Hoey, Superintendent to Shepherd, March 17, 1938, Shepherd to Hoey, Superintendent, September 17, 1942; Albert, interview with Fraser; A. Andre, interview with Fraser; Margaret Nazon, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Tsiigehtshik, Nanhkak Thak, 30 July 2013; Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart Shook Like a Drum*, 74.

[150] Hoey, Superintendent to Westgate, December 18, 1939, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 File 919-1 Pt. 3.

practiced by Indigenous families in the region.[151] Former All Saints students recalled this trapping program with zest. Starting his schooling career in 1942, Inuvialuk man Alex Illasiak recalled the value of learning from the older children, which resembled Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit pedagogies. Teetł'it Gwich'in Anjòo Elizabeth Colin remembered checking her traps at Eltyin Teetshik[152] and learning important details of the land and how to effectively amble through deep snow.[153]

The situation was different, and more conservative, at Akłarvik's Roman Catholic Indian Residential School. Although Immaculate Conception staff buckled to parental pressure to maintain student traplines, they upheld Euro-Canadian gendered norms around labour and limited the program to boys, "teach[ing them] the rudiments of trapping and subsequent care and marketing of furs."[154] In 1949, School Inspector James McKinnon reported that "some of the older children of our schools have spent several weeks each year in the field, under the supervision of their teachers, learning about this important industry.[155]

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[151] See student newsletters "The Voice of Our School," July 1943, July 1944, July 1945, July 1946, 1953, 1957-1958, and 1958-1959, ICIRS, Akłarvik, RCDMA Unnumbered Box #3; Interview with Ernie Bernhardt, March 1987, RCDMA McCarthy and [Robert J.] Carney Files Box 2 of 4.

[152] Jackfish Creek. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Teetł'it dialect), www.altas.gwichin.ca. It was historically Louise and William Snowshoe's camp.

[153] A. Illasiak, interview with Fraser; Elizabeth Colin, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Teetł'it Zheh, Nanhkak Thak, 26 July 2013.

[154] Devitt, Superintendent of Schools, DCI, "Inspector's Report, Immaculate Conception Residential School, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch, June 10, 1953," RCDMA Unnumbered Box #3.

[155] James W. McKinnon, Superintendent of Education, Mackenzie District, DMR to Fred Fraser, District Administrator, DMR, August 29, 1949, RCDMA Croteau Files Box 2 of 3 Education RC Correspondence.

Figure 13. Inuit and Inuvialuit children at All Saints Indian Residential School teach their peers how to build an iglu on an afternoon outing. Considering that children were wearing their hoods down and the bright Arctic sky, this would have likely been springtime. Note the continued use of appropriate winter gear, including one child wearing the revered puhitaq (sunburst) hooded parka (seen on the child third from the right). Untitled Image. Archival Caption: "Igloo built by children at All Saints School, Aklavik, 1937."[156]

Students took initiative in relation to extra-curricular activities and regularly organized winter walks to the lake to check the "push-ups" for muskrats[157], a hollow, above-ice breathing chamber where 'rats' resided.[158] Administrators did not mind, as student-led ratting led to lucrative financial gains. Meat and pelts fed and clothed students, but administrators often sold these furs to the HBC, with profits generally being deposited into mission coffers.[159] When she was a student during the 1940s, Alice Masak was immensely successful in her ratting techniques and recalled that she was

[156] NWTA Archibald Fleming fonds, acc. no. N-1979-050, item no. 0102.
[157] See C.K. Turner, T.C. Lantz, Department of Cultural Heritage, Gwich'in Tribal Council, "Springtime in the Delta: the Socio-Cultural Importance of Muskrats to Gwich'in and Inuvialuit Trappers through Periods of Ecological and Socioeconomic Change," *Human Ecology* 46, 4.
[158] To survive winters, rats build push-ups out of grass and other debris, which freezes into a protective breathing chamber above the ice on lakes. School Newsletter, *The Voice of Our School, Immaculate Conception, Aklavik, 1957 to 1958*, RCDMA Croteau Files Box 2 of 3 Untitled and LAC RG85 D-1-A Vol. 1882 File 630-119-3 Pt. 3; Alice French, *My Name is Masak* (Winnipeg, MB: Peguis Publishers Ltd., 1976), 42.
[159] French, *My Name is Masak*, 42.

occasionally allowed to keep a portion of her harvest for extra pocket money.[160] Alice was among several young entrepreneurs at the schools who had received cultural teachings from their families before her institutionalization. Despite the carcerality of everyday life, it was occasions like these that strengthened students' spirt and community.

During the mid-to-late 1930s, parents insisted on the tanning of hides. Federal bureaucrats agreed with parents in this regard and complied with the wishes of parents in fear that children would become "dependent on other sources for tanned hides."[161] There was no evidence suggesting that local families were importing hides and, in fact, they continued to be experts in tanning. Federal officials at the DMR, nevertheless, deemed local Indigenous knowledge unsuitable and insisted that Sámi methods be used. On the colonial ladder of which Indigenous people were deemed 'more' civilized, Finnish teachers were considered better suited to instruct children in these traditions.[162]

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[160] Alice French was allowed two traps in the springtime and sold her furs for $0.25 each. French, *My Name is Masak*, 44.

[161] Unknown, DMR to Mr. Cumming, "Re; Instruction in Tanning, Mission Schools, Aklavik," January 18, 1939; Gibson, Deputy Commissioner, NWT Council and Director, DMR to Trocellier, OMI, ICIRS "Re: Tanning Reindeer Hides," January 18, 1939; Gibson, Director to J.A. Parsons, General Foreman, Reindeer Station, "Re: Tanning Reindeer Hides," January 18, 1939, LAC RG85 D-1-A Vol. 1882 File 630-119-2 Pt. 1; Reverend J. L'Helgouach, Missionary-in-Charge, ICIRS, Akłarvik to Dr. J.A. Urquhart, Agent and Superintendent, Wood Buffalo Park, "Re: Tanning Instruction in Mission School," October 16, 1941, LAC RG85 D-1-A Vol. 1882 File 630-119-3 Pt. 2.

[162] Gibson, Deputy Commissioner to Trocellier, OMI, "Re: Tanning Reindeer Hides," January 18, 1939.

Figure 14. A Dinjii Zhuh (likely Gwichyà) woman works a hide at Tsiigehtshik in 1921. Specialized tools made from animal bones are used in this rigorous process. The brain of the animal is used to preserve the hide, in conjunction with a drying and smoking process. The art of tanning hides in Nanhkak Thak persists today. Archival caption: "Dene woman cleaning hides at Arctic Red River, 1921."[163]

For their eventual immersion into the harvesting industry, teenage boys learned to herd reindeer.[164] During the late 1930s, when Inuvialuk man Thomas Thrasher was thirteen years old, he recalled travelling on the Oblate mission boat to locate the herd: "Oh I jump in that boat and went down there, they was rounding those herd eh, first time I seen reindeers, I stayed way away from them. Here, there's people running inside amongst the reindeers. We had a lot of fun there."[165] Outdoor and indoor academics were combined as Thrasher later wrote an essay about his experience with herding.[166] Additionally, students in Akłarvik read the pamphlet "Edible Roots and Berries of

[163] NWTA Dept. of Interior fonds, acc. no. G-1979-001, item no. 0252.
[164] Gibson, Deputy Commissioner to L'Helgouach, "Re: Tanning instructions in mission school," October 16, 1941, LAC RG85 D-1-A Vol. 1882 File 630-119-3 Pt. 2.
[165] C. Cockney, ed. *Inuvialuit Oral History Project*, 301.
[166] C. Cockney, ed. *Inuvialuit Oral History Project*, 301.

Northern Canada" and classrooms displayed "a set of twenty-four pictures of animals commonly found in the northern areas of our country."[167]

A small part of Dinjii Zhuh, Métis, and Inuvialuit cultures had infiltrated Indian Residential Schools in Akłarvik. Although these institutions were colonial in both theory and practice, Indigenous northerners had managed to undermine the "normalization" of colonial institutions in Nanhkak Thak.[168] Although they never referred to it as such, their use of the "strategic reversibility of power"[169] guided their ability to maneuver "counter-conducts."[170] These new courses offered at Indian Residential Schools in Akłarvik were a reflection of church and state willingness to briefly concede to parents' demands. MSCC and Oblate missionaries, NWT Council and territorial administration, and federal agents and bureaucrats would, however, continually attempt to undermine the wishes of Indigenous families and seek to "assimilate us to be white Canadians."[171]

In 1944, the federal Department of Mines and Resources announced that the standardized Alberta curricula was the new gold standard for Mackenzie District schools as it was "a means of achieving uniformity in the instructional program."[172] But it also demonstrated that the Department no longer supported the teaching of Indigenous

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[167] Gibson, Director to Reverend Sister J. Dussault, Teacher, ICIRS, August 17, 1937, LAC RG85 D-1-A Vol. 1882 File 630-119-3 Pt. 1; Gibson, Deputy Commissioner, April 9, 1947, LAC RG85 D-1-a Vol. 1882 File 630-119-3 Pt. 2.
[168] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 184.
[169] Foucault, "The Subject and Power."
[170] Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with Two Lectures By and An Interview with Michel Foucault*, G. Burchell et al. eds. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), 91.
[171] Sarah (nilìh ch'uu Tetlichi) Jerome, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 15 July 2013.
[172] DMR, "Education in the Northwest Territories," 1948, RCDMA Carney Files Box 9 of 12.

practices.[173] Officials knew that unilaterally imposing Alberta content would anger Indigenous parents and more generally be impractical for northern students; as such, Gibson announced that a "special curricula" was being designed.[174] In 1948, School Inspector James W. McKinnon supported this shift and wrote

> Ultimately we must have our own curricula for the schools in the Northwest Territories. Since this area has problems that are particularly its own, we cannot meet the educational needs of its residents by adhering to curricula prepared for entirely different localities and transplanted there. So far as the Indian children are concerned, they must be educated for better living, taught how to save money, how to follow clean health habits, how to make better homes, and how to secure their livelihood other than by fishing and hunting. The aim must be to make the Indian self-supporting with an adequate standard of living.[175]

In the meantime, the DMR ordered that Alberta curricula be incorporated at all Mackenzie District schools, including All Saints and Immaculate Conception.

Historian Amy Von Heyking investigates the history of curricula in Alberta and argues that it underwent a number of revisions during this era. Between 1935 and 1945 Von Heyking explains that the Great Depression, the rise of the Social Credit Party, and the revision of jurisdictional schooling policies in Alberta were foundational to reforms.[176] Mirroring larger national trends, staff in Alberta incorporated pedagogies and content that better suited the needs of local children and their communities.[177] The desire for reform, according to Von Heyking, was over by 1945 due to the lack of resources and training for teachers and the public's desire to return to stability,

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[173] DMR, "Curricula Taught," April 20, 1944, LAC RG10 Vol. 6475 File 918-1 Pt. 1.
[174] Gibson, Deputy Commissioner to Dussault, May 28, 1947, LAC RG85 D-1-a Vol. 1882 File 630-119-3 Pt. 2.
[175] McKinnon, Inspector of Schools, "Education in the Mackenzie District, N.W.T.," undated (c. 1948), RCDMA Carney Files Box 9 of 12.
[176] Amy Von Heyking, *Creating Citizens: History and Identity in Alberta's Schools, 1905-1980* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006), 55-56.
[177] Von Heyking, *Creating Citizens*, 59-60.

particularly in light of the Second World War.[178] Nevertheless, new courses were integrated into the system and curricula reflected new ideas about history, citizenship, and identity.[179] Von Heyking argues that these materials redefined the qualities of citizenship and familiarized students with important contemporary social issues, both locally and nationally, but special attention was directed at instilling a sense of national unity among Canadian children.[180] Lessons about Indigenous peoples, if at all, unsurprisingly depicted them as 'backward' and 'savage.'[181]

Alberta curricula during the 1940s and 1950s was ill-suited for Dinjii Zhuh, Inuvialuit, and Métis students. Akłarvik's administrators were keenly aware that conditions on the ground were vastly different than what was reflected in Alberta. In an act of defiance against the federal government, but also to prevent parental uprising, they remained steadfast in teaching local Indigenous practices. This was possible, in part, due to the lack of federal oversight.[182] Indeed, in 1944 the *Ottawa Citizen* reported that officials hardly gave "more than incidental time to the consideration of a Canadian policy of northwestern development," "comparatively little was done for the native population by the Dominion," and northern schools were "unable to give a modern education to the young people, especially to the Eskimo and Indian children."[183]

With the support of Dinjii Zhuh, Métis, and Inuvialuit parents, administrators strengthened their programs. In 1950, All Saints Principal Holman added to the existing

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[178] Von Heyking, *Creating Citizens*, 61.
[179] Von Heyking, *Creating Citizens*, 76.
[180] Von Heyking, *Creating Citizens*, 76-77.
[181] Von Heyking, *Creating Citizens*, 82.
[182] School Newsletter, *The Voice of Our School, Immaculate Conception, Aklavik, 1957 to 1958*, RCDMA Croteau Files Box 2 of 3 Untitled.
[183] "Editorials: Canada's Northern Empire," *The Ottawa Citizen* (Saturday, January 29, 1944), 26.

trapping program with a fishing pilot.[184] Teacher Phyllis Taylor agreed and deemed these courses "necessary" aspects of school life.[185] Other outdoor activities included traveling to Vadzaih Degaii Zheh to "holiday" and pick berries, picnicking by the local shacks, and collecting birch bark syrup.[186] The winter custom of looking for push-ups continued. As a result of parental intervention and activism, students experienced a simple shift in everyday academics, such as the solving of arithmetic problems through trapping and fur trade transactions, which supported the on-the-land lessons.[187] Finally, in 1954, conceding to local pressure, DNANR officials stated that "children themselves may be free to travel with their parents during the hunting and trapping season in order that that portion of their education may not be neglected."[188]

At the same time, local frustration with the residential component of schooling was on the verge of exploding. Teetł'it Gwich'in families were among the most boisterous in their calls for expanded options; Akłarvik was closer than the Tinde'e schools, but not close enough. In 1946, federal education assistant James W. McKinnon confirmed Teetł'it Zheh's request, reporting that families desired day schooling, but only in close proximity to their homes.[189] Fearing that local families would abandon church

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[184] McKinnon, Inspector of Schools to Hoey, Superintendent, "Aklavik Anglican Residential School," August 15, 1947, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 919-1 Pt. 1; Beth Riddoch, "Arctic Adventure," *The Canadian Guider* 22, 3 (June 1952), 1, Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA) 68.73 Canadian Girl Guides Association, Alberta Council Fonds Box 1, File 1; "This is School? Trapping Is On The Curricula," *Toronto Daily Star*, March 25, 1959.
[185] "This is School? Trapping Is On The Curricula"; Riddoch, "Arctic Adventure"; Phyllis M. Taylor, *Dog-Team and School-Desk* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1960), 100.
[186] A. Andre, interview with Fraser; Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart Shook Like a Drum*, 74.
[187] Devitt, Superintendent of Schools, DNANR, "Inspector's Report for St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Mission Residential School, Fort Resolution, NWT," February 1955, RCDMA Box 1 File 3.
[188] DNANR, *Education in Canada's Northland*, 5.
[189] Deputy Minister, DMR to Gibson, Director, "Re: Administrative Assistant – Education," July 12, 1946, LAC RG85 Vol. 1505 File 600-1-1 Pt. 2.

state schooling altogether, he wrote: "The present enforced separation of the children from their parents for long periods of time is a factor working against the enthusiasm for school attendance."[190] From 1946 to 1950, Teetł'it Gwich'in families demanded not only a day school, but also a community student residence so families could continue with on-the-land economies and encourage Vun Tut Gwich'in children in Tèechik to attend school in Teetł'it Zheh rather than at Yukon Indian Residential Schools.[191]

Figure 15. Late evening on an August or September night in 1954, Teetł'it Gwich'in children prepare to board a boat to Akłarvik, where they will reside at All Saints' Residential School. For those families that did not live in the community of Teetł'it Zheh, this was the only choice for their children to attend school. Neither the children nor parents look thrilled. Untitled Image. Archival Caption: "Children going off to school in Aklavik. Fort McPherson, 1954."[192]

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[190] Excerpts from McKinnon's report undated, c. 1946, in Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions*, 90-91.
[191] Pearl Benyk, *Fort McPherson: A Community Study* (Yellowknife: GNWT, 1987), 95; Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions*, 313; Fleming to Hoey, Acting Director, March 9, 1945; Barnaby, Shimpo, and Struthers, *Rhetoric and Reality*, 13; Simpson, interview with Fraser 4; Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions*, 313; TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 34; Philippe Morin, "Chief Julius School Celebrates 10 Years," *News North Services* (May 28, 2007), www.nnsl.com.
[192] NWTA Terrance Hunt fonds, acc. no. N-1979-062, item no. 0180. In an effort to identify the people in this photograph, I asked Nanhkak Thak northerners. Lucy Ann Yakeleya suggested that this photograph, despite the archival description, was taken in Rádeyîlîkóé and that the people in the photograph are (left

At the same time, the NWT Council's Sub-Committee on Education crafted a policy to move families off nakhwinan and into "planned communities" or "settlements" using the attraction of day schooling to dismantle kin networks. The Council "encourage[d] fathers with families to build a home for their family there so that the children may attend school, while the father absents himself on other duties."[193] Demonstrating their knowledge of the federal and territorial agendas as well their ability to compromise, a number of families agreed to move off the land and 'settle' in Teetł'it Zheh if the Department agreed to their terms of a local day school and student residence. Putting their full support behind these initiatives, community members pledged $600 for the project.[194] DMR management agreed to finance a two-room schoolhouse in Teetł'it Zheh worth $15,000 plus maintenance and equipment costs, on the condition that the community constructed the school and hired a teacher.[195] The Department rejected the plan for a residence, but agreed to reconsider the request the following year.[196]

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to right) Mary dlen Codzi, Monica T'Seleie Caesar, Rose Mary Lennie, Margaret Turo Kelly, and Bella Kakfwi Drolet via Facebook, August 3, 2017.

[193] Sub-Committee on Education, NWT Council, "Precis A: Educational Policy," December 31, 1947, RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12.

[194] $600 in 1952 roughly equates to $5350 in 2016. Considering Teetł'it Zheh had a population of 307 people in 1948, raising those funds was an accomplishment. Hoey, Acting Director to Fleming, March 12, 1945; Fleming to Hoey, Acting Director, December 3, 1945; TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 34.

[195] Neary, Superintendent of Welfare and Training to C.L. Foster, Honorary Secretary, Diocese of the Arctic, The Church House, October 24, 1946, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 1-3 Box 27 File 4; "Correspondence with Bishop Trocellier, Port Brabant," November 12, 1948, RCDMA Box 1 File 22; Devitt, Curricula Division, (Department of Education) DOE, "Eastern Arctic Education," *Arcturus* 1, 4 (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, March 1971), 4; IRC, *Taimani*, 107. The maximum teachers' salary in Teetł'it Zheh was $130 per month. Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions*, 54, 313.

[196] Fleming, "The Bishop's Letter," *Arctic* News (Toronto: Diocese of the Arctic, ACC, 1952), 4.

The activism of parents in Akłarvik, Tuktuyaaqtuuq, and Tsiigehtshik also came to a head during the mid-to-late 1940s. In 1947, extreme overcrowding and poor ventilation at the Akłarvik day school became intolerable. Anjòo Sarah Ann Gardlund explained that "people got a petition passed (everyone signed it). The next day they closed the school. They put the children where they could find room…then after two years, we got the new school."[197] The same year, the first federal day school in the greater Nanhkak Thak region opened in Tuktuyaaqtuuq. By 1950, Gwichyà Gwich'in families were well aware the success of other communities in their requests. Adopting Teetł'it Zheh's approach, they too promised to move to Tsiigehtshik; their hunters would leave the community seasonally.[198] The DMR agreed and approved a one-room school for Tsiigehtshik.[199]

Federal and territorial investigations into schooling in Denendeh characterized the 1940s. And all reports focused on the inadequacy of Alberta curricula. In 1944, Dr. Andrew Moore suggested a "middle-of-the-way curricula, one which is not too academic and which includes suitable occupational courses and activities together with adequate instruction in health and hygiene."[200] For Moore, teachers and missionaries would deliver this curricula by seasonal school barges, bringing the "white man's education" to families at their Nagwichoonjik camps.[201] In 1950, the NWT Council hired Harry Low to

[197] Sarah Ann Gardlund, "Aklavik As I Remember It," in *Gwich'in COPE Stories*, 244.
[198] S.J. Bailey, A/Superintendent of Education, Mackenzie District, "Report – Indian Day School – Arctic Red River," October 18, 1950, LAC RG85 Vol. 225 File 630-117-1 Pt. 1.
[199] Bailey, "Report – Indian Day School – Arctic Red River."
[200] Bailey, "Report – Indian Day School – Arctic Red River."
[201] Employing a travelling government teacher to visit fish camps may have come from Swedish and Norwegian models, where this was successfully imposed. J. Lorne Turner, May 22, 1934, LAC RG85 Vol. 1130 File 254-1 Pt. 1, qtd. in King, 17; Excerpts from Moore in Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions*, 88.

examine schooling territorial wide and Dinjii Zhuh families requested that he visit Teetł'it Zheh; they intended to use him as a vehicle to obtain a residence.[202] Indeed, Low recommended that governments establish local advisory committees to "promote cooperation between teachers and the community, while fostering a high standard of schooling" and the federal government "experiment" with residential schools to provide families with new options.[203] He speculated that Teetł'it Zheh might benefit the most from a residence, given their history of political engagement around schooling.[204]

In a similar 1950 study, Superintendent of Education S.J. Bailey toured the same region and concluded that when children were released from Akłarvik's residential schools, they were "entirely unaccustomed to the native way of life," suggesting that these schools had effectively divorced students from their cultures.[205] Bailey supported the teaching of practical courses and recommended the school calendar be altered to keep families intact from December until April, "that period when the native hunting and trapping and living a life that every native must learn to live."[206] Finally, Bailey was impressed with "the eagerness that the native population displays toward having their

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[202] Marsh to Philip Phelan, Superintendent of Education, IAB, DCI, February 14, 1951; Phelan, Superintendent of Education to Marsh, "Re: Fort McPherson," February 19, 1951, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 1-3 Box 27 File 4; Low, *Report to the Northwest Territories*, 1.
[203] Low, *Report to the Northwest Territories*, 6-7, 18-19, 30, 35.
[204] Community members contributed to Low's report by supplying him with evidence that eighty to 100 children could benefit from local school facilities, rather than having to travel Akłarvik to access the same services. Low, *Report to the Northwest Territories*, 37; Conference Notes, Teetł'it Zheh, Late July 1951, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 1-3 Box 27 File 4; R.H. Hyett, St. Matthew's Mission, ACC to Marsh, September 27, 1956, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 2-1 Box 47 File 3.
[205] Bailey, Inspection Report, September and October, 1950, Excerpts in Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions*, 95.
[206] Bailey, Inspection Report.

children educated. They wish it known that they are far more pleased to have Government Schools rather than Mission Schools."[207]

Despite the numerous studies and recommendations, the Department resisted change and firmly stated that "there were no plans for using a curricula, other than that of the Province of Alberta" at both day and residential schools.[208] Apart from the trapping and fishing programs of All Saints and Immaculate Conception Indian Residential Schools, teachers focused on materials about the British Empire, Canadian citizenship, Anglo-Saxon identity, geography, prairie agriculture, natural science, literature, physical education, English syntax and grammar, mathematics, and second languages such as French, Latin, and German.[209] The erasure of Dinjii Zhuh, Métis, and Inuit peoples was starkly evident in school materials; instead students learned about Māori histories as a way to elevate their own inept cultures on the metaphorical colonial ladder that measured the civilization of different Indigenous peoples.[210] By 1950, the

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[207] Bailey, Inspection Report.

[208] "Extracts from Department of Education, Government of the Province of Alberta," May 1, 1951, RCDMA Box 1 File 23.

[209] DMR, *Annual Report of Indian Affairs Branch for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1941* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1941); DMR, *Annual Report of Indian Affairs Branch for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1942* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1942), 9. See: Jacobson, Superintendent of Education to All Teachers of the Mackenzie District, N.W.T., "Northwest Territories Curricula Letters," 1952 to 1955; Jacobson, Superintendent to All Teachers of the Mackenzie District, N.W.T., "Re: Courses and Textbook Changes and Other Information Regarding School Operation, 1952-53," May 23, 1952, RCDMA Box 1 File 23; DNANR, *Annual Report/Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Fiscal Year 1955-1956* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1956), 27; DNANR, *Northern Education: Ten Years of Progress* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1960), 1.

[210] Gibson, Deputy Commissioner to The Principal, SJCIRS, Deníu Kų́ę́, September 11, 1948, RCDMA Croteau Files Box 2 of 3 Fort Providence Pupil Letters.

promised “special” curricula, supposedly under development for the past six years, had yet to be implemented.[211]

“The place is bristling with problems and nobody to answer [the] simplest questions”: The Construction of Inuuvik and the Expansion of the Canadian Nation State in Nanhkak Thak, 1955 to 1959[212]

New plans for day and residential schooling coalesced around the vision of a new, ‘modern’ North and in particular the building of East 3 (later known as New Aklavik and finally Inuuvik). Established in January 1948, the Advisory Committee on Northern Development (ACND) decided to relocate the community and administrative centre of Akłarvik. Despite its lucrative hunting and fishing, Akłarvik would be moved sixty-eight kilometers to the southwest, a site that was better suited for the expansion of government and a growing settler society. The new town was designed as a “springboard for every sort of operation,” playing a key role in establishing a northern aviation industry, sophisticated military exercises, and an administrative centre for the surrounding one million square kilometers.[213]

The North’s perceived importance steadily increased after the Second World War through a number of colonial projects: the Alaska Highway, the CANOL pipeline, the

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[211] Gibson, Deputy Commissioner to Dr. Hugh A. Keenleyside, Commissioner of the NWT and Deputy Minister, Department of Resources and Development (DRD), March 3, 1950, LAC RG85 C-1-a Vol. 1037 File 20984; Hugh A. Young, Commissioner of the CNWT, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories for the Fiscal Year 1952-53* (Ottawa: Dept. of Information, 1953), 4; Robertson, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories for the Fiscal Year 1953-54* (Ottawa: Dept. of Information, 1954), 3; Robertson, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories for the Fiscal Year 1956-57* (Ottawa: Dept. of Information, 1957), 8; Robertson, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories for the Fiscal Year 1958-59* (Ottawa: Dept. of Information, 1959), 6.

[212] Curt L. Merrill, District Administrator, NALB to Bent G. Sivertz, Director, Arctic Division, NAB, DNANR, July 20, 1959, LAC RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125-1 Pt. 1.

[213] Sivertz, Director to the Deputy Minister, DNANR, “Criticisms Concerning Inuvik,” October 14, 1959, LAC RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125 Pt. 1.

Distant Early Warning Line, the North American Aerospace Defense Command, and an oil refinery in Whitehorse.[214] As a result, humanitarian concerns about the plight of Indigenous peoples surfaced. US military personnel stationed in the Artic were appalled by the striking poverty and poor health of Indigenous northerners and the Department became a "diplomatic embarrassment" after its northern schooling policies were criticized at a United Nations meeting.[215] As demonstrated, parents had long been lobbying for day schooling, student residences, and better funding so it was unsurprising when Anglican Bishop Archibald Fleming suggested in 1946 that it was necessary to "revamp the whole machine and bring in modern methods, placing responsible people with proper authority to deal with matters expeditiously."[216]

East 3 was designed to assert the sovereignty of the Canadian state against growing American and Russian interests in the Arctic, but it also disempowered Dinjii Zhuh, Métis, and Inuvialuit families. DNANR management deceived Akłarvik residents about plans for moving the schooling facilities and failed to consult them about the relocation of their community.[217] Furthermore, the site of East 3 along Eetąįįląįį[218] was

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[214] Devitt, Curricula Division, "Eastern Arctic Education," *Arcturus* 1, 4, 4; Frances Abele, "Canadian Contradictions: Forty Years of Northern Political Development," *Arctic* 40, 4, Fortieth Anniversary Special Issue (December 1987), 312; Shelagh Grant, *Sovereignty and Security? Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936-1950* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988).
[215] Joe A. Coady, "J.A. 'Joe' Coady, Fort Norman (1949-50), Fort Good Hope," in Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions*, 67; Judith Knapp, "Reflections of Reflections of Reflections: A Multi-Case Study of Women Educators' Callings to the High Arctic," (PhD Diss., University of San Diego, 1998), 23-24.
[216] Fleming to Gibson, Deputy Commissioner, November 19, 1946, LAC RG85 Vol. 1506 File 600-1-1 Pt. 2, qtd. in Duffy, 95-96.
[217] Fleming, "The Bishop's Letter," *Arctic* News (Toronto: Diocese of the Arctic, ACC, 1955), 3; Frank J.G. Cunningham, Director, DNANR to the District Administrator, May 2, 1955, LAC RG85 442 Vol. 630 119-3 Pt. 8; Grantham to Jacobson, Chief, "Re: School Children Accommodation for Anglican Eskimo Children in the Central Arctic," September 24, 1957, RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12.
[218] East Branch of the Nagwichoonjik, or "water flowing from the side." Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), www.atlas.gwichin.ca.

not always used by Indigenous northerners since other areas provided lucrative harvesting opportunities; families were required to change their lifestyle patterns if they wanted to be closer to their children who would now attend school in East 3 instead of Akłarvik.

The decades prior to the 1950s were characterized by several shifts in power, legislative reform, refined state goals, and a revolving door of public servants. Between the years of 1920 and 1953, schooling policies were been guided by the MSCC, the Roman Catholic Church Diocese of Mackenzie, the Departments of the Interior, Mines and Resources, Resources and Development, Citizenship and Immigration, and in 1953 emerged as a joint project between the DNANR and the NWT Council. Church-owned residential schools in the North could not carry on without hefty financial assistance that exceeded existing federal grants. As such, church control over schooling dwindled as the presence of the federal government increased in Nanhkak Thak.[219] The power of the NWT Council also grew, in part, due to the revised *Northwest Territories Act* in 1951, which allowed for the election of three Members from the Mackenzie District.[220] Territorial and federal officials were cognizant of intense criticism of residential schools; in 1950, Deputy Commissioner Gibson admitted that there were "certain features of the residential schools which have not been looked upon with much favour."[221]

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[219] CNWT, "Responsibility for Education in the Northwest Territories," *Sessional Paper, No. 17, Second Session, June 22, 1965*, RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12.
[220] This year, the Council also began alternate sittings between Adawe and northern communities, whereas prior to 1951, the majority of meetings were in Adawe.
[221] Gibson, Deputy Commissioner to "Reverend Sir," CEDC, February 21, 1950, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 1-3 Box 27 File 4.

Officials briefly considered acquiescing to the "modern trend" of allowing children to remain with their families; indeed, the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons' in 1949 recommended that all Indian Residential Schools be closed and that children be 'integrated' into provincial schools and live in their own communities whenever possible. Since at least the 1920s, Dinjii Zhuh, Métis, and Inuvialuit parents had requested that their children remain closer to home.[222] Despite this and the findings of uunjit investigators, northern officials decided that residential schooling policies in the North "should be of good service" in their continued attempt to assimilate Indigenous northerners into broader uunjit society.[223] Not only were the wishes of Indigenous parents blatantly ignored, DNANR Branch Director and NWT Deputy Commissioner Frank Cunningham sought to exclude Indigenous peoples from formal administrative processes when he banned interested Inuit parents from a meeting of the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education in 1952.[224]

In a speech that Minister Jean Lesage delivered to Toronto's Canadian Club in 1954, he claimed, "Someone has said that a nation remains great only while it has a frontier to conquer. Canada has always had its frontier. In 1900 it lay to the West. The

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[222] Robert J. Carney, "The Hawthorn Survey (1966-1967), Indians and Oblates and Integrated Schooling," *CCHA, Study Sessions* 50 (1983), 609-610; Milloy, *A National Crime*, xv, 189-191, 242; Helen Raptis and Samantha Bowker, "Maintaining the Illusion of Democracy: Policy-Making and Aboriginal Education in Canada, 1946-1948," *Canadian Journal of Education Administration and Policy* 102 (March 2010), 1.
[223] Gibson, Deputy Commissioner to "Reverend Sir," CEDC, February 21, 1950, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 1-3 Box 27 File 4.
[224] The Sub-Committee met to consider schooling barriers for Inuit and Inuvialuit children. Cunningham believed that the presence of Indigenous peoples would impinge on the free expression of departmental views and insisted that "this does not mean that the Eskimo viewpoint was not presented to the meeting," despite there being no Inuit of Inuvialuit people in attendance. Gibson, Deputy Commissioner to Unknown Reverend, CEDC, February 21, 1950, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 1-3 Box 27 File 4; Cunningham to Clyde Kennedy, June 16, 1952, LAC RG85 Vol. 254 File 40-8-1 Pt. 3, qtd. in King, 56; DNANR, *Education in Canada's Northland*, 2.

West was conquered and another frontier remains. Today it stretches to our North."[225] By enveloping northern Indigenous peoples into national goals and fully extending Canadian sovereignty to the North, the federal government sought to "create a new sense of purpose and national destiny."[226] Indigenous northerners were at the heart of constructing this new "national destiny" and incorporating them into settler Canadian society was vital.[227]

The political climate, however, was driven by dangerous racial assumptions about the lack of 'progress' of Indigenous northerners who had attended schools over the past thirty years. Oblate missionary S. Lesage wrote a letter to Commissioner Robinson and underscored "the inability of the ignorant, naïve and weak character [of the] Indians and Half-breeds to act in accordance with the dictates of their right conscience in educational matters."[228] In an effort to justify residential schooling, the NWT Council emphasized the "nomadic" tendencies of Indigenous students.[229] And for Commissioner and DNANR Deputy Minister Gordon Robertson, "the nomadic character of Indians and Eskimos makes it impossible to provide any continuity in the education of these peoples except at centres where residential facilities are provided, and the plan

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[225] Jean Lesage, Minister, DNANR, "Development of the North," Speech given to the Canadian Club of Toronto (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1954), qtd. in D.A. West, "Re-Searching the North in Canada: An Introduction to the Canadian Northern Discourse," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 26, 2 (Summer 1991), 110.
[226] Bruce W. Hodgins, *The Canadian North: Source of Wealth or Vanishing Heritage?* (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1977), 161-162.
[227] In the early 1950s, Jacobson, certain of future northern economic prosperity, supported educating local Indigenous people to fill new positions, lest the jobs go to southerners. Jacobson, Chief, "New Educational Programme for the Northwest Territories," undated (c. 1950s), RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12.
[228] S. Lesage to Robertson, Commissioner, DNANR, May 30, 1955, RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 14.
[229] DNANR, *Education in Canada's Northland*, 5.

therefore includes the construction of hostels."[230] The NWT Council's Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education agreed, explaining that "these schools were most effective in removing children from 'primitive environments'" and preparing them "along the lines of civilization leading to vocational training to fit them for occupations in the white man's economy."[231] Basing its intervention on racial assumptions about Indigenous peoples, perceived economic need, an increasing Indigenous population, a postwar thirst for a better human condition, and a declining fur trade, the federal government aggressively moved forward with residential school plans for East 3.[232]

Meanwhile, Dinjii Zhuh families continued to clamour for a student residence in Teetł'it Zheh. Although a day school operated, the majority of parents lived on nakhwinan; they did not want their children to be institutionalized at All Saints Indian Residential School, but refused to alter their lifestyles by permanently moving into town. After two decades of strategic discussion and action, the Department approved a residence, in early 1954, but with conditions. Officials stated that only "orphaned" children or those from "broken" homes would be admitted, a decision that was at odds with the request for accommodations for children with parents who lived on nakhwinan.[233]

This was not the wish of the community and parents stalled construction of the facility until they could discuss the matter at the annual summer Treaty meeting. There,

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[230] Robertson, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories for the Fiscal Year 1954-55*, 7.
[231] DNANR, *Education in Canada's Northland*, 5; R. Quinn Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit Since the Second World War* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 100.
[232] Robertson, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories for the Fiscal Year 1954-55,* 7.
[233] Marsh to Ethel Stewart, Teacher, Teetł'it Zheh, undated (c. 1954), ACCGSA M96-7 SS 1-3 Box 27 File 4.

they presented a comparative study to the DNANR that outlined their lack of resources in contrast to the new educational facilities in Dawson City, Yukon, demonstrating a breadth of local knowledge about federal commitment to schooling across the North.[234] Dinjii Zhuh families continued to embrace their ancestral strength (t'aih) by keeping Chief Julius Salu's ideas alive from the 1920s – that families deserved close, accessible day schooling for the safety of their children.

On April 1, 1955, the DNANR seized control over schooling from the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches.[235] The churches feared the loss of their influence over Indigenous children, admitting that they would lose the ability to use children as "bargaining points."[236] Later, the MSCC and Oblates would agree to administer and manage East 3's Grollier and Stringer Halls when they opened in 1959, where they could continue to indoctrinate children.[237]

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[234] Andrew Kunnizzi, Clement Koe, Frederick Blake, Lucy Vaneltsie, William Snowshoe, Ben Firth, William Edward, William Snowshoe, William Nerysoo, Charlie Wilson, Peter Thompson, James Simon, Julia Koe, Elizabeth Greenland, Matthew Kendi, William Vittrekwa, Roni Pascal, Ada Stewart, Jim Vittrekwa, and Chief Johnny Kay signed the petition. Chief Jimmy Kay, Teetł'it Zheh Band to Jean Lesage, Member of Parliament, House of Commons and Minister, July 13, 1954; Party Meeting Minutes, A.V. Cottrell, Superintendent, Fort Norman Agency, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 1-3 Box 27 File 4; Fleming, "Arctic News Brief," *Arctic* News (Toronto: ACC, 1954), 14.

[235] With the exception of private or mining company schools and the territorial school districts in Sǫ̀ǫmbak'è, schooling facilities were now under federal jurisdiction. DNANR, *Education in Canada's Northland*, 2.

[236] Jacobson, Chief, "Education in the Northwest Territories: An Analysis of the Westwater Report," October 1958, LAC MG31 D153 Vol. 1. In 1961, Stringer Hall administrator Holman reprimanded SAMS principal for exposing Anglican children to Catholicism: "no pupil from Stringer Hall was to be 'supervised, taught or instructed during school hours or in any extra-curricular activities by any teacher, instructor or instructress dressed in religious habit' and that 'No pupils from Stringer Hall were to attend classrooms in 'B' Wing which had – hanging on the wall any pictures or objects related to the Roman Catholic Faith.'" He noted that these regulations and procedures were not being followed and asked that the instated policy be "strictly honoured now and in the future." Marsh to Holman, Administrator, October 10, 1961, Holman, Administrator to Jim Maher, Acting Principal, SAMS, February 1, 1965, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 2-1 Box 47 File 3.

[237] Milloy, *A National Crime*, 244.

In 1955, Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent's federal government announced a "new comprehensive educational strategy," which included Lesage's "New Education Programme," a twenty-million-dollar project that called for the intense development of the Mackenzie Region, including the construction of day and residential schools.[238] This six-year expansion program,

> designed to increase the rate of school and hostel construction, was based on compulsory school attendance, certification of teachers, construction of composite high schools, and the centralization of control in the hands of a single government agency.[239]

Lesage stated that all children would be educated together in a "single system of all races," forming a student body that was "ethnically integrated."[240] Robertson wanted to purge from the system "any element of segregation on a racial basis," a curious statement considering he promoted the institutionalization of Indigenous children into the new residential schools.[241] Milloy calls this a "unique multi-cultural policy" that sought to establish a single school system to include all students, but this policy was complicated by the decision to build new "student residences" that were managed with

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[238] Robertson, "Annual Report of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, 1955-56," in *Annual Report/Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Fiscal Year 1955-1956*, 105; Thomas R. Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, Vol. I* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1977), 91; Thorsteinsson, "Sessional Paper No. 17 – Responsibility for Education in the N.W.T.," 430-431; CNWT, "Sessional Paper No. 17 (Second Session, 1965), Responsibility for Education in the Northwest Territories," *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Thirtieth Session, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, June 14-25, 1965, Vol. II* (Ottawa: Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, 1965), 315; CNWT, "Responsibility for Education in the Northwest Territories"; Milloy, *A National Crime*, 242-243.

[239] DNANR, "New Education Programme in the Northwest Territories," March 28, 1955, RCDMA Croteau Files Box 3 of 3 Establishment of Schools and Hostels.

[240] DNANR, *Annual Report/Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Fiscal Year 1955-1956*, 26; DNANR, *Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1961-1962* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Comptroller of Stationary, 1962), 26; Milloy, *A National Crime*, 242-243.

[241] Memorandum, Robertson to the Minister, August 12, 1957, LAC File 630-101-1, Vol. 4, qtd. Milloy, *A National Crime*, 243.

the same racialized ideologies as Indian Residential Schools proper.[242] The goal was to "to integrate [students] as rapidly as possible into the White economy."[243]

Attendance statistics suggest that northern Indigenous families remained skeptical about the growing network of federal day and residential schools. Dinjii Zhuh, Métis, and Inuvialuit families were frustrated that Akłarvik's school had failed to properly prepare their children. In his 1957 report, Federal Welfare Officer P.B. Gorlick explained that

> These people refuse to send their children to school, as they do not approve of the results of our education system. At various times these men have told me that after an Eskimo child has been in school in Aklavik, the child knows nothing: - he cannot fish, he disregards the wishes and advice of his parents; they will not help their parents; and usually the children refuse to stay at home.[244]

Education Chief Jacobson reported that attendance at day schools for Indigenous students was around forty percent.[245] DNANR officials carefully weighed the influence that Indigenous parents had on 'recruitment' and student enrollment quotas; the new residential schools in East 3 would only be effective if agents could fill them. In 1957, Robertson admitted that Nanhkak Thak parents needed convincing to send their

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[242] Milloy, *A National Crime*, 242-243.
[243] Jacobson, Chief to Sivertz, Member, NWT Council, "Re: Eskimo Children From Camp 20 at Churchill Attending the Duke of Edinburgh School," November 9, 1955, RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12. Even by the late 1960s, others agreed that economic integration continued to be the primary goal. Eric Gourdeau, Economist, "Background Paper No. 6: School Systems and Programs Open to Northern Autochthonous People in Northern Regions of the Circumpolar Countries," Cross-Cultural Conference on Education in the North, Montréal, August 1969, LAC MG28 I117 Vol. 77 File 1-3.
[244] P.B. Gorlick, Welfare Officer, NALB, DNANR to Chief, Arctic Division, "Re: Assistance to Whaling Fleet," July 10, 1957, LAC RG85 Vol. 384 252-5 119 Pt. 1. There are many children who did not attend residential schools at the request of their parents. Leslie McCartney, "Sarah Simon, Fort McPherson, NT," *Gwich'in Elders Calendar, 2003* (Tsiigehtchic, NWT: GSCI, 2003), 1.
[245] Jacobson, "New Educational Programme for the Northwest Territories."

children to Grollier and Stringer Halls in East 3: “the need for education and persuasion was even greater here if success in enrolment was to be achieved.”[246]

Although federal and territorial policies legislated mandatory attendance, it was difficult to enforce among families who resided on nakhwinan or strategically hid their children. DNANR Welfare Officer Eugene Rheaume was well aware parents needed continual persuasion and reminders about the value of residential schooling and noted that “next year [in 1959] we will be opening even bigger and better residential schools at Inuvik where there will be even more pressure by the authorities to fill their dormitories.”[247] The federal government was in a vulnerable situation; if Indigenous parents did not agree with schooling objectives and pedagogies, their decision to keep their children at home was a threat to national objectives.

Teetł’it Gwich’in flat out refused to send their young children to East 3. As such, DNANR officials were forced to comply with the community’s request and construct a new residential school there, Fleming Hall, to open simultaneously with Grollier and Stringer Halls in 1959.[248] By this time, Dinjii Zhuh families had creatively used the resources available to them and had converted an old 1910 mission house into a boys’ residence, in an effort to keep some children away from Akłarvik’s residential schools.[249] Teetł’it girls, however, continued to reside at All Saints School, subjecting them to poor

[246] Robertson to Trocellier, Bishop, June 12, 1957, RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 18.
[247] Rheaume to Chief of the Arctic Division, “Monthly Report – November, 1958.”
[248] Marsh, “Arctic News Brief,” 13-14.
[249] Although parents were grateful that the old mission house could be converted into lodging for boys, mission staff vacated this structure to move into brand new quarters. Fleming, “Arctic News Brief,” 14; Marsh to Henry G. Cook, Superintendent, Indian School Administration, MSCC, February 13, 1957, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 2-6 Box 92 File 2; Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions*, 314.

and arduous living conditions.[250] The persistence and guut'àii of Teetł'it Gwich'in over the course of thirty years led to remarkable success; by strategically manipulating the power networks and having the ability to comprise, they were able to keep their children closer, healthier, and alive. This opening of Fleming Hall in Teetł'it Zheh, however, was contentious; DNANR management feared setting a dangerous precedent for other Indigenous parents, who had asked for similar facilities in Rádeyîlîkóé and Tsiigehtshik.[251]

Meanwhile, there were various obstacles around planning and construction in East 3. Two years after starting this construction project, DNANR management accused their federal partners, the Department of Public Works, of "incompetency and inefficiency" in the construction of day and residential schools.[252] By 1959, DNANR management was overtly aware that mistakes had been made and DNANR Director Bent G. Sivertz noted that the "place is bristling with problems and nobody to answer [the] simplest questions."[253] Despite the 'progress' that East 3 was designed to represent, this emerging 'urban' centre was built on a foundation of inequality and segregation. Indigenous peoples lived on the east side of East 3 or in Happy Valley[254] and Uunjit government workers and their families lived in "suburban comfort in the arctic," in

[250] Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions*, 314.
[251] Fleming, "Arctic News Brief," 14; Treaty Party Meeting Minutes, A.V. Cottrell, Superintendent, Fort Norman Agency, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 1-3 Box 27 File 4.
[252] Young, Deputy Minister, Department of Public Works to Robertson, "Public Works Construction Programme – Northwest Territories," January 18, 1957, LAC RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125-1 Pt. 1.
[253] Merrill to Sivertz.
[254] This was also called Tent Town and Shack Town. It is currently Happy Valley Territorial Park, which contains the Happy Valley Campground.

modern, serviced homes on the west side.[255] Some called Inuuvik a social laboratory, characterized by “white compounds” or “southern enclaves.”[256] One reporter claimed that Inuuvik was “Canada’s grand monument to segregation,” especially considering that “No native is allowed to rent in the town of Inuuvik proper, but only outside the town where the boasted modern facilities are absent.”[257]

By 1959, the DNANR had spent thirty-four million on the construction of East 3 and it would spend another sixteen million in making it the educational centre of Nanhkak Thak.[258] Marketed as the epitome of northern modernism and progress, East 3 was built to be symbolic of “citified modern settlement so far north with all modern conveniences.”[259] Sivertz proclaimed, “Inuvik is the first real place we have built from scratch and I regard it as a real achievement which Canadians will take increasing pride as time goes on. I don’t think any of us yet realize the significance of a town in the

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[255] Like in other northern communities, Uunjit families lived in homes with propane gas, running water, flush toilets, and electrical heating, but local Indigenous people did not. On the rare occasion, non-Indigenous families temporarily resided in a ‘512’ – a poorly constructed 512-square-foot shack – until modern housing became available, but it “caused an uproar around the community” and one white worker acknowledged that “life in that [Indigenous] community would not be livable for me.” Dorothy “Robbie” L. Robinson, Religious Education Worker, Inuuvik, ACC to Marsh, November 15, 1960, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 2-2 Box 59 File 2; Robert Reguly, “Inuvik – It’s Canada’s Grand Monument to Segregation,” *Toronto Daily Star*, September 24, 1963; Jackie Norris, Adult Education, DOE, GNWT, “Report,” Summer 1971, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 18-10; Anthony Apakark Thrasher in collaboration with Gerard Deagle and Alan Mettrick, *Thrasher…Skid Row Eskimo* (Toronto: Griffin House, 1976), 80-81; G.F. Parsons, *Arctic Suburb: A Look at the North’s Newcomers* (Ottawa: DIAND 1970), 7; Simpson, interview with Fraser.

[256] “Acids of modernity eat into Canada’s Arctic,” *The Telegram* (December 1, 1969); Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland*, 88.

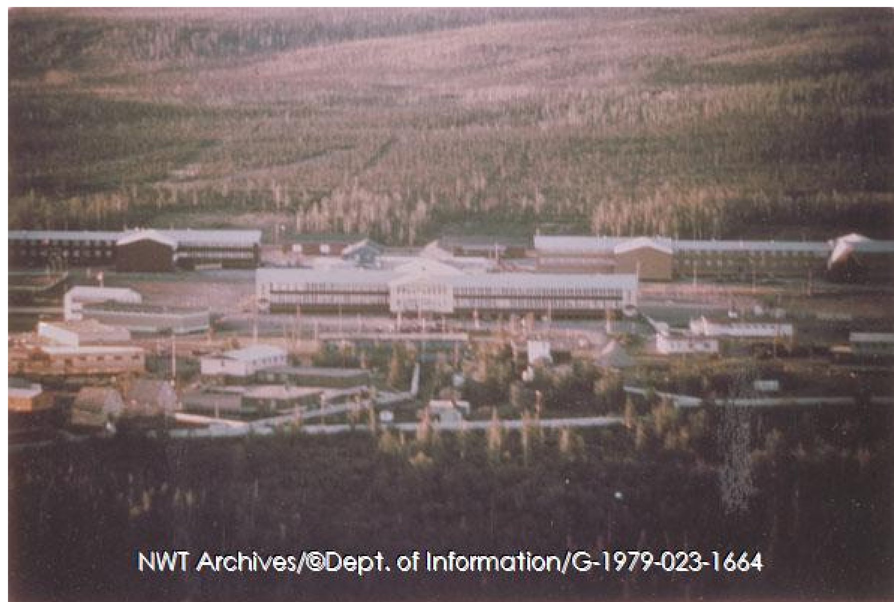
[257] Reguly, “Inuvik – It’s Canada’s Grand Monument to Segregation.” Longtime northerner Bob Simpson explained that this division persisted well into the 1970s and was discernable in a cross-section of local activities. Simpson, interview with Fraser.

[258] DNANR, *Annual Report/ Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Fiscal Year 1955-1956*, 17; “Inuvik Money Well Spent Says Hamilton After Tour,” undated (c. 1959), unknown newspaper, LAC RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125-1 Pt. 1; Reguly, “Inuvik – It’s Canada’s Grand Monument to Segregation.”

[259] Robinson to Unknown, April 17, 1960, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 2-2 Box 59 File 2.

Mackenzie Delta."[260] Inuuvik was juxtaposed with Akłarvik, with the former representing modernity and the latter a relic. J.R. Lotz wrote in *The Beaver* that Akłarvik was perceived as 'traditional' town, where the traders and trappers resided, while "his wage-employed relative cashes his pay cheque at the bank in Inuvik."[261] Historians Matthew Farish and P. Whitney Lackenbauer contend that "the late 1950s were the apogee of Arctic modernization in both dream and practice."[262]

In August 1959, Grollier and Stringer Halls, designed to house 250 students each, opened as federally-owned and -financed, church-operated institutions.[263]


NWT Archives/©Dept. of Information/G-1979-023-1664

[260] Sivertz to the Deputy Minister, "Criticisms Concerning Inuvik."
[261] J.R. Lotz, "Pelts to Parkas," *The Beaver* (Autumn 1962), 16 (16-19).
[262] Matthew Farish and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "High Modernism in the Arctic: Planning Frobisher Bay and Inuvik," *Journal of Historical Geography* 35, 3 (July 2009), 526.
[263] Grollier Hall was named after Father P. Grollier, OMI, who founded a mission in Deníu Kų́ę́ in 1958. The residence was also referred to as: Roman Catholic Hostel at East 3/Aklavik East 3 (pre-1959), Roman Catholic Hostel at [New] Aklavik (pre-1959), Notre-Dame Residence (1959-1960), Roman Catholic Hostel/Residence at Inuuvik (1959-1961), Grollier Hall Hostel/Residence (1961-62), and finally Grollier Hall Pupil Residence (1962-1975). Stringer Hall, named after the Anglican Bishop Isaac O. Stringer, was also known as the Federal Anglican Hostel at Inuuvik. National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR), "Grollier Hall Student Residence (Inuvik, NWT) Residence/School Narrative," 2, 8; NCTR, "Stringer Hall Student Residence (Inuvik, NWT) Residence/School Narrative," 1-3, www.nctr.ca).

Figure 16. Pictured in left background is Stringer Hall, Inuuvik's Anglican residential school. Grollier Hall, the Roman Catholic residential school, is on the right and the East 3 Federal Day School (later known as Sir Alexander Mackenzie School or SAMS) is in the centre. Undated, c. early 1960s. Archival Caption: "Inuvik at Midnight."[264]

These identical, adjacent facilities were built on the same plot of land, but separated by a utilidor.[265] The residential schools were enormous, measuring over 500 feet long and were characterized as "ultra modern" architecture.[266] The Roman Catholic Diocese of Mackenzie and the MSCC operated Grollier Hall and Stringer Halls, respectively, an attempt by DNANR management to "placate" important church officials.[267] They were solely responsible for the recruitment, hiring, and compensation of all residential school staff, as well as building maintenance and upkeep.[268] Both residences were laid out identically, and included: Junior and Senior boys' and girls' dormitories (segregated by age, six to fourteen and fifteen to twenty-one) with washrooms; student study rooms; separate student and staff dining rooms; a kitchen, bakery, laundry, and dishwashing rooms; a sewing room; medical rooms; recreation rooms; a chapel; staff bedroom, washrooms, lounges, common rooms, and janitor and supervisors' quarters; storage space; and mechanical and heating rooms.[269]

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[264] NWTA Dept. of Information Fonds, acc. no. G-1979-023, item no. 1664.
[265] Although the residential schools were managed by separate entities, they shared certain services, such as a central freezer and both used central laundry facilities. NCTR, "Grollier Hall Student Residence," 2-3, 6-7.
[266] Marsh, "The Bishop's Letter," 2.
[267] Archival caption of untitled image, 1959. NWTA Erik Watt fonds, acc. no. N-1990-005, item no. 0288.
[268] By 1965, the DIAND had taken on the responsibility of training residential school administrators and supervisors. NCTR, "Grollier Hall Student Residence," 7 and "Stringer Hall Student Residence," 3, 5.
[269] The only documented structural difference is that Grollier Hall had a swimming pool. Max Ruyant, OMI, Administrator, Grollier Hall, DOE to Bernard C. Gillie, District Superintendent of Schools, March 22, 1969, NWTA acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-23; Anonymous #1, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 9 July 2013; Elizabeth Cooper, "'Never Say Die': An Ethnohistorical Review of Health and Healing in Aklavik, NWT, Canada" (MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 2010), 52; Diane Baxter, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 11 July 2013.

The opening of Grollier and Stringer Halls was welcomed by Indigenous children who were temporarily residing at the airport outside of East 3.[270] DNANR superintendents decided residential school admissions, but children were generally admitted to the residential school of their family's religion.[271] Approximately three percent of beds were saved for uunjit children whose families worked on the DEW Line or in the resource industry, but these spots were rarely filled.[272] Uunjit families had the privilege of making informed decisions for their children's education through homeschooling, registering them for Alberta-based correspondence, placing them in private accommodations, or sending them to private schools in Uunjit Nanhkak.[273] Although uunjit and Indigenous children attended day and residential schools together, it was overwhelmingly Indigenous students who were institutionalized in state facilities,

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[270] Sivertz, Director to the Deputy Minister, "Re: Transportation of Airport Children, E.3," September 25, 1957; H.J. Mitchell, Sub-District Administrator, NALB to Merrill, "Transportation of School Children, East-3," February 7, 1958; Jacobson, Chief to W.G. Booth, Chief Superintendent of Schools, Education Division, NALB, "Transportation of School Children – Inuvik," November 20, 1958, LAC RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125-1 Pt. 1.

[271] This was the policy at Akłarvik Indian Residential Schools too, but student admissions were a source of friction between the two denominations. J. Webster, Archdeacon, All Saints Anglican Mission to Marsh, October 3, 1955; Marsh to Cunningham, March 6, 1956; Sivertz, Acting Director, NALB to Marsh, February 27, 1956, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 6 Box 92 File 9; Max Ruyant, ICIRS to Holman, Principal, February 7, 1957, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 2-1 Box 47 File 3; R.A.J. Phillips, Acting Director, NAB, DNANR to L. Mokwa, OMI, Administrator of the Vicariate of Mackenzie, Thebacha, February 2, 1959, RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 17; Fred Carmichael, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 19 July 2013.

[272] Northern residential schools had been accommodating Uunjit children since at least the 1930s, when All Saints Indian Residential School in Akłarvik reserved spaces for the children of Lapp herders in the region. Deputy Commissioner to McGill, Deputy Superintendent General, "Re – Anglican Residential School – Aklavik," October 13, 1936, LAC RG10 Vol. 6476 919-1 Pt. 1.

[273] If Uunjit parents found accommodations so their children could attend day school, the DOE subsidized them up to $4 per day. This option was not extended to Indigenous families. Andrew Moore, *The Moore Report 1945,* RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12; "Education in the Legion," *The Evening Citizen* (February 13, 1947), 30; O'Brien to Gillie, District Superintendent, October 31, 1968, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-23; R. Jim Walker, Superintendent, DOE to Larry D. Gilberg, Superintendent, DOE, January 14, 1975, Walker, Superintendent to XXXX, Parent, Sǫǫ̀mbak'è, July 10, 1975, NWTA G-1995-004, 9-17; Mary-Ellen Binder, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 17 July 2013; Sandra (nilìh ch'uu Mayers) Suliman, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 24 July 2013.

meaning that the segregation and management of racialized bodies continued to be at the centre of state expansion.[274]

Opening in 1959, the Inuuvik Federal Day School provided schooling for local town kids, children who lived at nearby camps, and residents of Grollier and Stringer Halls.[275] Constructed to accommodate 900 pupils, it was a "combined" school, which historian John Milloy calls "a most curious contrivance."[276] Unique to the North, it had separate Anglican and Roman Catholic wings for students in grades one to eight and a third non-denominational wing for high school students, creating a "T" formation.[277] Each wing had its own assistant principal and teachers and the independence to implement its own programming, with the assistant principal answering only to the Superintendent of Schools in the Mackenzie District, rather than the head principal.[278] The Roman Catholic wing had ten classrooms and the Anglican wing fourteen classrooms, with shared services available in the stem of the "T."[279] The combined school system came with a financial burden since each class was taught twice in the same building.[280] The *School Ordinance* allowed for thirty minutes per day of religious

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[274] Knapp, "Reflections of Reflections of Reflections," 26. This plan parallels schooling reform in the Yukon of merging Indigenous and non-Indigenous students together. Marjorie E. Almstrom, "A Century of Schooling: Educating in the Yukon, 1861-1961," (unpublished paper, Whitehorse, Yukon, 1991), 20.
[275] Inuuvik Federal Day School was renamed to SAMS when Prime Minister John Diefenbaker officially opened the school in 1960. Sivertz to the Deputy Minister, "Criticisms Concerning Inuvik."
[276] NCTR, "Stringer Hall Student Residence," 10; Milloy, *A National Crime*, 244.
[277] The only other combined school was in Łíídlįį Kų́ę́, which was guided by the "Combined School Regulations" of July 5, 1956. NCTR, "Grollier Hall Student Residence," 10, 17.
[278] NCTR, "Grollier Hall Student Residence," 2, 11.
[279] NCTR, "Grollier Hall Student Residence," 2, 11.
[280] Sivertz, Director, Arctic Division to Administrator of the Mackenzie, September 28, 1959, LAC RG85 Vol. 1374 File 630-125-8 Pt. 2; R.A. Bishop to A.B. Connelly, April 11, 1960, LAC RG85 Vol. 1374 File 630-158-9 Pt. 7; Walter Dinsdale to Paul Martineau, September 13, 1962, LAC RG85 Vol. 1338 File 600-1-1 Pt. 19.

instruction at SAMS for children in Grades One through Nine.[281] The programming at SAMS and Grollier and Stringer Halls, although separate entities, was managed in complementary ways, meaning that all staff, despite denomination, were expected to cooperate in their shared goal of "acculturating" a student body that was mostly Indigenous.[282] In *A National Crime*, historian John Milloy noted that the residential schools in Uunjit Nanhkak, given their "aggressive assimilative thrust," should have served as "cautionary tales" for the development of schooling in the North.[283] In actuality, the developments in Nanhkak Thak mirrored southern assimilative policies. The construction of Inuuvik's day and residential schools were a prime examples of the encroaching Canadian nation state into Nanhkak Thak.

Indigenous families in Nanhkak Thak have a long history of engaging in matters of schooling during the first half of the twentieth century. Although forced to navigate various hurdles presented by early Indian Residential Schools, the communities used concepts of strength and perseverance to overcome various obstacles in their desire for their children to be schooled closer to their families and communities. While the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches owned and operated All Saints and Immaculate Conception Indian Residential Schools in Akłarvik, families exercised a degree of control over schooling for their children, threatening to return their families to the bush on a full-time basis if their demands were not met. When the DMR started establishing

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[281] Anglican religious studies teacher Dorothy Robinson noted that the Roman Catholic instructor often did not extend this curricula to the Grade Nine class. Robinson to Marsh, May 6, 1960, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 2-2 Box 59 File 2.
[282] Joseph Katz, *Educational Environments of School – Hostel Complexes in the Northwest Territories* Ottawa: Education Division, DNANR, July 1965), 4; NCTR, "Grollier Hall Student Residence," 10.
[283] Milloy, *A National Crime*, xvi, 247.

federal day schools and imposed the Alberta curricula, the influence of Indigenous northerners gradually became less prominent. The 1950s were characterized by ambivalent federal agendas around schooling, demonstrating that while residential schools were closing in southern Canada, the federal government and NWT Council were eager to create new and improved assimilative programs in the North. This brought new challenges for residents.

Next, I analyze the role Indigenous northerners played and their reaction to the day and residential schooling system in Inuuvik between the years of 1959 and 1978. The DNANR anticipated a relatively quiet decade as they unrolled and enforced policies around schooling, continued to encourage Indigenous families to move off the land and into town, and trained a new generation of Indigenous children for wage-labour economies. Almost immediately, Dinjii Zhuh, Inuvialuit, and Métis, parents questioned the rationale behind and effectiveness of the system.

Dąą.[1] Adachoo Kat Chit Gįįlii' Kwàh:[2] "Listen! It's louder now. From here, from there. Indian voices, Métis voices, demanding attention, demanding equality!"[3] Indigenous Northerners Respond to Schooling Issues, 1959 to 1969.

Fed up with sending their young children to distant schools, Sachs Harbour Community Association members David Nasogaluak, David Lucas, Andy Carpenter, and Fred Carpenter met on a crisp winter day in 1966. Usual association business included discussing pressing issues in Ikaahuk, but it was a difficult time of year. Their children had been away at Grollier and Stringer Halls for two long months and they were not expected home for another two; even then, they would return only for a short ten-day visit over Christmas. The children had already missed family trips to pick jak, harvest medicines, as well as to hunt vàdzaih.[4] These were Inuvialuit socio-economic activities and children played an essential role not only as students, but also as helpers.

Beginning in the second quarter of the twentieth century, parents in and around Ikaahuk were increasingly pressured to send their children to church and state schooling in

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[1] Four. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Gwich'in Language Centre (GLC) and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee': Gwich'in Language Dictionary (Fort McPherson and Tsiigehtchic dialects), 5th Ed.* (Teetł'it Zheh & Tsiigehtchic, Northwest Territories [NWT]: GLC and GSCI, March 2005), 98.

[2] "They were not the leaders of what was being said or done there," Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Agnes Mitchell, Lisa André, and Crystal Gail Fraser.

[3] "Editorial," *The Drum* 3, 27 (November 7, 1968), 1.

[4] Caribou. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 42.

Akłarvik[5], Tapqaq,[6] and Inuuvik.[7] Indeed, when a local Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) station opened in 1953 and the Anglican and Catholic missions in opened in 1962, government and churches agents imposed new levels of surveillance on Indigenous families. After conversations with his partner, Agnes, Fred Carpenter knew that the schooling situation had to change.

Figure 17. Inuvialuit father Fred Carpenter is shown on the right, with his partner Agnes and their child, George. This photo was taken at Ikaahuk in 1959. Holding true to his family ideals, Carpenter helped write a letter eight years later to the territorial and federal governments stating that nothing had been done for the community to obtain a day school, so his children could be spared from institutionalization in Inuuvik. Archival Caption: "Sachs Harbour, 29 March 1959. Agnes and Fred Carpenter, in Eskimo Parks, on Easter Sunday morning."[8]

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[5] Immaculate Conception Indian Residential School (Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Canada [OMI]), 1926-1959; All Saints Indian Residential School, 1936-1959 (Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada [MSCC]; Anglican Church of Canada [ACC]).

[6] St. John's Eskimo Residential School, 1929-1932 (MSCC). According to the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC), Tapqaq is now a heritage site but was once a thriving settled. It is located on a sandy spit on the Yukon coast and Inuvialuit families continue to use the site seasonally. See IRC, Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT), and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), *The Western Arctic Claim: Inuvialuit Final Agreement As Amended* (Inuvik, NWT: IRC, 1987).

[7] Grollier Hall, 1959-1996 (OMI; Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources [DNANR; 1959-1966]; DIAND, 1966-1969; Department of Education [DOE], GNWT), Stringer Hall, 1959-1976 (ACC; DNANR; DIAND; DOE).

[8] NWT Archives (NWTA), Robert C. Knights fonds, acc. no. N-1993-003, item no. 0346.

Nasogaluak, Lucas, and the two Carpenter men decided to write a letter to territorial and federal administrators but published it in Inuuvik's local newspaper. They wrote 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."[9] Indeed, these Inuvialuit parents knew that the broader northern community related to their words since the residential school system was "destroying the smaller communities."[10] Like other northern communities, parents in Ikaahuk did not believe that their children, twenty-four of them spanning grades one to six, should leave their community to obtain an education.

The last chapter provided important historical context, describing landmark developments during the first half of the twentieth century. It argued that Indigenous families in Nanhkak Thak had a history of grappling with meddlesome churches and an expanding network of state-imposed schools. Parents had aspirations for their children, but they were neither willing to settle for an ineffective schooling system nor the removal and institutionalization of their children. In this chapter, I examine how schooling policies for Sir Alexander Mackenzie School (SAMS) and Samuel Hearne Secondary School (SHSS) developed from 1959 to 1969; this is an important aspect to consider as Grollier and Stringer Halls children attended these day schools in Inuuvik. From 1959 to 1967, SAMS was the only day school in

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[9] "Trappers Request School," *Edmonton Journal* (Friday, December 30, 1966); "Letter," *The Drum* 2, 1 (January 5, 1967), 2; "Drumbeat," *The Drum* 2, 4 (January 26, 1967), 6; "Sachs Harbour," *The Drum* 2, 14 (April 6, 1967), 5; "Sachs Harbour," *The Drum* 2, 42 (November 9, 1967), 5; "School at Sachs," *The Drum* 3, 14 (April 11, 1968), 1.

[10] Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG85, Vol. 1462, file 600-1-1, part 23, Education and Schools N.W.T. General and Policy, April 1967-April 1968, FA 85-4, "Hostels and Homewreckers," undated article from unidentified publication, qtd. from Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience. The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Vol. 2* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 169.

Inuuvik and offered grades one through twelve. Hundreds of students attended SAMS and they were segregated according to religious denomination (namely, whether they were Roman Catholic or Protestant).[11] In 1967, Nanhkak Thak's first high school, SHSS, opened to accommodate the growing high school student population and allowed students, for the first time, to mingle freely among their peers without the barriers of religion. Grollier and Stringer Hall students spent several hours a day alongside town kids at SAMS, and later SHSS, which had mixed Indigenous-Uunjit student bodies.

There was much discontent in the greater Nanhkak Thak area about the institutionalization of children and renewed energetic debates around the construction of day schools in other communities to prevent the separation of children from their parents. High nonattendance rates at both day and residential schools concerned federal officials. From their perspective, noncompliance demonstrated that they had not yet won over the support of Indigenous parents for their multi-million dollar education program in Nanhkak Thak. By refusing to comply and exerting considerable political pressure on government agents, Indigenous peoples all over the North created an atmosphere where questions about schooling were both prominent and public.

Parents continued to raise their children with purpose and strength and sought to immerse the next generation in crucial socio-economic practices which were vital not only to the survival of cultures, but also families. Dinjii Zhuh, Inuvialuit, and Métis families who lived in and around Inuuvik had the flexibility to spend time on nakhwinan with their children on

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[11] For one history of missionary work and colonization in the North, see Martha McCarthy, *From the Great River to the Ends of the Earth: The Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate* (Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press, 1995).

weekends, holidays, and whenever they felt it was appropriate to keep their children from attending school. For families who lived outside of Inuuvik – including Dinjii Zhuh, Inuvialuit, Métis, Inuit, Sahtú, Dënesųłįne, and, Tłįchǫ – whose children were institutionalized at Stringer and Grollier Halls, the situation was more complicated. Their children were at home for as little as six weeks per year or as long as ten weeks. These parents were forced to make the difficult choice of keeping their children at home, regardless of the consequences, or sending their children to Inuuvik and relinquishing any opportunity to provide them with valuable cultural and socio-economic knowledge.

The continued institutionalization of children remained at the crux of the problem and communities all over the North put their energy and resources into advocating to keep their children closer. For families who lived in 'organized' communities, the establishment of day schools allowed their children to maintain kinship, retain their language, culture, and knowledge, and grow up in a safe environment, on their own land. Other families continued with harvesting lifestyles and traveled nakhwinan. For them, a student residence managed by local Indigenous peoples would be invaluable. Children would have the opportunity to remain in a familiar community where they would attend day school with their extended kin, be cared for by people they knew, and have the ability to visit their families when they came to town.

Parents used their networks of power derived from the strength of their ancestors (t'aih), personal ideologies (vit'aih), and communities/partnerships (guut'àii) to hold federal and territorial decision makers accountable in the best interest of their children, families, and cultures. Indigenous northerners advocated for the power to keep their children closer and their decision to keep their children away from carcerality of life at Inuuvik's residential schools.

In the next chapter, I detail the trauma that children experienced at Grollier and Stringer Halls but this chapter focuses on the parents. By carefully considering how Indigenous parents asserted their sovereignty and power to determine what was best for their children through "calculated refusals"[12] and the "strategic reversibility of power,"[13] we better understand the complex personhoods and survivance of northerners during this time of disruption and upheaval.

The territorial and federal governments slowly became more intrusive in Nanhkak Thak. Key players at the federal and territorial levels built the town of Inuuvik to be an epicenter for northern modernity, a place which (they hoped) would effectively assimilate thousands of Indigenous children into Uunjit Nanhkak society. There was no better tool than 'modern,' state-of-the-art schooling facilities to draw Indigenous northerners off their ancestral lands and into town and justify the separation of children from their families who lived in other northern regions. Church and state goals remained the same: the day and residential schools in Inuuvik were designed to facilitate rapid cultural change and assimilate Indigenous children.

The decade between 1959 and 1969 was characterized by changes in administration and shifting church-state power relations. Players included: the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR) from 1959-1966, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) from 1966-1969, the NWT Council, the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI), the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, and Indigenous northerners. This chapter ends in 1969 because it was a watershed year: federal officials

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[12] Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Border of Settler States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 12.
[13] Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry* 8, 4 (Summer 1982).

devolved power over schooling and education to the territorial government's newly-created Department of Education (DOE) giving territorial officials and residents who lived in the North new autonomy and some control over political decisions.

Some Indigenous parents had relocated to Inuuvik (most notably from Akłarvik, as the community was in the process of being moved) so their children could reside in the family home while attending day school and there was a growing population of Uunjit children who required schooling in Inuuvik as their parents worked as RCMP officers, teachers, administrators, doctors and nurses, territorial and federal employees, and military officials. DNANR and NWT Council officials encouraged this movement as it presented them with an opportunity to assimilate entire families in this new 'organized settlement.'[14] Dinjii Zhuh, Métis, and Inuvialuit families who moved to Inuuvik to access day schooling were forced to partly abandon their seasonal harvesting and bush lifestyles, in the process altering important kin networks and intra-familial partnerships. But some were pleased to be one of the first Nanhkak Thak families to engage in 'urban' lifestyles, which also sometimes resulted in gainful employment. According to SAMS teacher Dorothy Robinson, by 1963 "a number of families [had] moved to Inuuvik, some attracted by the chance of high wages as labourers, some with training in handling trucks and bulldosers [sic] and so hope of more regular employment."[15]

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[14] I use scare quotes around problematic terms. Calling northern communities 'organized settlements' points to the fact that there was not a hamlet or town in that location prior to Uunjit arrival. By calling them 'organized,' they are suggesting that Indigenous societies before these communities existed were somehow unorganized and scattered. Furthermore, given the high population of Indigenous peoples living in smaller communities, the term 'settlement' suggests that Indigenous residents needed to be contained and orderly and they could only achieve this by living in town. Sub-Committee on Education, CNWT, "Precis A: Educational Policy," December 31, 1947, Roman Catholic Diocese of Mackenzie – Fort Smith Archives (RCDMA) OMI Box 5 of 12.

[15] Dorothy L. Robinson, Religious Education Worker, Inuuvik, ACC, "Semi-Annual Report to My Friends and Relations," June 25, 1963, Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives (ACCGSA) M96-7 Sub Series (SS) 2-2 Box 59 File 2.

Families also relocated to Inuuvik as a way to protect young children from residential school life.[16] Inuvialuk man Victor Allen from the Ikaahuk area explained that, "we come to the settlements because we want our children to get a good education, and we don't want to be separated from our children while they are going to school."[17] Despite Indigenous families moving to Inuuvik, these children were not always protected from institutionalization. A declining fur trade industry, the reordering Indigenous lifestyles from on-the-land to 'town' living, and new social pressures resulted in troubling economic conditions for some families and the Department of Social Development was eager to remove these children from their family homes and place them at Grollier and Stringer Halls.

Moving to 'organized' communities was not an option for all, particularly for those who were not trained for wage labour positions and preferred to remain in harvesting economies. Family allowance and welfare payments made it possible for some to live in town but, for others, more income was needed and they spent most of their time on nakhwinan.[18] Some of these families found private accommodations for their children in Inuuvik and others acquiesced to the only option available and institutionalized their children at Grollier or Stringer Halls in the effort to continue with on-the-land lifestyles or benefit from out-of-town wage-labour opportunities.[19]

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[16] Frank G. Vallee, *Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin* (Ottawa: Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, DNANR, 1962), 148; Ingrid Kritsch, Alestine Andre, and Lesley McCartney, "Sarah Simon, Elder Biography," *Gwich'in Elders Calendar, 2001* (Tsiigehtchic, NWT: GSCI, 2001), 13; Lesley McCartney, "Annie Norbert, Elder Biography," *Gwich'in Elders Calendar, 2003* (Tsiigehtchic, NWT: GSCI), 2.
[17] "Victor Allen," *The Drum* 2, 41 (November 2, 1967), 3.
[18] Fred North, Principal, Lac La Marte Territorial School, DOE, "Principal's Monthly Report – January 1978," February 3, 1978, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-9; Anonymous #1, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Teetł'it Zheh, Nanhkak Thak, 31 July 2013; Catherine Cockney, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 17 July 2013.
[19] Archival records scarcely mention private boarding arrangements since they highlight the ingenuity of Indigenous families to keep their children safe. Bent Sivertz, Director, Education Division, Northern Administration

Other families flat out refused to send their children to Inuuvik. These children escaped day and residential schools and remained at home for an exclusive Indigenous upbringing. This violated nearly every federal and territorial policy regarding student attendance, including the *Indian Act*.[20] Inuvialuit elder Vince Teddy explained that these individuals were invaluable to the persistence of "traditional" northern Indigenous lifestyles:

> There were a few kids who were kept at home, and those are the ones we go to now for traditional knowledge and for help when we need it in doing things traditionally and culturally. While we were going to school, we made fun of them for not going to school, and now it is full circle: my education helps them, and their traditional knowledge helps us.[21]

Chief John Tetlichi agreed, but noted that once Grollier and Stringer Halls opened, it was increasingly difficult to keep families united, asserting that "any children born after 1958 lost both their bush skills and their native language unless their parents made a special effort to teach them."[22] Many children preferred staying home and there are many narratives throughout the 1960s that describe these youngsters "begging" their parents not to send them residential school.[23]

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and Lands Branch (NALB), DNANR to Curtis L. Merrill, District Administrator, NALB, DNANR, "Eskimo Conditions Along the DEW Line," June 23, 1959, LAC RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125-1 Pt. 1; Welfare Officer, NALB, "Family History of XXXX," undated (c. 1957), LAC RG85 Vol. 384 252-5 119 Pt. 1; Lyle R. Trimble, Member, Council of the Northwest Territories (CNWT), "Motion on the Commissioner's Opening Address: Hostels for Settlements," *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Twenty-Ninth Session, Ottawa, Ontario, February 8-17, 1965, Vol. I* (Ottawa: Commissioner of the NWT, 1965), 14-15; Robert J. Carney, Superintendent, DOE to Mr. Kapcsos, Lesser Slave Indian Agency, "Children of XXXX – Eskimo CNR Employee – Roma, Alberta," September 16, 1970, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-21; Rosie (niìh ch'uu Steffanson) Albert, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 18 July 2013; Cockney, interview with Fraser.

[20] Government of Canada, *Indian Act, 1876 and its amendments (1880, 1894, 1920, 1927, and 1951).* Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1951.

[21] Stephanie Irlbacher-Fox, *Finding Dahshaa: Self-Government, Social Suffering, and Aboriginal Policy in Canada*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 146; Kritsch, Andre, and McCartney, Sarah Simon, Pierre Benoit, and Tommy Wright Elder Biographies, *Gwich'in Elders Calendar 2001*, 2, 11, 13.

[22] Joanne Barnaby, Mitsuru Shimpo, and Cyntha Struthers, *Rhetoric and Reality: Education and Work in Changing Denendeh* (Waterloo, ON: University of St. Jerome's College, 1991), 13.

[23] This was done in partnership with a day school, where parents collected materials for their children to complete while in the bush. Darrell Clarkson, Principal, Joseph Burr Tyrrell Elementary School, DOE, "Monthly Report,"

In August 1959, District Administrator Curtis Merrill called the first year of Inuuvik operations "particularly difficult," and the Department attempted to mitigate parental hostility by publishing a student yearbook to give "favourable publicity to the hostels and school" and to encourage "hesitant" parents to enroll their children.[24] The yearbook failed to convince Indigenous families and three months after DNANR Minister Alvin Hamilton's visit to Inuuvik, local education officials were pressured to fill empty desks at SAMS and beds at Grollier and Stringer Halls. DNANR Chief R.A. Jenness realized that Nanhkak Thak families might be hostile to the Department's attempts to 'recruit' students by asking, "how many parents does he think will agree without pressure to having their children taken away from them?"[25]

Some families exercised a combination of schooling and on-the-land practices – with children attending government day school when the family was in Inuuvik – but were otherwise violating attendance policies throughout the rest of the academic year. Teetł'it Gwich'in woman Mary Effie Snowshoe recalled that in the early years of SAMS being open,

> you couldn't stay in town because people made their living off the land and wherever their parents go, the children go with their parents and when you're back in [town] you go to school. I remember that we come back into town in June, we're lucky to be in school two weeks, Easter maybe one week, and leave again.[26]

September 1978, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-25; Anonymous #2, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Teetł'it Zheh, Nanhkak Thak, 26 July 2013.

[24] W.B. Shaw to W.G. Booth, Chief Superintendent of Schools, Education Division, NALB, DNANR, October 30, 1959; R.A.J. Phillips, Director, NALB, DNANR to Merrill, "Administration Inuvik School and Hostel," November 16, 1959; Merrill to Joseph Vincent Jacobson, Director, NALB, DNANR, November 9, 1959, LAC RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125-1 Pt. 1.

[25] R.A. Jenness, Acting Chief, Area and Community Planning Section, Northern Administration Branch (NAB), DNANR to Mr. Snowden, "Attendance of Local Children at Inuvik Hostels," October 9, 1959, LAC RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125-1 Pt. 1.

[26] Barnaby, Shimpo, Cyntha Struthers, *Rhetoric and Reality*, 3-4.

By 1964, SAMS and Grollier and Stringer Halls had been open for five years and educational officials were clearly frustrated at renegade families who refused to adhere to the system. The NWT Council claimed they were "making a mockery of average school attendance."[27]

On the one hand, this new system of separate residential and day schools offered students the opportunity to leave the residential school daily, allowing them to see relatives at school and on the street, a welcomed break from strict rules and violent supervisors at Grollier and Stringer Halls. On the other hand, since children no longer received their entire education in one place, school staff worked in conjunction with residential school administrators and supervisors to ensure that the assimilation of Indigenous children was consistent and pervasive. In his analysis of Foucault, political theorist Michael Walzer asserted that the "prison is only one small part of a highly articulated, mutually reinforcing carceral continuum."[28] In the North, both institutions - day and residential schools – were required to force Indigenous children fully into the fabric of 'modern' Canadian society.

When Inuuvik's schooling structures opened in August 1959, nearly twenty years after the Department of Mines and Resources (DMR) established day schooling in the Inuvialuit community of Tuktuyaaqtuuq, many Nanhkak Thak families remained cautious. Although they had previously collaborated with federal and church officials, Indigenous northerners were well

[27] CNWT, "Brief on the Financing of Education in the Northwest Territories School Grants and Tax Revenues Presented to the Commissioner in Council, Northwest Territories, January 1964 on behalf of Yellowknife Public School District No. 1, Yellowknife Separate School District No. 2, Hay River Separate School District No. 3, November 5, 1963" in *The Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Twenty-Ninth Session, Ottawa, Ontario, February 8-17, 1965, Vol. II* (Ottawa: Commissioner of the NWT, 1965), 38.
[28] Michael Walzer, "The Politics of Michel Foucault," in *Foucault: A Critical Reader*, David Couzens, ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 60.

aware that promises often went unfulfilled; few had forgotten that *Treaty 11*[29] provisions remained outstanding. Federal officials were aware that their relationship with Indigenous peoples in the North was characterized by a lack of trust.[30] Indian agents, teachers, residential school administrators, and church staff continued their pursuit to convince Indigenous parents that a Euro-Canadian education was worth sending their children to this new government town, sometimes thousands of kilometers away from nakhwinan.

Attendance policies, whether guided by the churches or territorial or federal legislation, were carried out in Nanhkak Thak unevenly. With the opening of day schools, Indian Agents, welfare teachers,[31] missionaries, and RCMP officers gained new leverage over Indigenous families. Family allowance payments, in particular, were sometime threatened or withheld based on nonattendance.[32] With the passage of the *Family Allowance Act* in 1944, the federal

[29] Dominion of Canada, *Treaty No. 11 (June 27, 1921) and Adhesion (July 17, 1922) with Reports, etc.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1927).

[30] For instance, the 1959 Commission Nelson investigating the unfulfilled provisions of Treaties 8 and 11 and concluded that "generally all the bands appear to be suspicious of the motives of the government." Royal Commission to Investigate the Unfulfilled Provisions of Treaties 8 and 11 as they Apply to Indians of the Mackenzie District, Government of Canada, *Report of the Commission Appointed to Investigate the Unfulfilled Provisions of Treaties 8 and 11 as They Apply to the Indians of the Mackenzie District, 1959* (Toronto: Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, 1970), 5.

[31] Beginning in 1947 at the new federal day school in Tuktuyaaqtuuq and stretching into the early 1960s, teachers were called "welfare teachers." Given the absence of a large network of state agents, they were responsible for teaching western 'values' to students and the wider community, such as punctuality and frugality, providing local leadership, distributing family allowances, facilitating adoption, administering medicine and healthcare, and acting in a judiciary capacity. CNWT Sub-Committee on Education, "Precis A: Educational Policy," December 31, 1947; Neary, Superintendent of Education to E.M. Hinds, May 28, 1948, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 1-3 Box 27 File 4; W.T. Larmour, "Eskimo Education," *The Arctic Circular* 3, 5 (November 1950), 53, RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12; Joe A. Coady, "J.A. "Joe" Coady, Fort Norman (1949-50), Fort Good Hope," in Norman J. Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions: Education in the Northwest Territories From Early Days to 1984* (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1991), 70-71; DNANR, "Education of Eskimos," February 1957; Bernie Thorsteinsson, Chief, Education Division, NAB, DNANR, "Notes From the Curriculum Section," *Curriculum Bulletin* 1, 4 (May 1962), RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12.

[32] Family Allowances Branch, Department of National Health and Welfare to Ronald Hulland, Superintendent of Schools, Dawson City, Yukon, July 19, 1945, LAC RG85 D-1-A Vol. 1125 File 163 Pt. 1; Roy A. Hoey, Acting Director, Indian Affairs Branch (IAB), Department of Mines and Resources (DMR) to Archibald L. Fleming, ACC, August 29, 1945, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 1-3 Box 27 File 4; CNWT, "Instructions for the Superintendent of Education, Mackenzie District, N.W.T., Approved April 21, 1949," LAC RG85 C-1-a Vol. 1037 File 20873.

government assumed the responsibility for the social well-being of its citizens. But for Indigenous peoples, this was another example of the colonial paternalism that had long been a defining feature of their relationship with the state.[33] One of the aims of the government was to help northern Indigenous families "become self-supporting and to supplement [their] efforts by the Family Allowance in order to benefit the children."[34] For those eligible for support, payments were distributed unequally, though Uunjit families received cheques while Indigenous families, particularly mothers, were allotted food preserves, clothing, and other goods.[35] Fearful that payments would create dependency among Indigenous families, payments sometimes remained in local Indian Agency Trust Accounts or with the NWT and Yukon Bureau under the discretion of the Director.[36]

Although Section Fourteen of the *Family Allowance Act* regulated payments, which required regular school attendance for children between the ages of six and sixteen, the *Indian Act* stated that families could offer their children "equivalent training."[37] Demonstrating their depth of understanding of federal legislation and exploiting loopholes, Indigenous northern

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[33] Raymond Blake, *From Rights to Needs: A History of Family Allowances in Canada, 1929-92* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 1-2.
[34] Unknown to J. Wright, "Organisation for the payment of Family Allowance – Belcher Islands, N.W.T.," October 4, 1945, LAC RG85 D-1-A Vol. 1125 File 163 Pt. 1.
[35] "Synopsis of System as Devised to Permit of the Payment Allowance in the Northwest Territories," undated (c. 1945); R.A. Gibson, Deputy Commissioner, Administration of the NWT to Superintendent D.J. Martin, Officer Commanding "G" Division, Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), "Re – Family Allowances and Vital Statistics Ordinance Administration – Aklavik District, N.W.T.," March 12, 1947, LAC RG85 Vol. 1125 File 163 Pt. 1; Blake, *From Rights to Needs*, 140. See also Ian Mosby, "Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools, 1942-1952," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 46, 91 (May 2013).
[36] Blake, *From Rights to Needs*, 141-142.
[37] Gibson to The Commissioner, RCMP, Ottawa, September 12, 1945, LAC RG85 D-1-A Vol. 1125 File 163 Pt. 1; Robertson, Commissioner and Deputy Minister, DNANR to Bishop Trocellier, June 12, 1957; Jacobson, Chief to Paul Piché, General Superintendent, Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission, University of Ottawa, July 10, 1958, RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 18; DIAND, "Breakthrough in Eskimo Education," undated (c. 1965), NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 7-13; DIAND, "Application for Admission to Pupil Residence," undated (c. November 1968), NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-25.

families widely used the “equivalent training” clause to keep their children away from residential schools and at home for instruction in on-the-land economic activities.[38] In doing so, they expressed their autonomy as a family, but also the sovereignty of their Indigenous nation. Not all families, however, were well versed in federal policies; agents of the church and state were not forthcoming with this information and cited *Family Allowance* and the NWT’s *School Ordinance*[39] legislation, which required mandatory attendance at day and residential schools or the cessation of family allowance payments.

Despite the hesitancy of Indigenous parents, the opening of SAMS and Grollier and Stringer Halls in 1959 launched Inuuvik into the national spotlight through favourable media coverage, visits by notable officials, and bold statements that tied Inuuvik to Canadian nation building. In 1961, for instance, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker captured national media headlines when he travelled to Nanhkak Thak to dedicate the new town of Inuuvik. There, he introduced the new government town to citizens across Canada and he also welcomed Indigenous northerners into the fabric of the Canadian nation.[40]

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[38] Bailey, A/Superintendent, Mackenzie District to Gibson, “Re: School Attendance in Y.T. & N.W.T.,” undated (c. late 1940s, early 1950s), LAC RG85 D-1-A Vol. 1125 File 163 Pt. 1. For those living in areas without access to day schools, the NWT Administration discussed offering correspondence courses through Provincial Departments of Education. Gibson to The Commissioner, RCMP, September 12, 1945.

[39] The *School Ordinance* stated that children between seven and twelve were required to attend school for at least sixteen weeks per year. J.A. Urquhart, A/Agent & Superintendent, Wood Buffalo Park, Lands, Parks and Forests Branch, DMR to A. Laffont, OMI, Chancellor, Roman Catholic Mission, Thebacha, September 19, 1941, RCDMA Box 1 File 15; Montsion to Cumming, “File 14494,” September 19, 1941, LAC RG85 D-1-A Vol. 1125 File 163 Pt. 1.

[40] Sivertz to the Deputy Minister, DNANR, “Criticisms Concerning Inuvik,” October 14, 1959, LAC RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125 Pt. 1.

Figure 18. In the background of the above photo sits the Inuvik Federal Day School with its crisp design and geometrical features, conveying a sense of order and homogeneity. To the right of Diefenbaker is a monument that reads: "This was the first community north of the Arctic Circle built to provide the normal facilities of a Canadian town. It was designed not only as a base for development and administration, but as a centre to bring education, medical care and new opportunities to the people of the Western Arctic."[41] *In the foreground, Indigenous children impatiently listen to Diefenbaker deliver his remarks. Untitled Image. Archival Caption: "Inuvik, July 21, 1961. Prime Minister Diefenbaker giving the official opening speech."*[42]

On September 20, 1960, DNANR Deputy Minister and Commissioner R. Gordon Robertson[43] said that schooling in the North

> has also a very special role to play for the Indians and Eskimos. Since there is only one school system, children of all three races are living and growing up together. We want the Indians and Eskimos to retain the pride and sense of identity that can be associated with their special backgrounds and cultures. But we want none of that sense of inferiority in treatment and discrimination in attitude that is all too common in the southern part of Canada. We have no right to be smug on race questions in this country. We have not done nearly as well in the practice and reality of equality, especially in

[41] NWTA Dept. of Information fonds, acc. no. G-1979-023, item no. 0369.
[42] NWTA, Robert C. Knights fonds, acc. no. N-1993-002, item no. 0478.
[43] For more on Robertson, see R. Gordon Robertson, *Memoirs of A Very Civil Servant: Mackenzie King to Pierre Trudeau* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

relation to the Indians, as we like to think we have. It is our hope that, through the school system, the north will become a place where no man feels that race has narrowed his opportunities or set him apart.[44]

Referring to “all the three races,”[45] Robertson was ill-informed about the depth and diversity of the North, since there were more than ten sovereign Indigenous nations that spoke unique languages and had distinct cultures. Nevertheless, he was pleased that there were “no special schools for separate racial groups in the Territories.”[46]

Northern schooling policies were presented as national examples of progress and racial harmony, yet there was no mention of continued racial segregation at residential schools in Inuuvik, Sǫǫ̀mbak'è, íídlįį Kų́ę́, Thebacha,[47] ᐃᖅᑲᓗᐃᑦ,[48] and Teetł’it Zheh nor the consistent disapproval of Indigenous parents in the North. This hyperbolic rhetoric continued into the 1960s, with federal officials persistently and publicly congratulating themselves for a job well done. In 1965, in his commissioned study of Nanhkak Thak schools, Joseph Katz claimed that northern schools “are an exciting testimonial to the vigor and vitality of the pioneering spirit of the Canadian people.”[49] Praising the DNANR, Katz asserted that residential school students were purportedly benefitting from institutional settings that provided “a more secure material environment, regularity of school attendance, good study conditions, many opportunities to

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[44] Presentation Notes, Robertson to the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors, “Education for a Northern Future,” September 20, 1960, LAC R5497-283-6-E Vol. 102 File No. 25.
[45] Presentation Notes, Robertson.
[46] Presentation Notes, Robertson.
[47] The GNWT officially recognizes this community as Fort Smith and lands here belong to the Salt River First Nation, Smith Landing First Nation, and the Northwest Territory Métis Nation. See *Treaty No. 8, Made June 21, 1899 and Adhesions Reports, etc.* (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1966).
[48] ᐃᖅᑲᓗᐃᑦ is also known as Iqaluit, the capital of Nunavut. ᐃᖅᑲᓗᐃᑦ means “place of fish” in English and was known as Frobisher Bay for a short time.
[49] Joseph Katz, *Educational Environments of School – Hostel Complex in the Northwest Territories* (Ottawa: DNANR, July 1965), v.

exchange ideas with fellow students, and a general extension of hopes and horizons."[50] Katz further asserted that parents had been "remarkably cooperative in letting their children go,"[51] which directly contradicted the ongoing efforts of parents to keep their children away from Grollier and Stringer Halls.

Figure 19. Federal officials took every opportunity to boast about Inuuvik as an 'urban' hub, but this picture tells a different story. In 1959 or 1960, SAMS figures prominently, with Grollier and Stringer Halls looming in the background (cream-coloured siding, peeking out on the right of SAMS). Very few buildings existed at this time. The one road shown here is current-day Veteran's Way, where the first federal day school (white with green roof) was located to accommodate the children of construction workers. This image demonstrates that although the DNANR discussed schooling in the North as pivotal in nation building, there were very few services or people here. This cosmopolitan example of modernity in the North was a figment of federal officials' imaginations. Untitled image. Archival Caption: "East Three (Inuvik), 6 June 1959. View of the new school under construction and the RCMP building at the right."[52]

Reality on the ground, however, vastly different from what was touted at the national level. When SAMS opened in 1959, DNANR Education Division staff had failed to develop the promised education system. In 1960, Education Superintendent Joseph Jacobson drafted goals

[50] Katz, *Educational Environments of School*, vi.
[51] Katz, *Educational Environments of School*, vi.
[52] NWTA Robert C. Knight fonds, acc. no. N-1993-002, item no. 0378.

and objectives for Nanhkak Thak day schools, and wrote that the DNANR's "Aims and Objectives of Native Education" were:

1. To encourage improvements in the native way of life, not by imitation of the white mans' ways but by betterment of their own.
2. With due consideration to conditions of life in the North to contribute, insofar as possible, to better living.
3. To develop understandings and appreciation of native arts and folklore and community organizations.
4. To develop the capacities of each student to the full so that they may become a useful member of his own social group.
5. To teach proper conservation of those natural resources which are abundant in northern Canada.
6. To develop functionally improved habits of health, proper sanitation and higher standard of diet.
7. To so enrich the lives of the students so that they may lead lives that are individually satisfying and socially desirable.
8. To guide the students along the paths of vocations consistent with their own best interests and their own capabilities.
9. To provide occupational opportunities consistent with the interest and abilities of the prospective employee.
10. To encourage the development of native handicrafts.
11. To give the students practical experience in the vocational skills necessary for earning a living in his own community.
12. To provide the necessary educational opportunities for those willing and capable of proceeding to higher education.
13. To develop understanding and appreciation of the social and economic world in which each student lives.
14. To help the student understand the nature, both social and physical, of the environment in which he lives.[53]

Jacobson's ideas were fraught with contradictions and a general lack of knowledge about northern Indigenous societies. There was a difference of opinion between what Jacobson perceived as important and the DNANR's assimilative agenda. Federal officials in Adawe ignored Jacobson's vision and instead implemented one that catered to Uunjit students and

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[53] "Aims and Objectives of Native Education," in "Notebook of J.V. Jacobson re Schooling N.W.T. 1958 – Enrolment, Facilities, Construction Costs, Staff, Subjects Taught, Attendance, Statistics," LAC MG31 D153 Vol. 2, undated (c. 1960).

sought to incorporate the Indigenous student body into the modern Canadian nation state.[54] Not only did this new policy contradict the Alberta curricula and the structural design of an "ethnically-integrated school system" that was supposedly in place, but it also revealed cracks in state approaches to assimilation. These fissures allowed Indigenous peoples in the North to strategically and enthusiastically respond to carceral state structures with t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii.

Rejecting Jacobson's recommendations, Deputy Minister and Commissioner Robertson doubled down on his racial rhetoric and noted that "there is no such things as an Indian school or an Eskimo school or a white school in the North. All we have is schools and the children of all races attend precisely the same schools."[55] By teaching Indigenous and Uunjit children together, Robertson proclaimed "the sense of difference on a race basis will tend to steadily diminish."[56] By rejecting Jacobson's recommendations for the inclusion of Indigenous knowledge at day schools and instead focusing on the 'diverse' student body – which, in reality, was an Indigenous majority – Robertson championed programs that sought to assimilate Indigenous youth into Uunjit Nanhkak society. For him, diminishing the "sense of difference between races"[57] translated into reshaping Indigenous children so they would adhere to white cultural norms.

In January 1960, public criticism erupted after allegations emerged of federal agents kidnapping children to meet Inuuvik's enrolment quotas. Indigenous northerners were well

[54] Education Division, NAB, DNANR, "Education in the North, Selected Information Prepared for Presentation During the 1963 Northern University Program," 1963, RCDMA [Robert J.] Carney Files Box 10 of 12.
[55] Education Division, "Education in the North."
[56] Education Division, "Education in the North."
[57] Education Division, "Education in the North."

aware that Indian Agents, the RCMP, and missionaries had used suspect methods of removal to fill residential schools over the past century despite *Indian Act* provisions that allowed for "equivalent training."[58] Canadian newspapers fueled these discussions by writing about the "forcible separation of Indian and Eskimo children from their parents in the McKenzie [sic] District, mainly at Inuvic [sic], in order to ensure they would receive systematic education."[59] *Winnipeg Free Press* reporter Erik Watt wrote an article entitled, "Eyewitness Says: Kidnap Children to Fill School" that drew on testimony from Old Crow residents and RCMP.[60] Inuvialuit parents Lucas Nasogaluak, Andy Carpenter, and Fred Carpenter considered the removal of their children "an unhappy time" and students described it as "the saddest part of my life."[61] DNANR officials remained unmoved. In fact, the Department had anticipated and prepared for public backlash. District Administrator Curtis Merrill wrote: "By its very nature a large-scale moving of children from homes to far-distant institutions is the kind of thing which is bound to attract criticism and unfavourable comment." Staff, he added, were aware that "some public opinion would be against us on general principles when we started gathering in children."[62]

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[58] L.A.C.O. Hunt, District Administrator, NALB, April 21, 1955, LAC RG85 Vol. 442 630 119-3 Pt. 8; Robertson, Deputy Minister to Trocellier, June 12, 1957; Erik Watt, "Eyewitness Says: Kidnap Children to Fill School," *Winnipeg Free Press* (September 30, 1959); Paul Andrew, "Brackett Lake, N.W.T., June 26, 1975, Proceedings at Community Hearing, Vol. 10," in Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, *Transcripts of Public Hearings: Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry* (Ottawa: The Inquiry, 1975-1977), 868; Conference Notes, "In the Spirit of Healing: A Special Reunion, Chesterfield Inlet, N.W.T., July 20-23, 1993," RCDMA OMI Box 3 of 12; Alestine Andre, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Tsiigehtshik, Nanhkak Thak, 2 August 2013; David "Woody" Elias, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Teetł'it Zheh, Nanhkak Thak, 29 July 2013; Anonymous #1, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Teetł'it Zheh, Nanhkak Thak, 29 July 2013; Nancy Wachowich, Apphia Agalakti Awa, Rhoda Kaukjak Katsak, and Sandra Pikujak Katsak, *Stories from the Lives of Three Inuit Women* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 107-108.

[59] "Education in the Arctic," National Commission on the Indian Canadian of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, Bulletin X (January 1960), RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12.

[60] Watt, "Eyewitness Says: Kidnap Children to Fill School."

[61] Nasogaluak, Lucas, Andy Carpenter, and Fred Carpenter, "Letter," *The Drum* 2, 1 (January 5, 1967), 2; Nicholas P. Arnatsiaq, "Conflict," *Inuktitut* (Winter 1972), 23.

[62] Merrill to Director, October 17, 1959, LAC RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125-1.

The allegations of kidnapping followed the Department through the mid-to-late 1960s, when education officials, now under DIAND, were accused of institutionalizing children at Grollier and Stringer Halls without the consent of their parents.[63] Similarly, Treaty payment parties recruited students in various communities, with federal officials applying financial pressure on families to send their children to school in Inuuvik.[64] Indigenous parents reacted strongly and "heated words" were often exchanged. Although DNANR staff had been criticized both locally and nationally, education official Norman Burgess unapologetically called these policies "all part of the game in those days."[65] The removal of young children from their families demonstrates the desperation of federal staff to meet Inuuvik's enrollment quotas, but also that the dissolution of Indigenous kinship was crucial to assimilation.

Six years after the opening of SAMS and Grollier and Stringer Halls, most Indigenous parents continued to assert independence over their personal decision-making. By 1965, attendance remained a chief concern for teachers and federal bureaucrats. In 1965, NWT Council members claimed that they simply "could not get people to cooperate."[66] They said that too many Indigenous families continued to be wedded to "hunting and trapping

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[63] IAB, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, "Minutes of Meeting Held with Representatives of Religious Denominations Administrating Government Owned Indian Residential Schools, Wednesday, December 16, 1969," RCDMA McCuaig Files, Box 6 of 11 File 18; XXXX XXXX, Spence Bay to Robert J. Orange, Member of Parliament and Duncan Pryde, Member, CNWT, August 21, 1968, Don Simpson to Bernard C. Gillie, District Superintendent, DOE, "Complaint – Mr. XXXX XXXX, Spence Bay," September 18, 1969; Stuart Milton Hodgson, NWT Commissioner to D.V.F. Wattie, DIAND, "Complaint – Mr. XXXX XXXX, Spence Bay, N.W.T.," September 24, 1968, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-23.

[64] TRC, NRA, GNWT Archives, file 630-100/12-1, pt. 2, Reports and Returns Fort Smith Hostel – Breynat Hall 1962-1965, Archival box 222-1, Archival Acc. G-1979-003, Booth to Gillie, Chief Superintendent of Schools, Education Division, NAB, DNANR, July 12, 1963, qtd. in TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 104; Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990), 78.

[65] Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions*, 332.

[66] Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions*, 332.

excursions" and that the objectives of government schooling did not align with "the value system of the indigenous peoples."[67] Council member John W. Goodall stated that families "prefer to have their children home doing the chores, hunting, and getting the Family Allowance and not sending them to school," assuming that Indigenous parents were manipulating the system for their personal benefit.[68] SAMS teachers were instructed to warn "forgetful"[69] town kids that missing school five times was grounds for punishment as well as to threaten parents with the cancellation of family allowance payments.[70]

For the Council, noncompliance was perceived "strictly in terms of welfare" rather than the inadequacies of the system.[71] High nonattendance rates among both town and residential school children resulted in one school principal collecting young boys off Nanhkak Thak traplines.[72] That this Uunjit Principal physically left SAMS, ventured onto nakhwinan to find the families' traplines, interrupted an important cultural and economic activity and/or lesson, drove the children back to Inuuvik, and placed them in their classrooms underscores federal anxieties around nonattendance as well as the measures that staff were willing to embrace as a means to

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[67] CNWT, "Sessional Paper No. 16 (Second Session, 1966), Educational Problems of One-Room Schools in the Northwest Territories," in *Debates, Thirty-Third Session, Resolute, Northwest Territories, October 31 – November 18, 1966, Vol. II* (Yellowknife, NWT: Commissioner of the NWT, 1966), 446.
[68] John W. Goodall, Member, CNWT, "Bill 2 – An Ordinance to Amend the School Ordinance – Second Reading," in *Debates, Thirtieth Session, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, June 14-25, 1965, Vol. II* (Ottawa: Commissioner of the NWT, 1965), 111.
[69] *The Catholic Voice*, 1975: 5, qtd. in Michael Asch, "The Dene Economy," in *Dene Nation: The Colony Within*, Mel Watkins, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 53; Barnaby, Shimpo, and Struthers, *Rhetoric and Reality*, 44.
[70] For more on family allowance, see Dominique Marshall, *The Social Origins of the Welfare State: Quebec Families, Compulsory Education, and Family Allowances, 1940-1955*, trans. Nicola Doone Danby (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2006).
[71] Frank Vallee, Member, CNWT, "Education – Attendance, Costs, Hostels, Truancy," *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Twenty-Ninth Session, Ottawa, Ontario, February 8-17, 1965, Vol. I*, 203.
[72] Goodall, "Committee of the Whole To Consider Bill 2," in *Debates, Thirtieth Session, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, June 14-25, 1965, Vol. I*, 111.

ensure their program was effective. The power of t'aih of the boys and their parents to remove them from school and vit'aih derived from the persistence of trapping lifestyles was undermined momentarily by this action but demonstrates that Indigenous families were willing to repudiate state power. Officials at the NWT Council and DNANR knew that Indigenous parents were undermining federal agendas and did not necessarily want to take extreme measures; they agreed that nonattendance cases required careful assessment.[73]

DNANR Chief Superintendent of Education Bernard Gillie was sympathetic to the situation and surmised that Indigenous families made the calculated choices of nonattendance because their children

> achieved no success in school. Going to school every day was a distasteful business to them, because it was a daily confrontation with failure. They go every day knowing that what they are going to be asked to do is something they cannot do. This is as distasteful to children as it is to adults. Therefore, the schools are compelled, if they wish to be successful, to provide programs which will give these people an opportunity to succeed.[74]

Indeed, children and their parents would have likely agreed with Gillie. It was a "distasteful business" given the oppression of Indigenous languages, irrelevant curriculum, assimilative intentions, and carcerality of everyday life at Grollier and Stringer Halls. Gillie suggested that the DNANR and NWT Council revise educational strategies that would allow students a degree

[73] The CNWT passed legislation to empower the Commissioner to "prescribe the duties and powers of school attendance officers," as well as "permits the board of any school district, or where there is no school district, the Commissioner, to appoint an attendance officer." CNWT, "Appendix: Items For Action Arising Out of November, 1964 Session," and Vallee, "Education – Attendance, Costs, Hostels, Truancy," 164, 203; Trimble, "Bill 2 – An Ordinance to Amend the School Ordinance – Second Reading" and "Second Reading of Bill 2 – An Ordinance to Amend the School Ordinance," in *Debates, Thirtieth Session, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, June 14-25, 1965, Vol. I*, 105, 445; CNWT, "Sessional Paper No. 9 (First Session, 1966), A Roundup of All Items for Action Arising Out of Sessions of the Council of the Northwest Territories Since and Including June, 1964," in *Debates, Thirty-Second Session, Ottawa, Ontario, January 24 – February 7, 1966, Vol. II*, 82.
[74] Gillie, Chief Superintendent of Schools, "Committee of the Whole To Consider Bill 2," 113.

of success. Instead, officials attempted to achieve compliance among Nanhkak Thak families by hiring local Indigenous attendance officers, who could enforce the rules of the system among their own people. Tasked with hiring the officers in 1965, Gillie wrote that

> we must find someone, we feel, who is acceptable in the community and to the parents; someone who has their goodwill, someone who has what we would consider the right approach. If we cannot find someone like this, we consider it preferable not to have anyone.[75]

To Gillie's surprise and despite the extreme poverty of many Indigenous families in Inuuvik's east end, the positions remained vacant; northern families did not support mandatory attendance for their children. NWT Council member Goodall described it as "a job nobody wants."[76] The refusal to apply for this particular position was an effective stratagem for Dinjii Zhuh, Métis, and Inuvialuit to defy the system.[77] DIAND Education Superintendent Bernie Thorsteinsson sensed that the federal government had made little headway in their relationship with Indigenous peoples and noted that if the schooling of Indigenous northern children were to be successful, "change is the order of the day."[78]

Nonattendance at SAMS was a central issue for state agents, but at the heart of the problem was the deep distrust that Indigenous families from all over the North harboured towards Grollier and Stringer Halls. In 1965, attempting to win trust and quell local discontent, the Department communicated with families living in and around Teetł'it Zheh and Tsiigehtshik. Here, day schooling was limited to Grade Six and options for children were limited:

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[75] Gillie, Chief Superintendent of Schools, "Committee of the Whole To Consider Bill 2," 108.
[76] Goodall, "Committee of the Whole To Consider Bill 2," 111-112.
[77] Michael Walzer, "The Politics of Michel Foucault," in *Foucault: A Critical Reader*, David Couzens Hoy, ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 69-70.
[78] Thorsteinsson, "Education at the Top of the World – An Overview," in *Education North of 60: A Report Prepared by Members of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1965), 2.

institutionalization in Inuuvik and exposure to damaging policies or leaving school altogether, risking the severing of family allowance payments, or worse. In an effort to keep their children away from Grollier and Stringer Halls for as long as possible, parents demanded grade extensions at day schools, which would allow children to remain at home for additional years.

School administrators and teachers often supported these requests, since they too had witnessed the devastating impact of residential schooling on familial, cultural, and economic networks.[79] Discontent among SAMS staff in Inuuvik was evident; SAMS Assistant Principal protested the poor quality of residential school life and the loss of Indigenous languages that he witnessed among the student body first hand.[80] SAMS teacher Mary-Ellen Binder, reflecting back on the situation, blamed the failure of the system on "a too quick assimilation of western culture […] expected of northern young people" and thought that educators should have been more realistic and sympathetic to Indigenous students who were transitioning from an exclusive on-the-land upbringing to the cold confines of Grollier and Stringer Halls.[81] In 1965, Stringer Hall Administrator Reverend Leonard Holman remarked that "the school system has been weighed and found wanting" and he was "not quite certain what the future holds."[82]

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[79] J.F. Delaute, Regional Administrator, Arctic District to Director, NAB, "Additional School Requirements – Frobisher Bay," April 5, 1960; Delaute, to Administrator, Arctic District, "Educational Facilities, Frobisher Bay," July 22, 1960; C.M. Bolger, Administrator, Arctic District to Director, NAB, "Frobisher Bay School," February 7, 1961, RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12.

[80] National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR), "Grollier Hall Student Residence (Inuvik, NWT) Residence/School Narrative," 21.

[81] Mary-Ellen Binder, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 17 July 2013.

[82] Leonard P. Holman, Administrator, Stringer Hall to Mossie I. Moorby, May 11, 1964, ACCGSA P2011-08 458 Mossie Moorby fonds 1964-72. Mossie Moorby was an Uunjit southerner, who worked at Stringer Hall during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Upon her departure, she wrote a scathing report about residential school conditions and policies. "Teachers Listen," *The Drum* 3, 8 (February 29, 1968), 12.

Compelled to respond to agitated parents and growing internal disputes, the DNANR hired Education Consultant Robert J. Carney[83] to visit twelve northern communities and inquire about families' preferences for schooling.[84] The results were unanimous: while families valued an education for their children, they insisted on opportunities to teach their children important cultural practices. Conceding to local pressure, the NWT Council and the DNANR reallocated resources "to the areas in which students live if parental co-operation is to be achieved."[85] For bureaucrats, it was critical to demonstrate their willingness to compromise with Indigenous communities. Although expressions of local guut'àii resulted in this momentary shift, the state continued to reach these children through day schooling.

Parents questioned DNANR Chief R.A.J. Phillips on residential school policies. Phillips cited the many apparent advantages of residential school living, including the "rapid"[86] learning of English and the supposed high student success rate, the latter being a questionable assertion given that SAMS and Grollier and Stringer Halls had been open for a mere year. This was, in part, because of the 'whiteness' that Inuuvik was thought to display. Federal research contractor C.W. Hobart highlighted the 'desirable' traits of the town, writing that

> The very distance of Inuvik, a large white man's town, effectively, where here are wonders like indoor plumbing and the Utilador, contribute to the feeling that the

[83] Dr. Robert J. Carney was heavily involved in education in the North, first as a teacher, then an educational consultant, and finally as a permanent employee with both the DIAND and the territorial government's DOE. His PhD thesis was entitled "Relations in Education Between the Federal and Territorial Governments and the Roman Catholic Church in the Mackenzie District, Northwest Territories, 1867-1961" (University of Alberta, 1971). He secured a tenured position at the University of Alberta, Faculty of Education. Today, Carney would be known as a residential school apologist.
[84] Conference Booklet, "Fort Smith Regional Teachers' Conference, Fort Smith, N.W.T., January 4-6, 1965," RCDMA Box 1 File 24.
[85] CNWT, "Sessional Paper No. 16," 447.
[86] CNWT, "Sessional Paper No. 16," 447.

> education which takes place in so distant and 'more white' place must be better than any comparable schooling which could take place in the home community."[87]

According to federal agents, in this "more white" place, the assimilation of Indigenous students was surely to be a guaranteed success.

Chief Education Superintendent Gillie acknowledged that Grollier and Stringer Halls had been the source of criticism but retorted that "hostels can make even more of a contribution because they have the youngster 24 hours a day," alluding to the dissolution of families and forceful assimilation that were at the heart of these residences.[88] The Anglican Church under the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada was sensitive to growing criticism. In 1964, Bishop Donald Marsh wrote that there was a "growing awareness (and one might almost say, resentment) of the dislike of large hostels" and that these criticisms were made "without prompting; and caused quite a revelation to most of us."[89] For the first time, the NWT Council admitted that Grollier and Stringer Halls were "not a permanently acceptable solution."[90]

In 1965, parents of Nanhkak Thak wrote NWT Council member Lyle Trimble and asked that their concerns be addressed at the territorial level. Trimble reported that parents were "deeply concerned" about the removal and relocation of their children to Inuuvik.[91] Later that year – and in response to growing Indigenous discontent – the DNANR hired sociologist Charles Hobart to investigate schooling in Inuuvik. He interviewed proprietors, missionaries, and school

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[87] Charles W. Hobart, "Eskimos in Residential Schools in the Mackenzie District," undated, c. 1960, RCDMA Unnumbered Box #1.
[88] "Northern Hostels Provide 'Social Responsibilities," *Edmonton Journal*, Tuesday, February 11, 1964, 21.
[89] Donald B. Marsh, Bishop of the Arctic, ACC to Arthur Laing, Minister, DNANR, March 24, 1964; Marsh to Laing, May 7, 1964, RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12.
[90] Administrator of the Mackenzie to Thorsteinsson, "School and Hostel Construction Requirements at Rae, Fort Smith, Hay River, Fort Simpson, Yellowknife, and Fort Providence," February 17, 1964, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-22.
[91] Trimble, "Motion on the Commissioner's Opening Address: Hostels for Settlements," 14-15.

administrators, all of whom overwhelmingly agreed that “no valid defense could be made for the practice of taking 6 and 7 and 8 year old children from their mothers and their families and putting them in large hostels hundreds of miles from home for 9 or 10 months out of the year.”[92] Bompas Hall Administrator James B. Herring felt the same way and said that

> the sooner the day schools are built, the better off the children will be re. the family connections and situations. This applies especially to those from 6-10. I think it is most unfortunate that children of such a tender age are removed from their parents. No Hostel (and I believe Inuvik is no exception) regardless of the good intentions of its personnel can begin to substitute for mother and dad. I mention Inuvik because everyone seems to think that it is the epitome of excellence…I see the Hostel system as a temporary expedient only.[93]

Others thought more broadly about the system and concluded that, “not only are the parents unable to give continuous guidance to the child, but the influence of the child upon the parents is also lost -- an influence that can do much to explain the new ideas that often enter the community via the schoolroom.”[94]

Internal government dialogue continued to contradict the public success of Inuuvik’s day and residential schools. DNANR officials eagerly celebrated its ‘successes’ (actual or otherwise) –‘successes’ rooted in dismantling Indigenous families, moving them off nakhwinan, and assimilating children into Uunjit Nanhkak society. In a 1966-66 review on education, the Department touted that

> camp life is giving way to settlement living in modern homes. Vocational training and wage employment compete with traditional pursuits. System-wide radio and telephone networks, expanded road, rail and air routes increase daily the exposure to southern ways and values. Schools have become permanent features in northern communities

[92] Hobart, “Chapter IV: Reactions to the Boarding School: Parents, Children, Whites,” Undated, RCDMA Unnumbered Box #1.
[93] James B. Herring, Administrator, Bompas Hall to Marsh, October 5, 1965, ACCGSA M96-07 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 2.
[94] R.A.J. Phillips, “The Opening Door,” *North* 7, 6 (1960), 20.

> and there is a growing appreciation of the close bonds between education, technology and enriched living experiences.[95]

One Dinjii Zhuh Anjòo agreed and said that

> the children's lifestyle totally changed. They didn't take part in fall, winter, and spring camps anymore. They could only join the fish camp when school was out. For the rest of the year, the children were under the influence of non-natives. It was almost impossible for the Loucheux [Gwich'in] to teach their children the traditional lifestyle. These children began to lose the bush skills needed to survive in a harsh arctic winter.[96]

Officials expected enrolment rates to rise based on the "swift disappearance of camp life."[97] As governments agents became increasingly aggressive in ensuring that children attended schools and be institutionalized at Grollier and Stringer Halls, student enrolment inevitably increased and they believed this to be a signpost of success that Indigenous families were accepting 'modern' ways of life.[98] The success of government schooling was, however, grossly misrepresented. A few years earlier, the federal government contracted University of British Columbia anthropologist Harry Hawthorn to investigate the social conditions of Indigenous peoples across Canada.[99] When it came to schooling, he concluded that even though enrolment

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[95] DIAND, *Education Review 1965-66: Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1966), 3.
[96] Barnaby, Shimpo, and Struthers, *Rhetoric and Reality*, 13.
[97] Education Division, NAB, DIAND, *Education Review 1966-67: Northwest Territories and Quebec* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Comptroller of Stationary, 1968), 3.
[98] DIAND applauded attendance statistics not only in the North, but nationwide. Minister Arthur Laing stated that "the long, uphill battle to get the Indian children into school has largely been won. In 1945 there were 16,000 Indian children enrolled in schools. Today, there are 62,000[…]We regard our education program as the most vital single effort we put forth[…]It is essential that culturally deprived children be given opportunities to overcome the handicap of their environment." Laing, "Education 2," *The Drum* 2, 22 (May 25, 1967).
[99] H. Alan Cairns, Stuart Jamieson, and K. Lysyk, *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: A Report on Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies, Vol. 1*, ed. Harry B. Hawthorn (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966), 105.

and attendance rates had purportedly increased, this "tells us little about the quality of education received, or the level of education attained."[100]

While Indigenous parents negotiated with the DNANR and the NWT Council about attendance and the institutionalization of their children, Indigenous people found other ways to resist the system. By 1965, they transferred their t'aih and expertise in Indigenous politics to the colonial context. In 1965, Abraham Okpik,[101] an Inuvialuk man who was from a small fishing camp in the Akłarvik region, was the first Indigenous person appointed to the NWT Council. Okpik had attended an Akłarvik Indian Residential School and was institutionalized for four years at the Charles Camsell Hospital with tuberculosis.[102] He was now in the position to influence policy decisions, but for his Uunjit colleagues, Okpik was considered a "prize acquisition" since Council members sought to appear inclusive.[103] Okpik used his position to advocate for a member from the Eastern Arctic to join Council since he did not think that the lack of representation "was fair."[104] A year later, the NWT Council granted Inuit the right to vote for the first time in territorial elections; Simonie Michael, a thirty-three-year-old Inuk

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[100] Cairns et. al., *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada,* 105; Robert J. Carney, "The Hawthorne Survey (1966-1967), Indian and Oblates and Integrated Schooling," *CCHA Study Sessions* 50 (1983).
[101] For a biography on Okpik see "Abraham Okpik: Trapper, Politician and Giver of Surnames," *Yellowknifer Weekender* 3, 4 (March 31, 1988). Okpik served on the Fifth NWT Legislative Council. Although he was originally from Nanhkak Thak, he lived in ᐃᖃᓗᐃᑦ (Iqaluit) and represented the Eastern Arctic. Okpik later spearheaded *Project Surname* and gathered important data and Inuit opinions on Eskimo disk numbers. See Special Committee on the Review of the Official Languages Act, Legislative Assembly of the NWT, *Final Report: One Land, Many Voices* (Yellowknife, NWT: Legislative Assembly of the NWT, 2003), 7; Valeria Alia, *Names and Nunavut: Culture and Identity in Arctic Canada* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007).
[102] Policies at Indian hospitals and sanitoria resembled those at Indian Residential Schools. Patients were often forced to attend classes or learn from their beds, the speaking of Indigenous languages was discouraged, and violent relationships between staff and patients were not uncommon. For more, see Maureen Lux, *Separate Beds: A History of Indian Hospitals in Canada, 1920s to 1980s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016); Laurie Meijer Drees, *Healing Histories: Stories from Canada's Indian Hospitals* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2013).
[103] Additionally, membership now included seven elected and five appointed individuals. "Commissioner's Opening Address, October 18, 1965" and Vallee, "Motion on Commissioner's Opening Address, October 18, 1965" in *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Thirty-First Session, Ottawa, Ontario, October 18-21, 1965*, 1-2.
[104] "Abraham Okpik: Trapper, Politician and Giver of Surnames."

carpenter from ᐃᖃᓗᐃᑦ, was the first Indigenous person elected to the NWT Council.[105] And a year after that, Dinjii Zhuh Chief John Tetlichi of Teetł'it Zheh joined Michael to increase the appointed and elected Indigenous membership of the Council.

Within two short years, the Council had been transformed from a body that consisted entirely of Uunjit voices to one that now included Indigenous northerners. These new members were outspoken on schooling in the North. In 1966 Okpik claimed that

> the people who are planning the schools for the North are not thinking about serving the residents -- they are thinking about the easiest way, the most convenient way to run the system. Well, I am convinced that it is time the members of this Council took responsibility for the schools and started paying attention to the wishes of the people.[106]

He went on to argue that power over schooling should be transferred from the federal to the territorial government and estimated that devolution would save taxpayers nearly thirty percent in operational costs.[107] Predicting the ensuing resistance, Okpik speculated that DIAND management "was afraid to lose control,"[108] and not only over schooling.

By 1966, seven years after Inuuvik's schooling facilities opened, serious fissures in policies had emerged and political pressure mounted for a review of the North's political

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[105] Legislative Assembly of the NWT, *Final Report*, 7. For more on Michael, see: R. Quinn Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit Since the Second World War* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 116, 227, 245.

[106] Okpik, , "Motion on Commissioner's Opening Address, Rocher River – Community School Required," *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Thirty-Second Session, Ottawa, Ontario, January 24 – February 7, 1966, Vol. I*, 10.

[107] Similar powers over schooling in the Yukon were transferred a year earlier. Although schooling in Nunavik should have been the responsibility of the province, DIAND governed that region. Ghislaine Girard, General Branch of New Quebec, Government of Quebec, "Background Paper No. 3B – The Pedagogical Situation in the North (Focus on Teachers' Training): Training of Native Teachers," Cross-Cultural Conference on Education in the North, Montréal, August 1969, LAC MG28 I117 Vol. 77 File 3-3; J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 239.

[108] Moore had made this suggestion twenty years earlier. Andrew Moore, "Education in Canadian Northland," undated (c. 1945), LAC RG85 Vol. 1505 600-1-1 File 2; Moore, "Education in the Mackenzie District," in *The New North-West*, ed. C.A. Dawson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947).

development.[109] The Carrothers' Commission held public hearings in many northern communities and afforded Indigenous northerners the opportunity to speak publicly in a national context.[110] "Agitating for some say in their destiny,"[111] residents emphasized the importance of local autonomy in schooling, criticized the policy of institutionalizing children, pointed to the need for increased accessibility to secondary schools and improvements to curricula, and questioned the place of religion in schools. The Roman Catholic Church suggested that local advisory committees be established so broader communities could offer guidance.[112] Neither the Commission nor DIAND disagreed with this recommendation but failed to implement any sort of local governing bodies around education for several years.[113] Furthermore, the Commission recommended the creation of a territorial department of education to prepare for future devolution.

The success of Inuuvik as an administrative centre was dependent upon the complete shut down and relocation of Akłarvik, fifty-six kilometers to the southwest as the crow flies. Despite the best efforts of the NWT Council and DNANR to relocate all Akłarvik residents to

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[109] The Carrothers' Commission, led by Alfred Carrothers, Dean of Law at the University of Western Ontario, investigated the implications of dividing the NWT into two separate political entities, the NWT and the proposed territory of Nunavut. CNWT, *Ninth Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories* (Yellowknife, NWT: NWT Information, 1983), 64.

[110] Advisory Commission on the Development of the NWT (ACDNWT), *Report of the Advisory Commission on the Development of Government in the Northwest Territories, Vol. 1* (Ottawa: The Commission, 1966), 2-3; CNWT, *Ninth Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories*, 64.

[111] Victor Allen, Reverend Douglas, M.E. Hamilton, L.P. Mann, Panelok, Father Posset, Robert Tompkins, P. Verhesen, Enooyea, Chief Edward Hardisty, Mrs. W.P. Johnston, Kongasiritook, Koonark, B.K. Kristensen, Kyak, Lionel Nutaradlaluk, Peterosee, Dan E. Priest, Joe Sanspariel, Bernadette Tungilik, and Phyllis M. Worsley; ACDNWT, *Report of the Advisory Commission on the Development of Government in the Northwest Territories, Vol. 2* (Ottawa: The Commission, 1966), B11, B15, B19, B25-B28, C11, C16, C21-C22, C24, C26, C30-C32, C38-C39, C41-C42, C45, C48.

[112] Henry G. Cook, Bishop of Mackenzie, OMI to E.A. Côté, Deputy Minister, DIAND, December 6, 1967, RCDMA Box 1 File 18.

[113] Côté to Cook, December 13, 1967, RCDMA Box 1 File 18; CNWT, *Ninth Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories*, 64.

Inuuvik, Indigenous families refused to vacate their homes.[114] Recall as well the efforts of David Nasogaluak, David Lucas, Andy Carpenter, and Fred Carpenter of Ikaahuk, outlined in the beginning of this chapter, who petitioned for the construction of a new day school, but were refused. DNANR Divisional Chief Bernie Thorsteinsson responded by saying "wherever there is a sufficient number of youngsters to warrant a two-room school, we will establish a two-room school […] Where there is a sufficient number of students for a four-room school, we will establish a four-room school."[115] But apparently, the community's twenty-four children did not warrant the building of a school. This did not discourage Inuvialuit parents who desired that their children remain at home. After consulting with the community and using the resources available to them, Nasogaluak, Lucas, and the two Carpenters spearheaded a campaign to reallocate federal funding from the community's housing program towards the building of a day school, since they were "very anxious to keep our children home at least during the early grades."[116] These families placed the safety and wellbeing of their children over their desire to build new homes in the community. As a result, Member of Parliament Robert "Bud" Orange approved the construction of a school in Ikaahuk and promised a swift airlift of supplies.[117] Because they were able to successfully act both as strong individuals and a collective united, the community was successful.

[114] Some Akłarvik families agreed to move to Inuuvik and, as such, the federal government offered a small financial compensation. But many considered the move illogical and remained in Akłarvik, earning the community its famous slogan, "Never Say Die." "Regional History," July 9, 1959, LAC RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125-1 File 1.
[115] Thorsteinsson, "Education – Attendance, Costs, Hostels, Truancy," 194.
[116] "Trappers Request School"; *The Drum* 11, 34 (September 1, 1967), 13.
[117] *The Drum*, 2, 2 (January 12, 1967), 2; Gary Wagner, Mackenzie Delta Construction & Building Supplies, "Letters," *The Drum* 2, 3 (January 19, 1967), 5.

By this time, tensions were increasing between the NWT Council and the federal government, with NWT Council Member John Goodall accusing the DIAND of attempting "to syphon away children above a certain grade in the outlying schools to a school where there is a hostel" and noting that "the smaller settlements are being badly neglected by the government, which seems to be implying 'go to the major centres, or go without.'"[118] The abrupt closure of the day school in Tsiigehtshik in 1967, apparently due to low student enrollment and a shortage of teachers, underscores Goodall's argument. It mattered little to DIAND management that Gwichyà Gwich'in promised during the 1940s to move off nakhwinan and into town in exchange for a day school (see Tyek). This closure forced Gwichyà Gwich'in students to relocate to Inuuvik and be institutionalized at Grollier Hall.[119] Thorsteinsson suggested that schooling in small communities was substandard and that students "learn[ed] more slowly" there.[120] Residential school policies were designed to "breakdown the best elements" of family life and from the perspective of DIAND officials, were "far superior from an educational point of view than the small residence."[121] Should students relocate to Inuuvik, Thorsteinsson argued, they would "learn more rapidly, and perhaps be influenced by the circumstances that happen there."[122] In other words: if the federal government could relocate as many Indigenous children

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[118] Goodall, "Hostels For Settlements," *The Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Twenty-Ninth Session, Ottawa, Ontario, February 8-17, 1965, Vol. I*, 233; Trimble, "Motion on Commissioner's Opening Address, Education – School Required, Arctic Red River," 23.
[119] *The Drum* 11, 34 (September 1, 1967), 13.
[120] Thorsteinsson, "Hostels for Settlements," 230.
[121] "Resolution Made at the Conference of Clergy and Layman at Cambridge Bay, N.W.T., Held – 1st-8th March 1964"; Thorsteinsson, "Meeting 3 – 6 p.m., April 16, in Mr. Côté's Office," undated (c. 1968), RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12 and LAC RG85 Vol. 1443 File 630/169-1 Pt. 4.
[122] Thorsteinsson, "Hostels for Settlements," 230.

as possible to the major regional centre of Inuuvik, efforts to assimilate them into Uunjit Nanhkak would be much more efficient.

Dinjii Zhuh interventions during the 1960s were underway in Teetł'it Zheh, as they had been for the previous four decades. Parents demanded transparency, protested closed teachers' meetings, and asked for local school grades to be extended to high school so their children could remain at home instead of being institutionalized at Stringer Hall.[123] Teetł'it families especially continued engaging with on-the-land economies well into the 1970s and the extension of grades at the local day school meant that their children could remain for longer periods at the local student residence, Fleming Hall, which afforded them the ability to be surrounded by extended kin networks, be cared for by familiar Dinjii Zhuh neighbours, and see their families when they returned to town for supplies. Families all over the Nanhkak Thak region presented the federal and territorial governments with solutions that worked best for them. The threat of fines, imprisonment for nonattendance, and the cessation of family allowance payments were deterrents, but even so, the NWT Council noted that "some parents are threatening to take their children with them into the bush rather than send them to a large hostel in a distant community."[124] By the late 1960s, the integrity of northern schooling and thus the expansion of the Canadian nation state was challenged by Indigenous families and the various forms of strength that they carried with them, every day.

Nanhkak Thak families were not the only ones frustrated with federal policies that relocated thousands of Indigenous children to Inuuvik. Central and Eastern Arctic Inuit

[123] Teetł'it Zheh was a largely Protestant community and children from there were placed at Stringer Hall. Trimble, "Motion on Commissioner's Opening Address: Fort McPherson – Home and School Meetings,"14-15, 69-70, 132.
[124] Trimble, "Motion on the Commissioner's Opening Address: Hostels for Settlements," 14-15.

communities pleaded for the establishment of local day schools and accompanying locally-managed student residences. These families had already endured the very worst of colonial policies, particularly forced relocations and the slaughter of thousands of qimmiit.[125] The Department weighed the perceived outcomes of construction, either in ᖃᒪᓂᑦᑐᐊᖅ and ᐃᖃᓗᒃᑑᑦᑎᐊᖅ,[126] but needed to "carefully consider the implications."[127] The NWT Council did not want to "alter Eskimo communities," fearing that schooling services in a nearby community would bring 'traditional' families off the land, break down traditional harvesting practices and result in starvation, thereby necessitating federal social assistance.[128] The state deemed Nanhkak Thak a worthy area to install 'modern' schooling facilities, but was unwilling to do the same for Inuit communities. In the meantime, Inuit children continued to be airlifted thousands of kilometers away to residential schools, either to Grollier and Stringer Halls or Ukkivik Student Residence in ᐃᖃᓗᐃᑦ,[129] which opened in 1962.

In 1967, Indigenous requests for greater influence and autonomy around schooling crystalized in debates that were "lengthy and heated."[130] Inuuvik's local newspaper, *The Drum*, published regular columns on the topic and generated critical conversations. One editor wrote, "Listen! It's louder now. From here, from there. Indian voices, Métis voices, demanding

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[125] Qimmiit refers to the sled dogs that RCMP slaughtered. For more on the dog slaughter, see Susan McHugh, "'A Flash Point in Inuit Memories': Endangered Knowledges in the Mountie Sled Dog Massacre," *English Studies in Canada* 39, 1 (March 2013).
[126] ᖃᒪᓂᑦᑐᐊᖅ, "big lake joined by a river at both ends," is also known as Qamani'tuaq and Baker Lake, Nunavut. ᐃᖃᓗᒃᑑᑦᑎᐊᖅ, "good fishing place" is called Iqaluktuuttiaq and Cambridge Bay, Nunavut.
[127] Grantham to Jacobson, "Re: School Hostel Accommodation for Anglican Eskimo Children in the Central Arctic," September 24, 1957, RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12.
[128] Marsh, "Enter…The Anglican Missionaries," *The Beaver* (Winter 1954), 33 (30-33); Grantham to Jacobson.
[129] Iqaluit.
[130] "NWT Council Session," *The Drum* 2, 12 (March 23, 1967), 1.

attention, demanding equality.”[131] Responding to the territorial and federal governments’ attempts to ignore the interests of Indigenous parents, the editor asked: “are parents obsolete?” Gwichyà Gwich’in Chief Hyacinthe Andre wrote that, “our children are our children and it is our responsibility to see they are properly brought up so that in future they may be people who will be the ones who will understand their people and also the North.”[132] Critics in Inuuvik pointed out that “there is much wisdom in the North,” but were concerned that “since we lack school boards, teachers are cut off from the stimulating and rewarding experience of working out solutions to northern education with northerners.”[133]

Figure 20. Gwichyà Gwich’in man and long-time Chief of Arctic Red River (Tsiigehtshik) Hyacinthe Andre sought to provide his extended family and children of the community with a good life and the best education. Andre consistently questioned government motivations on various programs and policies. Here, Andre stands with Alma Cardinal, David Cardinal, Trevor McNabb, Lois Blake, Philip Andre, John Kendo Jr. and teaches them how to snowshoe in Tsiigehtshik. Untitled, March 1978. Archival Caption: none.[134]

[131] “Editorial,” *The Drum* 3, 27 (November 7, 1968), 1.
[132] “Chief Hyacinthe Andre, Arctic Red River, N.W.T.,” *The Drum* 11, 34 (September 1, 1967), 5.
[133] “Editorial,” *The Drum* 2, 38 (October 12, 1967), 1.
[134] NWTA James Jerome fonds, acc. no. N-1987-017, item no. 3036. Hà’į̀h to Alestine Andre for identifying the children in this photo.

Fueling these conversations was the notion that local school boards should be established, resulting in improved communications between schools and parents, families becoming better aware of pedagogies and curricula at day schools, and an overall enhancement of existing facilities.[135] The establishment of local school boards was not new: federal investigator Andrew Moore had recommended it in his 1944 report and Gillie promised their imminent arrival two years earlier.[136] Nevertheless, the Inuvik Village Council pushed for the establishment of regional school board right away; they argued for "mutual progress" and ways to accomplish it through better communication, consultation, and cooperation.[137] Bent Sivertz, Commissioner of the NWT Council in 1967, was frustrated by the chaos around schooling and proposed that government must be "brought closer to the people.[138] Shortly after the Carrothers' Commission reported on attendance rates, quarterly returns at Grollier and Stringer Halls indicated that an increasing number of parents wanted their children at home on a full-time basis. As a way to quell local uproars, DIAND promised that by 1971, all communities would have school facilities for every school-aged child.[139] Government officials perceived Indigenous societies as backwards and dangerous, but it was perhaps unexpected that these northerners would be so thoughtful, well-versed enough to resist the system, and power savvy to accomplish their goals.

In conclusion, then, it is abundantly clear that Indigenous parents forcefully participated in conversations about schooling policies in Inuuvik, particularly around mandatory attendance

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[135] "Editorial," *The Drum* 2, 23 (June 1, 1967), 1.

[136] Moore, "Education in Canadian Northland," undated (c.) 1945, LAC RG85 Vol. 1505 600-1-1 Pt. 2; Andrew Moore, *The Moore Report 1945,* RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12; Moore, "Education in the Mackenzie District"; "Editorial," *The Drum* 4, 6 (March 1, 1969), 15; "Editorial," *The Drum* 3, 8 (February 29, 1968), 1.

[137] "Editorial," *The Drum* 2, 22 (May 25, 1967), 1.

[138] Sivertz, *The Drum* 2, 3 (January 19, 1967), 3.

[139] *The Drum* 2, 40 (October 26, 1967), 6.

and the institutionalization of Indigenous children at Grollier and Stringer Halls between 1959 to 1969. High nonattendance rates were a concern for DNANR officials; noncompliance demonstrated that they had not yet won over the support of Indigenous parents, which was a problem that persisted throughout the 1960s, for the entire time that the federal government controlled schooling in Denendeh. Meanwhile, parents raised their children with conviction and attempted to immerse the next generation into crucial socio-economic practices that were vital not only to the survival of cultures, but also the survival of families. The continued institutionalization of children was at the heart of the problem and communities all over the North put their energy and resources into advocating to keep their children closer. Parents and caregivers used their networks of power derived from the strength of their ancestors, families, and communities to hold federal and territorial decision makers accountable for what was best for their children, families, and cultures. They advocated to keep their children closer and their decision to keep their children away from Inuuvik's day and residential schools ultimately gave parents an edge in negotiations with governments. The next chapter, then, expands upon these themes by focusing on the arrival of Indigenous children at Grollier and Stringer Halls, student narratives of travel, displacement, and homesickness, and how they perceived their institutionalization.

Ihładh Gwinlè'[1]: Ezhii Dìgìteech'aa Gagìnaajàt.[2] "Going into a big city for somebody that is entirely new to this white society"[3]: Residential School Admissions, Travelling to Inuuvik, and Getting 'Settled,' 1959 to 1979.

I am an Eskimo, my number is W3 244,
I am 5 years old December 30 I will be 6.
My father is a trapper.
We live 500 miles from a school.
Tomorrow a train comes to take me away for 10 months.
I do not want to leave the love and
security of home, especially Mother
and baby Brother. This train will take many children
away from their parents. They tell me I will go to a big house
called a hostel where I will meet many
people.
I am also told I will learn many things.
I shall sleep in a bed where the sheets
are changed weekly, eat three meals a
day, wash with hot and cold water from
taps.
I will also get clothes.
There will be two supervisors for all
80 of us.
Will they love me like my Mother?
I am also told that I have to attend
church every Sunday.
They get most excited when they talk
about the schools.
I shall be given books, pencils, crayons
maybe I could draw a caribou.
They say the school is big as 50 igloos
but getting overcrowded all the same.
Why do I go with no room for me?
Will I be taught properly?

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[1] Five. Literal translation: ihładh = one; gwinlè = hand. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects), Gwich'in Language Centre (GLC) and Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee', Gwich'in Language Dictionary (Fort McPherson and Tsiigehtchic dialects), 5th Ed.* (Teetl'it Zheh & Tsiigehtchic, Northwest Territories [NWT]: GLC and GSCI, March 2005), 94.

[2] "They were scared to go somewhere different." Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Agnes Mitchell, Lisa André, and Crystal Gail Fraser.

[3] Paul Andrew, Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (MVPI), "Brackett Lake, N.W.T., June 26, 1975, Proceedings at Community Hearing, Volume 10," in *Transcripts of Public Hearings: Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry* (Ottawa: The Inquiry, 1975-1977), 868-869.

What kind of teacher will guide my mind?
Will she be understanding and dedicated
like my wise grandmother?
Yes, tomorrow that train comes and I will
discover or be forced into another way
of life.
They tell me this will go on for 12 years.
They tell me in time I will lose
my Eskimo speech, I will not like my home
after living in modern buildings.
Maybe talk of an illegitimate statistic.
After 12 years in a government institution
could I ever unbind my soul and consider
myself free?
Will I end up a tragedy?

"My Education," Mary Carpenter, 25 May 1967.[4]

Tungoyoq Mary Carpenter, an outspoken Inuvialuk woman originally from Ikaahuk, attended both Immaculate Conception and All Saints Indian Residential Schools in Akłarvik and, later, resided at an Inuvvik residential school. Although there are fictional undertones to Carpenter's poem (the train ride, for instance), her words are based on her lived experiences and intimately describe the lives of many children who attended Indian Residential Schools. Beginning with her state-imposed identity of being an "Eskimo" and her assigned Eskimo identification disc number,[5] Carpenter reveals how colonial policies not only affected the lives of Indigenous children at residential schools, but also how they changed the ways in which Indigenous peoples understood their positions in a changing world.

[4] Mary Carpenter, "My Education, *The Drum* 2, 22 (May 25, 1967), 2.

[5] For more on the Eskimo Identification System see, Norma Dunning, "Reflections of a Disk-less Inuk on Canada's Eskimo Identification System," *Inuit Studies* 36, 2 (2012); Derek G. Smith, "The emergence of "Eskimo Status": An examination of the Eskimo Disk List system and its social consequences, 1925-1970," in *Anthropology, Public Policy and Native Peoples in Canada*, Noel Dyck and James B. Waldram, eds. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

Carpenter's account is particularly valuable as it highlights her anxiety and hesitation, shared emotions that spanned nearly every child's experience upon discovering that they would either be attending residential school for the first time or returning for another year. Her rich and calculated words represent the toll of uncertainty that depicted student life at northern residential schools. Her comparison of the school being as "big as 50 igloos" and "overcrowded all the same" demonstrates the enormity of the system from a student's perspective, but also how these educational institutions, driven by church and state mandates, exposed Indigenous children to austere conditions well into the second half of the twentieth century. Carpenter's poem provides a starting point to analyze the experiences of children arriving at Grollier and Stringer Halls from 1959 to 1979.

In the previous chapter, I focused on the first decade of schooling in Inuuvik and discussed how Indigenous parents reacted to the system while it was still in its adolescence, the response of the Council of the Northwest Territories (CNWT) and the federal Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR, and later the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development [DIAND]). Chapter Four revealed that Indigenous parents and communities used both their personal (vit'aih) and collective strength (guut'àii) in advocating for the unification of their families and the establishment of local day schools. Indigenous families in the North wanted their children to be educated in emerging Euro-Canadian practices, but not separated from their family, culture, and land through institutionalization. I concluded that Indigenous northerners strategically applied pressure to politicians and federal education staff and refused to comply with government policies in their attempt to keep their children out of residential schools and at home, with their families, for a longer period of time.

This chapter examines how and why Indigenous students found themselves at Grollier and Stringer Halls, narratives of transportation and the movement of young bodies, their arrival at the institutions, as well as the arduous task of becoming acquainted with residential school life. As students navigated the intimidating power structures of Grollier and Stringer Halls, they were immersed into a life that they had never previously imagined. Exploring their daily and sometimes mundane routines, I uncover the regimentation, discipline, and uniform ways of life that were instilled among these children. This chapter fits broadly into Michel Foucault's work on the church and state's desire to use the "power to punish."[6] By uncovering how residential schooling policies, staff members, and the system instilled repressive policies, we garner a more nuanced understanding of how the "power to punish" and disciplining Indigenous children transformed carceral geographies.

In his study on prisons, Foucault argued that discipline was instilled to create 'useful' subjects, a body of people who will conform to broader society through the careful crafting of disciplinary regimes and scales of control.[7] Foucault contends that coercion was essential and expressed through a machinery of power that supported "apparently innocent, but profoundly suspicious" technologies of daily life.[8] My findings, however, conclude that there was nothing "apparently innocent" about coercive tactics at Grollier and Stringer Halls. Rather, the assimilative agendas of the church and state were at the forefront of residential school life. Upon arriving at Inuuvik's residential schools, children's behaviours were subjected to rules,

[6] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 89.
[7] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 136; Michael Walzer, "The Politics of Michel Foucault," in *Foucault: A Critical Reader*, David Couzens Hoy, ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 59.
[8] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 138-139.

standards, schedules, and inspections; there was an extremely complex and profound network of power relations continually at play.

I argue that, although residential school life was highly regulated through imposed disciplinary tactics and structured social relations, children strategically responded in ways that allowed them a degree of individuality and freedom in institutions that were designed to mould them into docile Canadian citizens. Importantly, there were differences between the regulations of Grollier and Stringer Halls – as well as the approaches of their administrators – that determined the kinds of rules imposed and the ways in which the nearly 500 students per year responded to them.[9] Despite programs of cultural modification that Carpenter's poem illuminates, children reacted with tenacity and insight, proving that some refused to become entrapped in the fine meshes of the system.[10] Like Carpenter, older children approached residential school life with careful thought and insight, denoting their ability to reflect on and grapple with their lived experiences and trauma.

Although this chapter presents information that underscores the carcerality of everyday residential school life as well as the "power to punish"[11] and the "grand design"[12] of colonial schooling infrastructure in the North, it also demonstrates that children were complex individuals and the ways in which they utilized "counter-conducts."[13] Foucault theorizes "counter-conducts" to be a mix of resistance, refusal, and revolt, which encapsulates the ways

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[9] These numbers were drastically reduced in 1976 upon the closure of Stringer Hall.
[10] Walzer, "The Politics of Michel Foucault," 58.
[11] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 142.
[12] Stanley Cohen, *Visions of Social Control: Crime, Punishment and Classification* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985), 23.
[13] Colin Gordon, "Governmental Rationality: An Introduction," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with Two Lectures By and An Interview with Michel Foucault*, G. Burchell et. al., eds. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), 91.

in which delinquents (i.e. Indigenous children) respond to fields of power relations.[14] Counter-conducts meant that children – to some extent – exercised the ability to "utilize the techniques of power in achieving their own ends."[15]A semblance of the Dinjii Zhuh concepts of t'aih (ancestral strength), vit'aih (personal/mental strength), and guut'àii (collective strength) emerges here, particularly in understanding how some students responded to institutionalization. The early days of Indigenous children arriving at Grollier and Stringer Halls, however, contained moments of deep unrest, fear, and confusion. It becomes evident in later chapters, when children became better established and more familiar with how to interact with colonial actors and policies, how they harnessed the strategic reversibility of power[16] to achieve their goals and ultimately survive in hostile environments.

When the new schooling facilities opened in East Three (later named Inuuvik) by 1959, Indigenous families had four options: (1) relocate entirely so their children could attend day school; (2) broker private local boarding; (3) institutionalize their children at Grollier or Stringer Halls; or (4) withhold their children from government schooling altogether. For DNANR management, the success of schooling in Nanhkak Thak was based upon student enrolment and the ability to "recruit" Indigenous students not just from the region, but all corners of the North. With enough space to house five hundred students, enrolment quotas were a chief

[14] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-1978*, Michel Senellart, ed. and Graham Burchell, trans. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 200-202.
[15] Mark Olssen, *Michel Foucault: Materialism and Education* (Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey, 1999), 30.
[16] Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry* 8, 4 (Summer 1982).

concern.[17] Although student attendance policies might have been slightly flexible at early Nanhkak Thak day and residential schools, they were less so at Grollier and Stringer Halls.

Attendance was compulsory, as dictated by admission guidelines, which stated that "pupils who do not have day or other school facilities readily available to them" or whose "home is isolated and removed from day school services" must be relocated to an area that has schooling readily accessible.[18] But even if a local day school was available, there were other reasons why children were placed at Grollier and Stringer Halls. Nanhkak Thak families were often large and the responsibility of raising several children sometimes proved to be overly onerous, especially if a parent was widowed.[19] Grandparents were also put in the precarious position of having to care for young children, especially given the high rate of epidemics in the north.[20] Some children were sent to the residential school to accompany a younger sibling.[21] The persistence of harvesting-based economies also meant that families could not be present full-time in communities and thus had no choice but to send their children to residential school.[22] Couples also obtained jobs on the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line[23] and were

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[17] Inuuvik's schools and residential schools were built with "fairly specific enrolments in mind" and, as such, federal employees sought to fill these schooling structures to the best of their ability. National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR), "Stringer Hall Student Residence (Inuvik, NWT) Residence/School Narrative," 3.

[18] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), "Application for Admission to Pupil Residence," undated (c. November 1968), NWT Archives (NWTA) Department of Education (DOE) fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-25; DOE, "Admission Requirements," undated (c. late 1960s), NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1999-051, item no. 1-3; DOE, "Proposed Admissions for Student Residences of the Northwest Territories," June 28, 1971, Roman Catholic Diocese of Mackenzie – Fort Smith Archives (RCDMA) Unnumbered Box #1.

[19] Rosie Albert, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 18 July 18, 2013; Anonymous #12, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 19 July 19, 2013.

[20] Harry J. Mayne, Supervisor of Student Services and Special Projects, DOE to Brian W. Lewis, Director, DOE, "Trip Report – Ft. Liard Hostel 11-12 January 1977 and Lapointe Hall 12-14 January 1977," January 17, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 4-2.

[21] Alestine Andre, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Tsiigehtshik, Nanhkak Thak, 2 August 2013.

[22] Velma Illasiak, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Akłarvik, Nanhkak Thak, 13 August 2013.

[23] The 1940s and 1950s were marked by increased militarization in the North, with military exercises, pipeline and road development, and the construction of Distance Early Warning (DEW) Line sites. DEW Line construction began in the early 1950s and the project consisted of a line of radar stations that stretched from Alaska across the

required to leave their children at Grollier or Stringer Hall while they earned a wage-based living.[24] Finally, there was a surprisingly high number of students who were admitted to residential schools by the Department of Social Development. For these children, deemed "wards of the state," residential school living was often the only alternative to temporary stays at receiving homes and placements in foster or group homes.[25] By the late 1960s, DIAND management speculated that at least fifteen percent of the student population at Grollier and Stringer Halls were Social Development placements.

As demonstrated in the last chapter, DNANR education staff failed to meet departmental quotas during Inuuvik's first year (1959 to 1960) of operations: 180 students were placed at Stringer Hall and another 129 at Grollier Hall. Some of these children previously attended residential schooling in Akłarvik and Sǫ̀ǫ̀mbak'è, some attended mission or federal day schooling locally, and others had been fully immersed in their Indigenous customs. These residential schools operated at approximately sixty percent capacity, which was a preeminent concern for Stringer and Grollier Hall administrators given that annual salary increases and federal student grants were contingent on enrolment.[26] Quotas at SAMS also fell short, with

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Canadian Arctic to Greenland. It was designed to detect Russian bomber incursions into North American air space and was predominantly organized and managed by the United States. For more, see Rebecca Campbell, "Canada under the DEWline," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 51, 1 (Winter 2017); Whitney P. Lackenbauer, "The Cold War on Canadian Soil: Militarization of a Northern Environment," *Environmental History* 12, 4 (October 2007);

[24] Albert, interview with Fraser.

[25] Marvin Marykuca, Superintendent, Akaitcho Hall, DOE to Ron L. Toutant, Area Superintendent, DOE, "Re: Akaitcho Hall Residence," January 19, 1978, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 4-2.

[26] R.A. Bishop, Acting Chief, Education Division, Northern Administration Branch (NAB), Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR) to Bent Sivertz, Director, Education Division, NAB, DNANR, "Inuvik Schools and Hostels," September 9, 1959; W.G. Booth, Chief Superintendent of Schools, Education Division, Northern Administration and Lands Branch (NALB), DNANR, to Sivertz, September 18, 1959, Library and Archives Canada (LAC) RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125-1 Pt. 1; DIAND, "Minutes of the Meeting with Representatives of the Religious Denominations Responsible for the Operation of Government-Owned Indian Residential Schools, February 10, 1964," RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 16; Bernie Thorsteinsson, Chief, Education Division, NAB, DNANR, "Item 3 – Operating Grants to be Based on Pupil Enrolment," *Debates, Twenty-Ninth Session, Ottawa, Ontario,*

only 422 students enrolled out of a possible 900.[27] Before the grand opening of Grollier and Stringer Halls, local reporter George White wrote that

> education officials, with the aim of the enrollment of one thousand pupils in mind, scoured every nook and cranny of Bear Lake and the Arctic Coast, accompanied on the aircraft by a constable of the R.C.M.P. When stopping at the various fishing camps and islands on the arctic [*sic*] coast they were met on the beach by the aborigines few of whom could speak English. Boys and girls were put on board the aircraft, even five year olds, and the protests of the parents were quelled by the presence of the redcoat, compete with spurs and crop.[28]

Shúhta Got'ı̨nę man Paul Andrew recounted two federal officials removing him from his home in Tulít'a when he was eight years old, so he could attend SAMS and reside at Grollier Hall.[29] Using the authority of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), education officials removed children as young as four years old to transport and institutionalize them at Grollier and Stringer Halls, and despite the minimum age of six being established, the preferred age was eight.[30] Indigenous parents continued to protest their children being removed at such a young

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February 8-17, 1965, Vol. I (Ottawa: Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, 1965), 182-183; Council of the Northwest Territories (CNWT), "Recommendation to Council No. 1 (First Session, 1965), Financing of School Districts in the Northwest Territories," *Debates, Twenty-Ninth Session, Ottawa, Ontario, February 8-17, 1965, Vol. II*, Ottawa: Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, 1965), 16-17.

[27] Bishop to Sivertz.

[28] George White, "East 3," *The Inuvik Drum* 4, 9 (1967), 5.

[29] Although he was permitted to remain in Tulít'a the following school year to attend the newly-constructed day school, Paul spent most of his time in the bush with his family. He did not return to Grollier Hall until he was fifteen. Andrew, "Brackett Lake, N.W.T., June 26, 1975, Proceedings at Community Hearing, Volume 10," 868-869; Sally Manning, *Guts and Glory: The Arctic Skiers Who Challenged the World*, with a foreword by Beckie Scott (Yellowknife, NWT: Outcrop, The Northern Publishers, 2006), 56.

[30] Eugene Rheaume, Welfare Officer, Akłarvik to Chief, Arctic Division, NALB, "Monthly Report – November, 1958," LAC RG10 Vol. 384 252-5 119 Pt. 1; DIAND, "Criteria for Selecting Children to Attend Pupil Residence, 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"; "Education – NWT Instructions in Administering Student Hostels, 1960 and 1968," RCDMA Croteau Files Box 3 of 3 Untitled.

age; in 1965, one Inuk father told an attendance officer that "if a child leaves home too young he will forget his own language and his family. He will be like a stranger with his own parents."[31]

Efforts to gather children across the North were called "drives" or "operation pick up" where pilots transported missionaries, government agents, and teachers into communities – or, as education officials called them, "feeder settlements."[32] Travelling, they gathered students for Inuuvik's "feeder schools" of SAMS and SHSS.[33] Children came from as far north as ᐊᐅᔪᐃᑦᑐᖅ, as far east as V li, Nunatsiavut, as far west as Tèechik,[34] Yukon, and as far south as ᓂᐢᑕᐚᔮᐤ.[35] Indigenous families reacted in various ways to these "drives." Although some parents ceded to state legislation for school attendance, others did not. Remaining on the land into September and therefore missing the arrival of teachers, missionaries, Indian agents, and/or RCMP officers was the most effective way of keeping children at home, even for another four to six weeks,

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[31] DIAND, "Breakthrough in Eskimo Education," undated (c. 1965), NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 7-13.

[32] Administrator, Mackenzie District to Thorsteinsson, "School and Hostel Construction Requirements at Rae, Fort Smith, Hay River, Fort Simpson, Yellowknife, and Fort Providence," February 17, 1964, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no, 8-22; Regional Administrator, DIAND to Bernard C. Gillie, District Superintendent, DOE, May 13, 1968; Gillie, District Superintendent to G.D. Eamer, Regional Superintendent of Schools, DIAND, "Mr. L. McConnell, Co-ordinator Admissions to Pupil Residences," July 5, 1968; Robert J. Carney, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, DIAND to McConnell, July 5, 1968, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-23.

[33] Joseph Katz, "Principles and Procedures Recommended for the Organization and Administration of School-Hostel Complexes in the North-West Territories," undated (c. 1965), RCDMA Unnumbered Box #1

[34] ᐊᐅᔪᐃᑦᑐᖅ is also known as Aujuittuq and Grise Fiord, which translates to "place that never thaws" in Inuktitut. Inuit call Happy Valley-Goose V li, where L'nu and later Innu and Inuit established roots. Tèechik is the Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk word for Old Crow. See DIAND, the Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation, and the Government of the Yukon, *Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation Self-Government Agreement* (Ottawa: DIAND, 1993). Hą̀'į̀h to Erika Tizya-Tramm for verifying its use and spelling. ᓂᐢᑕᐚᔮᐤ, also called Nistaw y w ("the merging of three rivers," Cree) and Fort McMurray sits on the traditional meeting groups of the Cree, Dene, Dane-zaa, and Métis peoples. See *Treaty No. 8, Made June 21, 1899 and Adhesions Reports, etc.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966).

[35] Fort McMurray, Alberta. DNANR, "Application for Admission to All Saints School," February 3, 1956, LAC RG85 Vol. 441 630-119-2 Pt. 7; Jim Carvbery, DIAND to Harold J. Darkes, Superintendent, DOE, April 16, 1975; Darkes to Norman J. Macpherson, Director, DOE, "Student Accommodation, Fort Smith," April 21, 1975; Gary R. Black, Superintendent, Keewatin Region, DOE to Ron L. Toutant, Superintendent, Urban Education, DOE, July 20, 1978, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 3-3; Minutes, "Meeting of Grise Fiord School Committee," October 28, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-22.

until Thanksgiving when another plane was sent. This practice persisted into the late 1970s as Grollier and Akaitcho Halls in Sǫǫ̀mbak'è remained in place to service the NWT.[36]

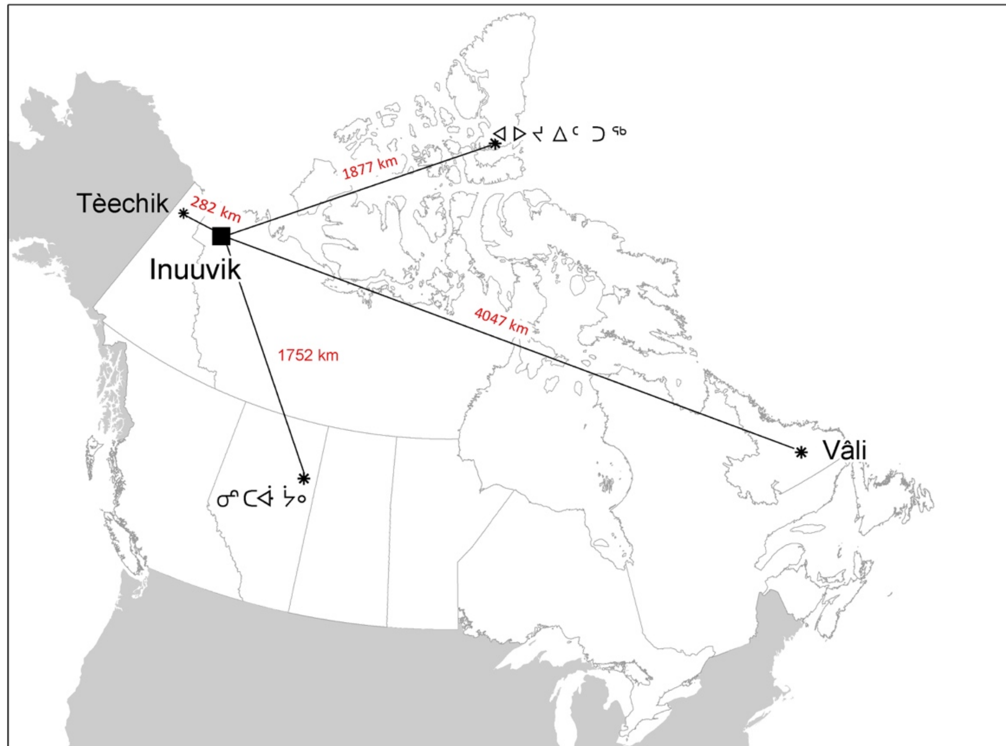

Figure 21. The map shows the various distances in Canada that Indigenous students travelled for their institutionalization at Grollier and Stringer Halls.[37]

Furthermore, DNANR staff recruited children who were already in Inuuvik for medical care, such as one Vun Tut Gwitchin child from Tèechik. After doctors determined he was in good health, DNANR officials placed him in an Inuuvik residential school, saving the Department the 'trouble' of eventually removing him from his home.[38] Starting with the premise that the

[36] Keith A. Hines, Principal, Ulukhaktok Ilihavik School, DOE to Toutant, Principal, Sir John Franklin High School (SJFHS), September 2, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17.
[37] For reproduction permission for any of these maps, please contact Crystal Gail Fraser.
[38] All Saints Indian Residential School, "Application for Admission to Residential School," February 3, 1956, LAC RG85 Vol. 441 630 119-2 Pt. 7; Hunt, "Memorandum for the Director," March 8, 1956, LAC RG85 Vol. 441 630-119-2 Pt. 7.

DNANR was acting in the best interest of Indigenous children, education officials removed youngsters from their parents and extended kin networks and placed them into state facilities.[39] The removal of young Indigenous children from their families was central to assimilative policies, as it interrupted familial continuity particularly during an age when development of children and bonding to their parents were crucial.[40]

In 1959, in an attempt to obtain more students, the DNANR launched a family survey in Inuuvik, as "discreetly and confidentially as possible," to identify children living in 'substandard' accommodations for the purpose of producing more students.[41] Completely overlooking Uunjit families, they limited the survey to Dinjii Zhuh, Métis, and Inuvialuit homes. They found eight families living in what department officials considered to be unacceptable conditions.[42] Although DNANR officials had encouraged Indigenous families to move to Inuuvik by distributing free tents, once these families arrived department staff became concerned that they might be "denying some children the warmth and relative comfort of nearby hostels."[43] Staff removed nineteen children from the care of their families and placed them in Stringer

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[39] Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1800-1940* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 46-47.
[40] Margaret D. Jacobs, "Indian Boarding Schools in Comparative Perspective: The Removal of Indigenous Children in the United States and Australia, 1880-1940," in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, Clifford E. Trafzer et al., eds. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 204.
[41] Robert A. Jenness, Acting Divisional Chief for DNANR to Mr. Snowden, "Attendance of Local Children at Inuvik Hostels," October 9, 1959, LAC RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125-1 Pt. 1; DIAND, "Minutes of the Meeting with Representatives of the Religious Denominations Responsible for the Operation of Government-Owned Indian Residential Schools, February 10, 1964."
[42] DNANR official Jenness noted, "while the children may be more exposed by living in tents, most of them have lived in this manner all their life and if their parents are working regularly there should be adequate fuel, clothing and blanket for them." Jenness to Snowden; Curtis L. Merrill, District Administrator, NALB, DNANR to the Director, October 17, 1959; Sivertz, Director to Merrill, "Candidates for Inuvik Hostels," November 3, 1959; Merrill to Joseph Vincent Jacobson, Director, Education Division, NALB, DNANR, "Candidates for Inuvik Hostels," December 14, 1959, LAC RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125-1 Pt. 1.
[43] Anonymous #1, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 9 July 2013.

Hall. New federal government policies, in other words, simply continued along the same trajectory as those that were practiced at All Saints School Indian Residential School in Akłarvik.

So-called 'broken' families were also cause for concern. Education officers regularly deemed separated and unmarried parents unfit, declaring their children became wards of the state and placing them into residential schools.[44] These children were among the first "welfare admissions," even though DNANR's policy stated that "only those children who do not have day or other school facilities available to them shall be eligible for admission."[45] Given that residential schools funding increased as the number of students rose, residential school administrators were supportive of these initiatives.[46] Oblate Father Max Ruyant at Grollier Hall wrote that "sometimes the home situation is not the best and the children would like to stay in the hostel rather than to go home" and that "you many argue that many of these children have no real family life in the home. I admit the fact, a terrible fact."[47]

In Dąą, I argued that Indigenous parents strongly lobbied the churches and federal and territorial governments for schooling options that did not result in having their children institutionalized. Despite their efforts, thousands of youngsters were placed at Grollier and Stringer Halls over these two decades, but each experienced their new lives differently and on

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[44] "Re: Inuvik Hostels – Items for Discussion with Northern Affairs – Early May, 1959," LAC RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125-1 Pt. 1.

[45] Jacobson to Paul Piché, General Superintendent, Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission, July 10, 1958, RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 18. In 1958, Akłarvik's Welfare Officer Eugene Rheaume wrote that admission to residential schools on "welfare grounds is something that needs overhauling very badly. During the past year some revisions were made on these procedures and the end result has been much to confusion." A restructuring of the system was never undertaken. J.P. Richards, Acting Chief, Arctic Division, NALB to Jacobson, Director, "Admission to Residential Schools," March 4, 1958, LAC RG85 Vol. 384 252-5 119 Pt. 1; Rheaume to Chief.

[46] Although residential school administrators were supportive, Jenness questioned the intent of the survey, noting that "children of local whites would be allowed to live at home." Jenness to Snowden.

[47] Max Ruyant, OMI, Administrator, Grollier Hall to Gillie, District Superintendent, DIAND March 22, 1969; Antonio Bisson, Supervisor, Grollier Hall, "The Life in Our Hostel," 1965-66, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-23.

an individual basis. Dinjii Zhuh student Velma Illasiak, a Stringer Hall student during the 1970s, explained that residential school students in Inuuvik came from all over the North: "We were mixed with people from Fort Good Hope, Fort Norman, Fort Franklin, and we had some people from Paulatuk, Coppermine, Holman Island, Tuk. We were all there trying to get an education."[48] While earlier students travelled lengthy distances to Akłarvik's All Saints and Immaculate Conception Indian Residential Schools by steamboat,[49] dogteam, small aircraft, and foot, residential school students destined for Inuuvik usually travelled by airplane, beginning in 1959. Given the lack of transportation infrastructure in the Denendeh and Inuit Nunangat and the refusal of governments to properly invest in new systems, air travel was the most direct and practical way to move young bodies.

Fred Carmichael, a former Akłarvik residential school student and a Dinjii Zhuh aviation pilot, was awarded the government contract for student transportation to Inuuvik. Having carried church and state agents to Indigenous communities, such as the Bullock camp at Dachan Choo Gèhnjik described in the Introduction, Carmichael explains that:

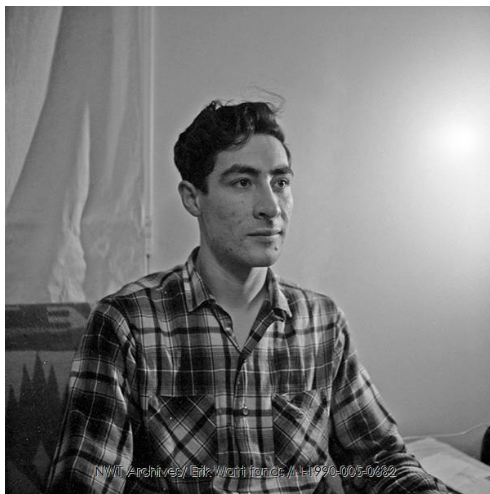
> It was probably one of the most unpleasant things that I did […] take mostly the younger, the smaller, the 6-, 7-, 8-year-old ones […] to go to a community and stand there and load those kids aboard and everybody's – mothers are crying and kids are crying, like they won't get on the airplane. I think that still haunts me. It was like they had no choice, you know? It was an unpleasant thing for sure.[50]

[48] Robert Carney, Roman Catholic Mackenzie-Fort Smith Diocese Researcher, Interviews, March 1987, RCDMA, McCarthy and Carney Files Box 2 of 4; Illasiak, interview Fraser.

[49] Students remember the ships *Distributor*, *S.S. Mackenzie*, *The Immaculate*, and *Lady of Lourdes*. Michael Heine, Alestine Andre, Ingrid Kritsch, and Alma Cardinal, *Gwich'in Gwichya Googwankak: The Histories and Stories of the Gwichya Gwich'in*, rev. ed., (Tsiigehtshik and Fort McPherson, NWT: GSCI, 2007), 213; Christie Thompson, "A Long Time Ago – Part #1," in *Gwich'in COPE Stories* (Fort McPherson, NWT: GSCI, 2010), 651; Thompson, "Reminiscence – Part #1," in *Gwich'in COPE Stories*, 670; Anthony Apakark Thrasher et. al., *Thrasher…Skid Row Eskimo* (Toronto: Griffin House, 1976), 11; Mary Kendi (nilìh ch'uu Koe), interview with William Firth, Sandra Dolan, and Laura Peterson, in *Interviews* (Fort McPherson, NWT: GSCI, April 8, 1999), 5; Doris Itsi, interview with Firth, Dolan, and Peterson, in *Interviews*, 2.

[50] Fred Carmichael, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 19 July 2013.

As a former residential school student, Carmichael was keenly aware of the effects and trauma of being removed from your parents and the family home. He was certainly more sympathetic to relocated Indigenous children than any other church or state agent, but Carmichael's complicity within the systems suggests that the actions of Indigenous northerners – adults and children alike – help us reframe the ways in which we think about complex personhood.[51] By embracing the methodological framework of "complex personhood," modelled by Eve Tuck, we are engaging in "critically conscious" research and are reminded that Carmichael, like other northerners, are "beset by contradiction."[52]



Dinjii Zhuh man Fred Carmichael was the first Indigenous pilot in Nanhkak Thak and has had a decorated and widely celebrated career. His contract to transport children from their camps and communities to schools demonstrates the precarious and tragic consequences that these policies had not only on children, but in greater Nanhkak Thak.

[51] Avery Gordon, Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) qtd. in Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 79, 3 (Fall 2009), 420.
[52] Gordon qtd. in Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 420.

Above left: Figure 22. Untitled. Archival Caption: "Fred Carmichael, Aklavik, in 1957. Son of former NWT Council member Frank Carmichael, he was first NWT Metis to earn a commercial pilot's license, in that year."[53]

Above right: Figure 23. Untitled, 1987. Archival Caption: "Fred Carmichael – Inuvik – Antler Aviation."[54]

For Inuit Nunangat children, air travel began as early as August to allow for the multiple flights that sometimes stretched over multiple days.[55] Sandra Suliman of ᐃᖃᓗᒃᑑᑦᑎᐊᖅ[56] did not attend Inuuvik's residential schools, but rather Akaitcho Hall in Sǫǫ̀mbak'è. She recalled boarding the "old and rickety" DC-3 and "we would basically go from community to community […] picking up kids from all over […] we were all in there kind of united and happy to see one another."[57] Nunavut youngsters, the majority of whom were Inuit, were the most displaced by the system since they were often only home for a month or less in the summer, unable to participate in most seasonal traditions before being whisked back to Inuuvik. Conversely, Nanhkak Thak children enjoyed the luxuries of geography and time. They often remained at family fish camps well into late August, receiving valuable cultural training that contributed to their persistence as autonomous and sovereign Indigenous peoples.[58]

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[53] NWTA Erik Watt fonds, acc. no. N-1990-005, item no. 0682.
[54] NWTA Dept. of Public Works and Services fonds, acc. no. G-1995-001, item no. 4511.
[55] Many Inuit children were placed at Grollier and Stringer Halls, but some found themselves at Turquetil Hall in ᐃᒡᓗᓕᒑᕐᔪᒃ (Igluligaarjuk; Chesterfield Inlet) or at schools in Adawe. Sandra (nilìh ch'uu Mayers) Suliman, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 24 July 2013; Kathy Ross, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 16 July 2013.
[56] Meaning "good fishing place" in Inuktitut, this community is also known as Iqaluktuuttiaq and Cambridge Bay.
[57] Suliman, Fraser, Inuuvik.
[58] Nora Ruben, "Paulatok [*sic*]," *The Drum* 3, 3 (January 18, 1968), 5; Sarah Gardlund, "Aklavik As I Remember It," in *Gwich'in COPE Stories*, 240-241; Catherine Cockney, ed. *Inuvialuit Oral History Project: Inuvialuit Elders Share Their Stories*, by (Inuvik, NWT: Parks Canada, 2004), 46, 257.

Figure 24. Edhii Tat Gwich'in child Mabel (nilìh ch'uu[59] Kendi) Brown posed for the camera while holding a bale of muskrat pelts, 1950-1951. Ratting season was a very important time of year for Indigenous families and significantly contributed to food stuffs, pelts needed for making clothing and gift, and monetary income from trading with local Hudson Bay Company posts. Although many children in Nanhkak Thak attended residential schools, they continued to be trained in Indigenous customs on their ancestral lands. Archival Caption: "Muskrat Camp, Mackenzie Delta near Aklavik. Springtime."[60]

Some children were thrilled to be 'jet setting'; others were terrified. In 1959, Grollier Hall student Roger Allen was among the first cohort of residential school students in Inuuvik. He recalls being awakened by an RCMP officer rapping on the door of his dìdųų's[61] Akłarvik home. Notified to gather his things immediately, he made his way down to the waiting aircraft.[62] The

[59] I use the Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk phrase "nilìh ch'uu" to replace to common French convention "née." Literal translation: "used to be" (Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects), Alestine Andre and Eleanor Firth.
[60] NWTA McCall Family fonds, acc. no. N-2002-022, item no. 0010. This photo belongs to the McCall family collection. The McCalls were an Uunjit family that lived in Sǫǫ̀mbak'è. Frank McCall appears to have travelled the North as a Game Warden.
[61] My grandmother, Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 83.
[62] Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 20.

same year, another student recollected that children were loaded onto a plane like cattle, "trying to breathe air that was rancid from the vomit of all the children."[63] Inuvialuk woman Rita Carpenter remembers boarding the Inuuvik-bound aircraft in Ikaahuk in 1963 and experiencing a plethora of unfamiliar sensations. It was her first time leaving home, no less on an airplane, and the "clunk" of the metal door being shut was eerie enough for her to recall fifty years later.[64]

Figure 25. A group of Inuit and Inuvialuit students disembark the aircraft in Inuuvik, having spent their summer vacation in their home communities. This posed picture was taken by DNANR staff, with children likely being encouraged to smile. Archival Caption: "Eskimo youngsters return to school at Inuvik by plane after summer vacation."[65]

By the mid-to-late 1970s, the completion of the Dempster Highway, which linked Teetł'it Zheh and Tsiigehtshik to Inuuvik, allowed for the bussing of Nanhkak Thak children to Inuuvik; this

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[63] Ed Struzik, "Schools Scandal: Child Abuser Now a Manitoba Priest," *Edmonton Journal* (May 11, 2002).
[64] Rita (nilìh ch'uu Elias) Carpenter, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Tsiigehtshik, Nanhkak Thak, 5 August 2013.
[65] "Canadian Geographic Journal, November 1966," Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives (ACCGSA), Mossie Moorby Collection; Report, Mossie Moorby, undated (c. June 1972), ACCGSA M96-7 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 11.

continued until the closure of Grollier Hall in 1996.[66] Teachers, principals, attendance officers, and RCMP members collected and escorted Indigenous children from all over the North to Inuuvik, at least until 1974 when territorial policies regarding attendance softened and grade extensions were implemented at schools in small communities, both of which were a result of Indigenous activism.[67]

Inuuvik was unknown to many. The mystery surrounding it excited some youth. Although there were deeply disturbing accounts of students' experiences at Immaculate Conception and All Saints Indian Residential Schools in Akłarvik, some children were eager to understand what all the buzz was about. Most children, like their parents, placed a high premium on schooling and some were willing to reside away from home to achieve their academic goals.[68] Students, like Inuvialuk boy Eddie Dillon from Tuktuyaaqtuuq, understood his relocation to Stringer Hall and education at SAMS as "a tool my mom and dad wanted me to have… a tool I'm going to use for the rest of my life to get me further in [life], where I want[ed] to go."[69] Gwichyà Gwich'in woman Alestine Andre was a passionate and eager student. Andre remembers "being very excited to go [Grollier Hall] to because I was finally going, you know. And I always saw them going and my sister Addy and [brother] Robert going, and I always wanted to go."[70] One student brimmed with enthusiasm as she explained that it "was the first time I flew on a plane and the first time I ever saw paved streets. It was exciting, yet strange."[71]

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[66] Donald Andre, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 15 August 2013.
[67] Albert, interview with Fraser.
[68] Former Akłarvik Immaculate Conception Indian Residential student Rosie Albert perceived her stay at the residential school as an opportunity to pursue a nursing career. Albert, interview with Fraser.
[69] Anglican Church of Canada (ACC), "Seven Brothers, Captured in Time," in *Anglican Appeal Supporters Newsletter* (Summer 2013), 3.
[70] D. Andre, interview with Fraser.
[71] Carney, Interviews 4.

Former Grollier Hall student Paul Andrew remembered that it was “like going into a big city for somebody that is entirely new to this white society. It was entirely new.”[72] Curiosity about these institutions also crept into the lives of Town Kids who lived in Inuuvik. An Inuvialuk woman recalls begging her mom to place her in the residential school, even though she and her family lived in Inuuvik: “‘Mom just put me in a hostel for a while, I just want to see what it’s like.’ She said, ‘No, you can't.’ ‘Just tell them you’re going into the bush.’ I just bugged her and bugged her until she put us in the hostel. I lasted one week.”[73] For those children who were enthusiastic about hostel life, feelings changed upon their arrival.

For a small percentage of the student body, Inuuvik’s residential schools were a refuge for children who came from struggling home environments. Former student Roseanne Allen found life acceptable at Grollier Hall, since “I was guaranteed three square meals a day. I was guaranteed parkas and mukluks for winter. Most important, my move to the hostel kept me on the right side of life. I had lots of friends in Inuvik who moved down a different track.”[74] More than a few children pursued residential school living for food, clothing, shelter, a warm place to sleep, and some novelties, such as an unlimited water supply and flush toilets.[75] Some student narratives focused on the extra space that residential schools afforded: libraries, schools, and study halls provided opportunities for children to excel without distractions.[76] At least one student appreciated the structure and routine of daily life at Stringer Hall:

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[72] Andrew, “Brackett Lake, N.W.T., June 26, 1975, Proceedings at Community Hearing, Volume 10,” 868-869.
[73] Anonymous #1, interview with Fraser.
[74] Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 47.
[75] Bisson, “The Life in Our Hostel”; Students, Ukkivik Student Residence, ᐃᖃᓗᐃᑦ to R.S. Pilot, Regional Director, GNWT, November 26, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24.
[76] Although residential schools sometimes provide increased spaces for student study, more than one person criticized Grollier and Stringer Halls for their lack of adequate libraries and study halls. Katz, “Principles and Procedures Recommended for the Organization and Administration of School-Hostel Complexes in the North-West

> Just going to bed and having adequate sleep and not having to worry about meals or who was taking care of my younger siblings or anything like that. You know, it took a lot of that kind of stress away. It was a different environment for sure. When things at home are good, they're really good. But when things are bad, they're really bad, so there's kind of no medium. And I guess it provided that medium, stability.[77]

Teetł'it Gwich'in man Johnny Charlie Tetlichi explained that "when people settled down in communities, they also became heavy drinkers."[78] Substance abuse became an issue for some families and one Anjòo publicly stated in 1977 that some "parents were not giving their children the chance to learn. If the children try to work at home the parents may be drunk and it makes impossible for children to work" on homework and their studies.[79] Although Indigenous people could not legally purchase alcohol under the *Indian Act*, access to the new government-owned liquor store in Inuuvik created social problems and children felt the consequences of these disruptions. During a time when social problems, created by the state, were mounting in Inuuvik, residential schools, constructed by the state, provided a space for Indigenous children away from their struggling families.

Anticipation and excitement was soon quashed by the realities of institutional life. In 1964, Norman Yakeleya of Tulít'a remembered the exhilarating experience of air travel, but those feelings quickly changed upon his arrival at Grollier Hall:

> I was so lonely and scared. A lot of the kids in the room were crying. Others were wetting their beds. They wouldn't even let me talk to my sister, who was also there at school. To this day, I couldn't figure out why they were doing this to me.[80]

Territories"; Ruyant to Whom It May Concern, "Re: Plans for New Hostel at Cambridge Bay," March 15, 1966, RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 17.

[77] Anonymous #12, interview with Fraser.

[78] Joanne Barnaby, Mitsuru Shimpo, and Cyntha Struthers, *Rhetoric and Reality: Education and Work in Changing Denendeh* (Waterloo, ON: University of St. Jerome's College, 1991), 18.

[79] DOE, "Education Seminar – Delegates – XXXX – Inuvik," August 14 to 16, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 3-3.

[80] Struzik, "Native Children Entered New World in Church-Run Schools," *Edmonton Journal* (May 12, 2002).

Upon arrival, Indigenous children were stripped, bathed, deloused, had their personal belongings confiscated, and assigned new clothing, a bed, and a person number. These experiences are discussed in the next two chapters, in the contexts of the body, health, and hygiene; and gender and sexuality. Residential school students quickly realized that Grollier and Stringer Halls were not friendly places. Andre had feelings of remorse and said that "after I got there [Grollier Hall], I was kind of being very regretful, like why did I come, you know?[81] Reflecting on her poor experience at Stringer Hall during the 1970s, Velma Illasiak found her stay there "ironic because I used to admire the kids that came from Stringer Hall with their white turtlenecks with Stringer Hall written on it."[82]

Federal officials knew that Indigenous children suffered at these institutions and some degree of childhood trauma was even expected. In 1958, the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education had acknowledged that the "change in and nature of the [hostel] environment might be detrimental" to students, but it concluded that youth "must face up to the life under widely different conditions sometimes and it would be under the surveillance of the hostel management."[83] DNANR management assumed that that children were 'cared' for far better by residential school employees than their own families.

As the presence of Grollier and Stringer Halls and the 'metropolis' of Inuuvik further shaped the lives of students, Indigenous children increasingly realized that coping with residential school life was necessary for their education. Teetł'it Gwich'in student Elizabeth

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[81] A. Andre, interview with Fraser.
[82] Illasiak, interview with Fraser.
[83] "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," www.capekrusenstern.org.

Firth explained that when she moved to Stringer Hall in 1965, "it was like nothing because we just knew we had to go. So it was just no big deal. It was probably just more like an adventure maybe. So it was not a problem. Not for me, anyway."[84] Some students accepted that they had the opportunity to obtain an education; one man recalled that "education helped us very much" and it granted students the "ability to control more things in our lives, enabled us to succeed in a changing world."[85] Upon recalling his experience at Stringer Hall during the 1960s, Inuvialuk man Richard Papik of Akłarvik explained that he

> never thought of home. I never cried or anything. I was very lucky. Unlike sad stories that some of these people have. But me, I enjoyed it. I learned. In the Junior Boys, there's several Inuvialuktun speakers, like eight or nine of us. And I spoke with them. And then there was about fifty, sixty eastern arctic people. So some of them were speaking Inuktitut and I picked it up. Not knowing anything, I picked it up.[86]

Indeed, some students used their language as a way to strategically respond against residential school rules that forbid the speaking of Indigenous tongues. In Tyek, Rosie Albert's account of serving as a translator for teachers and students and having the opportunity to learn new Inuvialuktun dialects from others while institutionalized at Immaculate Conception Indian Residential School during the 1930s and 1940s[87] demonstrates that language was one way that children gathered strength during the entirety of the system.

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[84] Elizabeth (Betty) Firth, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Teetł'it Zheh, Nanhkak Thak, 28 July 2013.
[85] Conference Notes, "In the Spirit of Healing: A Special Reunion, Chesterfield Inlet, N.W.T., July 20-23, 1993," RCDMA OMI Box 3 of 12.
[86] Richard Papik, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Akłarvik, Nanhkak Thak, 13 August 2013. The DNANR anticipated language barriers upon the opening of Grolier and Stringer Halls. But language policies were unclear, which led to teachers and staff encouraging the speaking of English and Indigenous students 'forgetting' their languages. B.G. Sivertz, Director, NALB, DNANR to Reverend Father Andre Renaud, Superintendent, Indian Welfare and Training Commission, July 11, 1957, RCDMA OMI Box 3 of 12.
[87] Albert, interview with Fraser.

A few students, however, whole-heartedly bought into the system, with one writing during the 1960s that

> hostel living is necessary to Northern education. Parents sending their children to the hostel would know they are being cared for. If the child was sent to live with another family for school, the parents would worry about it. On the other hand, the child may feel that he is not being cared for. In the hostel, children can get a very good education, because they are forced to do their studies and homework. They would be happy too, because they can find many friends in the hostel. Supervisors see to it that the students have gone straight to school and not somewhere else. I think that students can get a better education if they live in the hostel and not at home.[88]

But even Chief Superintendent of Schools Bernard C. Gillie admitted in 1966 that these students were "the exception rather than the rule."[89]

Indigenous youngsters at Grollier and Stringer Halls suffered from extreme homesickness and communicated this with their parents.[90] Grade seven residential school student Margaret Modeste wrote in 1960 that she did "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."[91] Paul Andrew said his experience at Grollier Hall was "just like being plucked out of one picture and put entirely in a different place."[92] It was not uncommon for administrators to note the "mixed mental states" of students or to send them home for

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[88] XXXX, "Hostel Living is Necessary to Northern Education," c. 1960s, ACCGSA P2011-08 458.

[89] Gillie, Chief Superintendent, "Committee of the Whole To Consider Bill 2," *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Thirtieth Session, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, June 14-25, 1965, Vol. I*, 110.

[90] *Inuvik Federal School Yearbook, 1959-60: A School in the Arctic Operated by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources for the Government of Canada and the Government of the Northwest Territories,* 23; Charles Bell to DOE, March 30, 1976, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17; DOE, "Report, Keewatin Region Principals' Conference, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., October 29 – November 1, 1977," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-1; Charles Hobart, "Chapter IV: Reactions to the Boarding School: Parents, Children, Whites," 1971, RCDMA Unnumbered Box #1.

[91] *Inuvik Federal School Yearbook, 1959-60*, 23.

[92] Andrew, "Brackett Lake, N.W.T., June 26, 1975, Proceedings at Community Hearing, Volume 10," 867.

"psychological" reasons.[93] These conditions frequently manifested in bed wetting, which brought feelings of shame.[94] An Indigenous child from Vadzaih Degaii Zheh returned home because of a "nervous condition."[95] By 1966, education officials were aware of the reduced student numbers, caused by student 'mental' conditions. R.A.J. Phillips stated that the residential schools took a "child much farther from his home and family psychologically as well as geographically."[96]

There were small policy changes when the territorial government assumed control over schooling in Denedeh in 1969, but for the most part these changes did not impact residential school students.[97] Mental health services for students, commonly known as "guidance" programs, were a point of contention between local school committees and the territorial government's Department of Education. In 1975, the GNWT recognized that

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[93] Despite students having poor mental health, there were few resources available. As early as 1965, Katz recommended that counseling services were needed at all levels in day and residential schools. The solution was often to do nothing, send them home "to let their problem grow and erupt later in the settlements," or place them in a different institution. In the early 1970s, there were some counseling services available, but were scaled back or eliminated altogether after financial cuts. Conference Booklet, "Fort Smith Regional Teachers' Conference, Fort Smith, N.W.T., January 4-6, 1965," RCDMA Box 1 File 24; Joseph Katz, *Educational Environments of School – Hostel Complexes in the Northwest Territories* Ottawa: Education Division, DNANR, July 1965; Russell M. Buie, Regional Superintendent of Schools, DIAND to Gillie, District Superintendent, March 7, 1968, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-23; J. Don Shepherd, Supervisor, Student Residences, DOE to F.V. Wiedeman, Superintendent, Department of Social Development (DSD), "Re: XXXX XXXX," October 5, 1972; Wiedeman to Jim F. Blewett, Chief, School Services, DOE, "Re: XXXX XXXX, B.D. XXXX," October 12, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24.

[94] Struzik, "Native Children Entered New World in Church-Run Schools"; Hobart, Chapter V.

[95] Ed J. Duggan, Principal, Sir Alexander Mackenzie School (SAMS), "Inuvik Region Principal's Monthly Report to Superintendent of Education, January 1975," February 3, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 12-8.

[96] R.A.J. Phillips, *Canada's North* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967), 20.

[97] In 1971, Joseph Burr Tyrell School (Thebacha) hired a school social worker to serve the 878 children and address "family crisis situations; behaviour problems; psychiatric consultations; difficulties in collaboration between DSD Area Staff and the schools; special cases; and all situations where the school is concerned about the effects of the home environment on the child's educational achievements," but the relationship between the social worker and residential school staff students was "poor" so residential school students were excluded. M. McAdam, School Social Worker, "Report, School Social Work Program, Fort Smith, N.W.T., 1971-1972," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-25.

> a number of children in the Mackenzie Delta suffered from severe emotional and physical disorders. Requests have been made in the past for the establishment of a regional centre to help these children. Insufficient funds have always prevented such an undertaking.[98]

In the 1976-1977 academic year, local education committees called for the hiring of a full-time counselor for Grollier and Stringer Halls, to assist with career schooling and counseling and personally engage with students since many of these children lacked "immediate parental and home-community support" and "often have a need for help in adjusting to residence and [urban] life-styles."[99] Instead of following through on local demands, DOE staff instead travelled to day schools in various northern administrative regions to counsel students on career opportunities.[100] The needs of students were rarely the focus of government efforts in decisions about schooling spanning the whole period from 1959 to 1996.

Staff at Grollier and Stringer Halls imposed a daily regimented schedule that instructed children in how to be orderly and abide by the rules. They also sought to stifle creative thought and limit the opportunity for students to interact.[101] Disciplined approaches to institutional life remained remarkably static for at least two decades, beginning in 1959 when Grollier and Stringer Halls opened. In 1970, Teetł'it Gwich'in student Robert Alexie Jr. had remained in his

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[98] Meeting Minutes, "Principal's Conference, SAMS, October 14, 1975," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-9.
[99] T. Verhappen to Lewis, Director, May 31, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-19.
[100] Although there were talks about federal funding for psychological services, nothing transpired. CNWT, "Bill 9 – Allotment 154 – Mental Health Services," *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Thirty-Second Session, Ottawa, Ontario, January 2-February 7, 1966, Vol. I* (Yellowknife: GNWT, 1966), 346; CNWT, "Sessional Paper No. 9 (First Session, 1966), A Roundup of All Items for Action Arising Out of Sessions of the Council of the Northwest Territories Since and Including June, 1964," *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Thirty-Second Session, Ottawa, Ontario, January 24 – February 7, 1966, Vol. II*, (Yellowknife: GNWT, 1966), 67.
[101] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 138-140; Otto W. Kufeldt, Administrator, Bompas Hall to Gillie, District Superintendent of Schools, Mackenzie District, March 20, 1969; Leonard P. Holman, Administrator, Stringer Hall to Gillie, District Superintendent, "Rules Regarding Pupil Residences," March 21, 1969; Ruyant to Gillie, District Superintendent, March 22, 1969, NWTA DOE fonds, item no. G-1995-004, acc. no. 8-23.

home community of Teetł'it Zheh for as long as possible and after completing grade nine, he had two choices: relocate to Stringer Hall or leave school entirely. The Alexies placed a high premium on education and so Robert Jr. moved to Inuuvik. He noted the experience:

> What was new was sleeping in a dorm with a hundred other boys. What was new to me was getting up at 7 am to the sound of a buzzer at one end of the dorm. That buzzer would sound again when it was time for breakfast, then again when it was time for school, then again for lunch, then again for school, then again for supper, then again for bed. It was a routine; line up for meals, walk into the dining room, stand at your allotted seat at your allotted table, all say a prayer (Lord, bless this food to our use and us to thy service and keep us ever mindful of the needs of others, Amen), sit and eat. We'd all have chores to do, but not a prob. Then off to school.[102]

Emphasizing the foreign nature of residential school living, Alexie also elaborated on the highly structured and regimented aspect of student life. According to this description, Indigenous youngsters had very few opportunities to make autonomous decisions or stray from the rules.

Figure 26. Students, in their respective dorms (Junior Girls, Senior Girls, Junior Boys, and Senior Boys), had little-to-no personal space and slept in large, open quarters, which allowed supervisors to constantly monitor their interactions and adherence to structured life. The few personal belongings that they were permitted were stored in lockers at the end of the room,

[102] Robert Alexie Jr., email correspondence with Crystal Gail Fraser, 24 June 2013.

with their personal preferences and individuality discreetly kept out of sight. Archival Caption: "Stringer Hall Junior Girls' Dormitory -- 1965-1966."[103]

Another Stringer Hall student had similar memories and provided a schedule from her stay there during the early-to-mid 1970s:

Rise Early – chores
Eat Breakfast – porridge, hot chocolate or toast
Go to School, marching in a single-file line
Return to Hostel for Lunch
Go to School
Return to Hostel for Lunch
Play in Playroom
Church Services & Prayers
Bed Early[104]

Rules varied over time and according to the supervisor in charge; Ruyant and Holman gave their staff "the right to make such rules according to their judgment and according to circumstances" with very little consultation.[105] Like the earlier schools in Akłarvik, church and government oversight was minimal. The Indian School Administration of the Anglican Church wrote in 1960s that Nanhkak residential schools were a "blind spot"[106] in administration. Indeed, seven years after the opening of Grollier and Stringer Halls, staff continued to have no access to the official *Handbook Supplement to Rules and Regulations* and by 1969, Grollier Hall operated on the assumption that there would never be any written rules, regulations, or student manuals; it would be operated on basic understandings. Foucault's understanding of the "flexibility"[107] of the penal machinery to enforce or even create the rules and regulations in these carceral spaces underscores not only the fraught nature of colonial schooling in Nanhkak

[103] ACCGSA, Mossie Moorby Collection.
[104] Anonymous #10, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Teetł'it Zheh, Nanhkak Thak, 31 July 2013.
[105] Kufeldt to Gillie; Holman to Gillie.
[106] Holman to Donald B. Marsh, Bishop, ACC, March 21, 1965, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 2-1 Box 47 File 3.
[107] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 148-149.

Thak, but also that institutionalization varied greatly according to time, place, administrator, and student.

Regardless, staff at both institutions carefully imposed rigid schedules for students, ensuring their activities, movements, and interactions were tightly controlled. In 1965, Joseph Katz inspected Grollier and Stringer Halls and found that “while somewhat more regulatory than would be found in a home, the [student] schedules are quite consistent with institutional requirements.”[108] Time, order, and schedules penetrated the body in ways that gave church and state employees control over children. It was not only critical to establish daily rhythms that were designed to suffocate any opportunity for creative reactions or dissent, it was also important to ensure that residential school students remain segregated by religion, gender, and age if Indigenous families and kin networks were to be fully dismantled in the goal of full assimilation.[109] Time-tables at Grollier and Stringer were used to “establish rhythms, impose particular occupations, [and] regulate the cycles of repetition.”[110] According to Foucault, strict time management reflects “constant supervision, the pressure of supervisors, the elimination of anything that might disturb or distract; it is a question of constituting a totally useful time.”[111]

The separation of students from siblings and extended family was a hard reality at Grollier and Stringer Halls. Federal and territorial policies that sought to dismantle Indigenous kin networks posed a challenge for students. Historian J.R. Miller writes that the “fanatical

[108] Katz, *Educational Environments of School*, 4.
[109] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 149-151.
[110] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 149.
[111] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 150.

segregation" of female and male students was one of "the most marked features of Canada's residential schools," but notes that the separation of boys and girls became less common during the post-war decades.[112] In Nanhkak Thak, however, girls and boys continued to be segregated. In 1956, the DNANR circulated architectural plans for Grollier and Stringer Halls, which suggested that Inuuvik residential schools be designed for flexible gendered interactions. The Roman Catholic Church called this "obviously unacceptable," questioning free mingling.[113]

Unlike Uunjit Nanhkak, segregation according to gender and arbitrary age categories of "Junior" and "Senior" persisted in Inuuvik, resembling policies enacted in former residential schools in Akłarvik, Xátł'odehchee and Zhati Kų́ę́, and Deníu Kų́ę́ between 1867 and 1959.[114] That children were separated first by religious denomination into Grollier and Stringer Halls, then by rigid gender categories into separate wings, and then by age onto separate floors demonstrates the federal government's persistent oppressive policies to monitor and map bodies. This organization of Indigenous children was distinctly anti-Indigenous and worked to dismantle important kin structures that were dependent upon fluid interactions and roles not determined by gender, close relationships between children,[115] or the partnerships that Indigenous northerners came to form that enabled them to live on and thrive from nakhwinan.[116]

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[112] J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 219-220.
[113] Bishop Joseph Trocellier, OMI to Jean Lesage, Minister, DNANR, January 31, 1956.
[114] David "Woody" Elias, interview by Crystal Gail Fraser (Teetł'it Zheh, Nanhkak Thak: July 29, 2013), 3.
[115] In Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, for instance, the same words are used for older cousin and older sister (sheejį̀į), younger cousin and younger sister (shijyìdh), older cousin and older brother (shoondee), and younger cousin and younger brother (shachyaa). "Shizhehk'oo: My Family [Gwichyah Gwich'in Kinship Terms," GLC & GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 287.
[116] The importance of partnerships among Indigenous families was discussed in Tyek, on page 101.

Dormitories were the most obvious places for segregation, but this policy also shaped playrooms, kitchens, cafeterias, playgrounds, classrooms, and the single-file march of students to and from the day school, in the mornings, at noon hour for lunch, and then in the late afternoon after day school classes had ended.[117] During the early 1960s at Grollier Hall, Gwichyà Gwich'in student Alestine Andre remembered the routine of "the military-like marches to and from the cafeteria – at the right pace, the right space," but was grateful for a bigger cafeteria so that "we could, you know, at least see our brothers and kind of wave."[118] Former students Rita Carpenter and Diane Baxter reflected on being separated from their brothers at Grollier and Stringer Halls, respectively, and looked forward to sometimes seeing them in the gymnasium during movie night or in the cafeteria for meals.[119]

[117] Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 219.
[118] A. Andre, interview with Fraser; Alestine Andre, "Offred at the Roman Catholic Hostel," *Atlantis: A Women Studies Journal* 17, 2 (Spring-Summer, 1992), 104-105.
[119] Diane Baxter, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 11 July 2013, 3; Carpenter, interview with Fraser.

Figure 27. A Junior Boy eats a meal at Grollier Hall in 1974. Boys and girls continued to be segregated into the late 1970s. Note the similar hairstyles worn by the three visible boys. Untitled image, 1974. Archival Caption: "Grollier Hall, Inuvik."[120]

Carpenter remembers sitting next to one of her brothers during Saturday night movie night. There was an extension cord running between the two groups chairs to partition the boys from the girls. She explained that it "was all about boundaries. Right from the beginning, we knew it was all about boundaries."[121] Former Grollier Hall student Catherine Cockney has similar memories, recalling that she and her peers were lined up for movie night, with their bags of popcorn, waiting for the opportunity to see their older sisters in the Senior Girls' queue.[122]

If students refused to obey the rules, there were consequences. As Miller explains, "breach of the[se] rules concerning non-communication with the opposite sex led usually to reproof, and sometimes to severe corporal punishment."[123] Cockney remarked that

> Once they caught you speaking with your own brothers, you get a good beating from the sisters, eh? They take a brush on you and put you in a…you know a post, eh? Put you there until your bones quit feeling anything. I went through that, I remember that. I used to suffer. Never forgot, them days it was all discipline.[124]

These rules puzzled some students, as Inuk man Piita Irniq noted: "I thought that was strange, because I had played with girls before I came to school."[125] Because of the mundane and lonely nature of residential school life, family connections continued to be of crucial importance for these children. Siblings, if they shared one of the two gendered categories available to them

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[120] NWTA Felix Labat fonds, acc. no. N-2004-027, item no. 0768. French man and Oblate Father Felix Labat took this photograph. He was originally from Leon in the Brittany Region of France and was posted in Tulít'a and Déline for most of his career.
[121] Carpenter, interview with Fraser.
[122] Catherine Cockney, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 17 July 2013.
[123] Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 219.
[124] Cockney, *Inuvialuit Oral History Project*, 46.
[125] A. Thrasher, 14; Piita Irniq, "Between God and the Devil," *Arctic Circle* (Spring 1993), 6.

and were close enough in age, remained together. It was comforting that there were both immediate and extended relatives, sometimes just feet away in another bed, but they were never an adequate substitute for one's parents.[126]

Former Gwichyà Gwich'in student Donald Andre enjoyed being placed with his older brother, but by the time Andre arrived at Grollier Hall at age seven, his brother had already been institutionalized for several years. Andre noticed that his brother had accepted harmful residential school teachings around sibling relationships, kinship, individuality, and competitiveness that weakened their familial bond. His brother had "become more competitive" and internalized "those kinds of things we learned at the school."[127] Sharing and reciprocity were important themes in the Andre family, but that was no longer the case between siblings at Grollier Hall.[128] Former boys' residential school supervisor David Ashdown agreed and, in 2001, recalled that staff at Grollier and Stringer Halls taught children to be competitive and individualistic, ideas that were antithetical to northern Indigenous cultures that depended on cooperation and partnerships.[129]

[126] Hobart, "Chapter IV."
[127] D. Andre, interview with Fraser.
[128] D. Andre, interview with Fraser.
[129] Bob Harvey, "Bishop strives for native healing," *The Ottawa Citizen* (December 9, 2001), A15.

Figure 28. Gwichyà Gwich'in boy Donald Andre pictured with his brothers, Robert and Daniel at their Nagwichoonjik fish camp, Tr'ineht'ieet'iee[130] in July 1978. Before attending Grollier Hall, the Andre children were united and enjoyed the intimacy of being close in age and sharing a gender. The image below underscores the contrast between the disillusionment and solitude that Donald experienced upon reuniting with his brother at Grollier Hall and the family life he once enjoyed. Untitled and uncaptioned.[131]

Not all students had the privilege of being surrounded by loved ones; there were some children who were the only students from their home communities, particularly those from the Eastern Arctic. This could bring deep loneliness to institutional life,[132] as Velma Illasiak recalled about Stringer Hall:

> there were young girls that really had nobody. I had lots of family in Inuvik. So being in a hostel and then you have no family is really hard. I saw that on those young girls faces. I've seen how hard it was for them because I would have my aunts come and sign me out every weekend so that I wasn't always in there.[133]

Reminiscent of early reserve policies in Canada that dictated the movement of indigenous people,[134] territorial policy also stated that "no student may leave the grounds without advising their supervisor of the time of departure & destination and time of return."[135] "Town leave is mainly reserved to the week-ends," although older students were sometimes granted permission to leave the residential school during weeknights.[136] Other residential schools, such as Akaitcho Hall in Sǫǫ̀mbak'è, were much stricter with the enforcement of rules. Former

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[130] This is a Ts'ii Dęįį word and refers to the mouth of a creek near a camp located on the Nagwichoonjik, in the Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik area, www.atlas.gwichin.ca.

[131] NWTA James Jerome fonds, acc. no. N-1987-017, item no. 1193. Renowned Edhii Tat Gwich'in man James Jerome captured this image. Jerome also attended Grollier Hall and soon became concerned that Dinjii Zhuh were losing their culture and began working as a freelance photographer to preserve his cultural. He perished in a house fire in Inuuvik in 1979, at the age of thirty.

[132] Cockney, Interview with Fraser.

[133] Illasiak, interview with Fraser.

[134] James Cullingham and Alex Williams, *The Pass System Film* (Toronto, ON: V Tape, 2015).

[135] C. Piché to Gillie, District Superintendent of Schools, "Rules Regarding Halls," March 22, 1969; Ruyant to Gillie.

[136] C. Piché to Gillie, District Superintendent of Schools, "Rules Regarding Halls"; Ruyant to Gillie.

students recall the doors being bolted shut by 5pm during weekdays and no one was allowed to leave "without a written pass. They cannot go from the hospital to the gymnasium in the school without obtaining a written pass and giving it back to their superiors when they return."[137] Staff controlled children by dictating their movements and determining when and for how long they were able to leave the residential school during evenings and weekends, thus deciding how frequently and for how long they visited local family who either resided in Inuuvik or were passing through town. Visitors to Grollier and Stringer Halls were closely monitored and all non-residents were required to sign in and out of a guest book.[138]

In 1964, five years after Grollier and Stringer Halls opened, federal investigator Joseph Katz recommended that certain rules be relaxed for students. He suggested that they no longer be segregated by age and that

> senior residents in all hostels ought to be afforded privileges in matters of dress, dining, and leaves commensurate with their maturity and responsibility; where a monitor system is adopted the student council should assume a measure of responsibility for its administration.[139]

New Democrat Party Member of Parliament David Orlikow echoed Katz's assertion and claimed that northern residential school students were "living under conditions that would not be tolerated by any other student group in the country" and were "treated as second class citizens."[140] Despite public criticism, rules confining and controlling the movement of

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[137] David Orlikow, Member of Parliament (Winnipeg North), House of Commons, *Common Debates, 28th Parliament Session, Vol. 6* (March 6, 1969), 6305.
[138] Sisters FC and Olga Vegoureup, "Excerpts from Oblates Fathers' Codex Historiens and Grey Nuns Chronicles, 1980-1985," Sœurs de la Charité de Montréal (Sœurs Grises) Archives [SCMA], L134 Grollier Hall, Inuvik (1959-1987).
[139] Katz, "Principles and Procedures Recommended for the Organization and Administration of School-Hostel Complexes in the North-West Territories."
[140] Orlikow, *Common Debates,* 6305.

Indigenous youngsters remained in place throughout the 1960s and 1970s: students were separated from their younger and older siblings and all were required to sign in and out upon their arrival and departure at the residential school.[141]

Children at Grollier and Stringer Halls sometimes altered their behavior to act out against colonial policies that attempted to control their movement, bodies, habits, and activities. A departmental Education inspector in 1977 noticed that residential school children had a "general disregard for the rules."[142] Students, "irked"[143] by their incarceration, lashed out in various ways; common examples include disobedience, inflicting property damage, skipping classes at the day school, being uncooperative, ignoring homework assignments, or engaging in "nefarious activities."[144] If the behavior repeated, Stringer Hall and Grollier Hall administrators Holman and Ruyant, respectively, tended to swiftly rectify the situation and expel the student, for fear that if the rebellious students were not punished adequately, they would lose control over the student body.

Residential school children who misbehaved were often "CBed" or confined to barracks for protesting various aspects of institutional life, including breaking curfew, running away, not "cleaning the corners well enough," and other forms of rebelling against the institutional rules,

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[141] L. Holman to Gillie.
[142] MacEachern to Gilberg, January 17, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 4-2.
[143] Albert J. Boxer, Administrator, Akaitcho Hall to Stapleton, "Re: Appraisal of Students from CA Bay Region with Respect to Their Returning for the 1973-74 Term," June 22, 1973, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17.
[144] Boxer to Mr. XXXX XXXX, Parent, Tulít'a, November 19, 1973; Boxer to Miller, "Re: XXXX XXXX, Grade 12, Fort McPherson," November 26, 1973; Boxer to XXXX XXXX, Parent, ᖃᒪᓂᑦᑐᐊᖅ (Qamani'tuaq; Baker Lake), November 27, 1974; Bell to Walker, "XXXX XXXX – Removal From School," November 19, 1975; Bell to Walker, "Removal of Students From Akaitcho & Sir John Franklin School," December 20, 1975; Les J. Cameron, Teacher, SJFHS to XXXX, Parent, Ulukhaqtuuq, March 18, 1976, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17.

such as staging food fights.[145] Velma Illasiak recalls that being confined "is not dealing with the issue. You're just suppressing what is going on[…]they [the nuns] never really resolved things. They just confined you."[146] Punishments, whether it was additional chores or being CBed, were not forgotten at the end of June; in the late 1970s, some Grollier Hall students particularly loathed their return to the residential school in the fall since they were forced to endure the rest of their punishment if they had not been cleared at the end of the previous school year.[147]

Explusion was a possibility, too. If a student found themselves expelled from the residential school, four outcomes were possible: first, some children were immediately returned to their home community. This was ideal for those students who were interested in other educational pursuits, such as learning socio-economic skills from their parents and extended families. But on at least two occasions, in 1970 and 1976, Ruyant and Holman failed to notify parents that their child was being returned home, despite written policy stating that "no student should be sent home until the parents have been notified."[148] The second possible outcome of expulsion was that children were sent to live with extended kin networks who lived in Inuuvik, if that was an option available to them; after leaving Grollier or Stringer Hall, the child temporarily resided with the family member until their applications were processed and

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[145] Richard Papik, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Akłarvik, Nanhkak Thak, 13 August 2013; Suliman, interview with Fraser; Ross, interview Fraser; Baxter, interview with Fraser, 2013; Illasiak, interview with Fraser.
[146] Illasiak, interview with Fraser.
[147] Baxter, interview with Fraser.
[148] Although records fail to shed light on the outcome of these scenarios, this could have been disastrous for the child if their family was on the land for an extended period of time. Colin Wasacase, Supervisor, Student Residences, DOE "Superintendents and Administrators Conference, October 20-22, 1970," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-6; Gillie, Director to Superintendents, Student Residence Administrators, and Principals, "Dismissal of Students from Student Residences," November 2, 1970, NWTA DOE fonds, item no. G-1995-004, acc. no. 3-3; Bell to Gilberg, "XXXX XXXX – Departure from Akaitcho," February 9, 1976; Bell to Tom S. Fawcett, Superintendent, DOE, March 9, 1976, NWTA DOE fonds, item no. G-1995-004, acc. no. 9-17.

approved by the DOR granting them permission to board with their kin.[149] Third, those who were considered 'wards of the state' and did not have an 'adequate' family home to return to were relocated to group homes for juvenile delinquents or placed in temporary housing at Inuuvik's receiving homes until other arrangements could be made.[150] For a select number of Indigenous children, simply communicating with their parents and asking if they could come home – despite the potential consequences for the family – was grounds sufficient for their leaving Inuuvik.[151] For their part, supervisors blamed the child's inability to "cope with the white man's way of life" rather than their living conditions.[152] Finally, for the few non-Indigenous students who resided at northern residential schools, DOE policy stated that parents could buy their children back into the system; they had the option of paying a $250 deposit to have their child re-admitted after being expelled for poor behaviour.[153]

For those who had no other alternative, running away seemed like a practical solution. Grollier and Stringer Hall staff called these children "AWOL" (absent without leave), further highlighting the militaristic, institutional nature of residential schools.[154] Ruyant and Holman

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[149] Holman to Coady, November 29, 1971, NWTA DOE fonds, item no. G-1995-004, acc. no. 8-24.
[150] Walker to Coady, April 10, 1975; Cameron to Toutant, Principal, "Re: XXXX XXXX," October 15, 1975; Bell to Walker, "XXXX XXXX: Transfer to Inuvik," October 16, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17.
[151] XXXX, Łutsel K'e to Walker, December 14, 1975; XXXX, Tłegǫ́hłı̨ to Coady, January 14, 1976; XXXX, ᖃᒪᓂᑦᑐᐊᖅ, (Qamani'tuaq; Baker Lake) to Akaitcho Hall, March 8, 1976, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17.
[152] XXXX XXXX, "Ukkivik Residence, Frobisher Bay, Northwest Territories: A Report and Recommendations," undated (c. January 1973), NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24; DOE, "Akaitcho Hall Report, February/March, 1978," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 4-2.
[153] The DOE was concerned that it "might be open to public criticism" based on this policy. Boxer to Black, "Re: Appraisal of Students from Fort Simpson Region with Reference to Their Return to Akaitcho Hall and Sir John Franklin School for the 1973-74 Term," June 22, 1973;; Boxer to Walker, "XXXX XXXX, Hay River – Grade 10," February 2, 1975; Boxer to Walker, "Re: XXXX XXXX, XXXX XXXX, XXXX, XXXX, Snowdrift," March 27, 1975; Boxer to Walker, "Appraisal of Students From Cambridge Bay Area Relative to Their Return to Akaitcho Hall for 1975-1976 Term," July 17, 1975; Boxer to Walker, "Students From the Hay River Area About Whose Return to Akaitcho Hall We Question and Have Reservations," July 17, 1975; Boxer to Walker, "Re: XXXX XXXX, Grade 12, Pine Point," August 12, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17.
[154] Shepherd to Unknown, undated (c. November 1972), NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24; D. Andre, interview with Fraser.

retained sole authority over how to interpret and execute policies around runaways. In an unforgiving northern environment where it was dark for most of the day and temperatures routinely dipped below minus forty degrees Celsius, runaways had to plan their getaway in detail. Students usually attempted to return home or sought local shelter with family members or friends. In 1965, two Stringer Hall children were repeatedly determined to run away. After these children became repeat 'offenders,' Holman expelled them and gave them the option of applying to Grollier Hall, should they wish to finish their education in Inuuvik.[155]

A few years later, an Inuvialuk student at Grollier Hall ran away four times to his grandparents' house in Inuuvik, an easy feat for this child given that the town of Inuuvik was fairly small. Consistently unhappy with his life at Grollier Hall, on the final occasion, Ruyant gave up on forcing him to return.[156] The DOE paid for his return ticket home.[157] Rita Carpenter ran away to her sister's house in Inuuvik repeatedly during the 1960s. After arriving back at Stringer Hall in September, she ran away every weekend that month, and upon her return, was punished. She explains that "the second time I ran away, they [staff] took all my clothes, cleaned out my locker, took everything, and put me in my pajamas from Friday to Sunday night.

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[155] DNANR, "Pupil Residence Quarterly Return, Stringer Hall, For Quarter Ending December 31, 1965"; DNANR, "Pupil Residence Quarterly Return, Stringer Hall, For Quarter Ending September 30, 1967," LAC RG85 Vol. 1445 632 125-8 File 3; L. Holman to Coady, September 7, 1972; Coady to D. Shepherd, October 17, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24.

[156] This was against territorial policy since the contract between churches and the NWT Council stated that "Management will initiate immediate action to locate and return to the pupil residence any child who leaves the pupil residence without permission and will, if necessary, advise the Regional Superintendent of Schools for the Region of the child's absence" and that "The Management will not release or discharge any child from the pupil residence without the permission of the Commissioner," Hostel Management Contract, ACC and CNWT, "Memorandum of Agreement," April 1, 1969, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-20.

[157] Toutant, Principal, "Memo to Counsellors," September 29, 1971, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-21.

I stayed in and took meals and everything in my pajamas."[158] These apparently innocuous punishments were traumatic. Carpenter explains that

> They'd leave you and you'd have to be confined to your bed and they shut all the lights out and everybody would be down to their movies and it'd be quiet and you'd be scared. Nobody come to check on you. You're not a part. You don't exist. They don't even come and check on you. They just leave you there, crying. You could hear girls crying from other dorms.[159]

The third weekend she "took off again. Somehow, I talked my cousin into stuffing clothes into her guitar. I walked it into the gymnasium and from the gymnasium, I went out the back door, dressed up in the porch and ran away again."[160] For her third offense, Holman "grounded me right until Christmas. I was not allowed out anymore."[161] Carpenter was not allowed to return home for Christmas, missing out on valuable time with her family.

Some children who were from the Nanhkak Thak area left Grollier and Stringer Halls with the intention of walking home. In 1968, a student from Vadzaih Degaii Zheh safely made the thirty kilometer trek home from Inuuvik.[162] Four years later, three Inuvialuit students were not as fortunate and paid the ultimate price after fleeing Stringer Hall when attempting to walk home to Tuktuyaaqtuuq and Ikaahuk. The boys, Bernard Andreason, Lawrence Elanik, and Dennis Dick, all eleven-years old, stole a pack of cigarettes from a supervisor. After smoking the pack in the willows behind the residential school, the trio was "scared to go back. We didn't know what was going to happen… the supervisors weren't very nice people. They were really

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[158] Carpenter, interview with Fraser.
[159] Carpenter, interview with Fraser.
[160] Carpenter, interview with Fraser.
[161] Carpenter, interview with Fraser.
[162] Buie to L. Bakker, Teacher, "Re – Students Leaving Hostels," February 28, 1968, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-23.

mean towards us – so mean that we were scared of them."[163] Unable to wait a couple of more weeks until a chartered flight would return them home, the three boys ran away rather than face the impending consequences. Holman declared them missing.[164]

After two weeks of following power lines, Andreason, hallucinating due to starvation, lost consciousness in a hole at the bottom of a pingo[165]; he was eventually rescued by a pilot.[166] Elanik's body was later recovered in a creek and Dick's remains are still missing to this day.[167] Missionaries and school officials did not blame these deaths on substandard, unsafe living conditions or poor student morale, but rather attributed these deaths to "unfortunate circumstances."[168] In a recent interview, Elanik's sister Darlene contends that the decision to run away was "just a cover-up from the abuse. It was about more than a pack of cigarettes."[169] These boys revealed all forms of strength: ancestral strength given their knowledge of the land and walking trails; personal strength as they devised and executed their plan; and collective strength as they supported each other to the best of their ability.

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[163] Brandi Morin, "Residential School Runaway Remembers Harrowing Journey That Killed His Two Friends," *CBC News* (September 21, 2017), www.cbc.ca/news.
[164] Missing Persons' Poster, June 1972, ACCGSA M96-07 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 5; "Three Youths Still Missing," *The Drum* 7, 24 (July 6, 1972), 1; "The Decade in Review, 1972-1973," *The Inuvik Drum* 15, 4 (February 15, 1980), 12.
[165] A pingo, or nan ghòo in Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk and pinguryuaq in Inuvialuktun, is a small hill of earth-covered ice and can only form in permafrost environments. Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit use(d) pingos for various reasons (Tuktuyaaqtuuq currently uses one as its year-round community freezer).
[166] Missing Persons' Poster 5; "Three Youths Still Missing"; "The Decade in Review, 1972-1973."
[167] L. Holman to Coady, "Re: Missing Boys – XXXX," July 14, 1972; Coady to Shepherd, October 17, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24; XXXX, Tuktuyaaqtuuq to L. and Dorothy Holman, Stringer Hall, July 15, 1972, ACCGSA M96-07 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 11; "Anderson Boy Walks In," *The Drum* 7, 25 (July 13, 1972), 3; Alexie, 6; A. Andre, Interview with Fraser.
[168] L. Holman to Coady, "Re: Missing Boys – XXXX"; Coady to Shepherd.
[169] Morin, "Residential School Runaway Remembers Harrowing Journey That Killed His Two Friends."

After this tragic and preventable accident, Holman exercised more caution in his capacity as Stringer Hall administrator. Richard Papik, a former Stringer Hall student, exclaimed that Holman patiently waited for students to return to the residential school in the evenings:

> I wasn't the only one he sat up to wait for. There were several times in the mornings, weekdays and whatnot, he just has red eyes. The reddest eyes from lack of sleep or worry or whatnot. Once in a while he wore glasses like these [sunglasses] and a lot of times he'd just did without.[170]

Perhaps the most common reaction to these invasive disciplinary practices over two decades was the students' desire to leave the residential school, whether forced, or by their own accord. Historian J.R. Miller noted that students ran away from institutions when they "became homesick or angry with the discipline or fed up with the poor food and hard work."[171] Miller calls this response "an elaborate cat and mouse game between students and staff,"[172] but in reality it was not a game. Students might display incredible strength (all forms of t'aih, vit'aih, and gut'àii), determination, and risk when they ran away. But in the end, they were usually forced to return. Residential school staff and DOE management failed to acknowledge the reasons why students resisted their control despite their unhappiness and even tragic deaths.[173]

When looked at through a Foucauldian lens, the punishment caused by repeated suspensions forced carceral subjects, in this case Indigenous youngsters, to internalize top-down power structures; they eventually learned to discipline themselves and normalize

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[170] Papik, interview with Fraser.
[171] J.R. Miller, "Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy," in *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada*, J.R. Miller, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 336.
[172] Miller, "Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy," 367.
[173] The DOE blamed the unruliness of institutionalized Indigenous children on the "drinking problem" of the parents. L. Holman to Coady, September 7, 1972; Coady to D. Shepherd, October 17, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24.

obedience. Yet the fact that some students repeatedly ran away suggests that administrators and school policies failed to fully discipline some children. That Indigenous residential school children broke the rules and upturned networks of power suggest that some continued to exercise their ability to channel various forms of Indigenous strength, despite the consequences.[174] Over the entire thirty-seven years of operations at Grollier Hall and thirty-seven at Stringer Hall, administrators and staff were largely able to control and discipline students. But Indigenous children occasionally found pockets of resistance and opportunities to temporarily reshift the power balance in their favour. For Foucault, discipline is a fundamental part of carceral systems, but so too is failure. It is well known that "prisons do not diminish the crime rate"[175]; and for these children, their own crime was being Indigenous. In fact, "detention causes recidivism."[176] The recidivism here, at Grollier and Stringer Halls from 1959 to 1979, was the continued and persistent channelling and mobilization of Indigenous forms of strength.

This chapter outlined the ways in which northern Indigenous children found themselves institutionalized at Grollier and Stringer Halls in Inuuvik. Federal colonial policies that were designed to assimilate children into Uunjit Nanhkak ways of living and dismantle kin networks across the North intensely affected vulnerable children upon their arrival at the residential school. There was nothing "apparently innocent"[177] about their new lives, and administrators and staff attempted to obtain full control over all aspects of their lives, down to the most quotidian detail. Although the Dinjii Zhuh concepts of strength – t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii –

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[174] Foucault, *Security, Territory,* Population, xx.
[175] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 265.
[176] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 265.
[177] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 136.

were always present, Indigenous children were just beginning to learn how these systems of power worked upon their arrival. In the next chapter, on the body, health, and hygiene, I argue that as students were subjected to even more intense and invasive colonial policies but as they gained experience with the carcerality of life at Grollier and Stringer Halls, they were better equipped to use the strategic reversibility of power for their benefit.

Nihk'ii Tyik.[1] Nits'òo Edik'iginaatyee[2]: "Making Us Into Nice White Kids":[3] Bodies, Health, and Hygiene at Grollier and Stringer Halls, 1959 to 1979.

In a single-file line, eight-year-old Inuvialuk student Abraham Ruben shuffled along the corridors of Grollier Hall with dozens of other children. The pungent smell of freshly-waxed floors filled his nostrils and his heart skipped a beat; a physical response indicated that he was fearful of what awaited. Coming from the arctic coastal community of Paulatuuq,[4] Ruben had fond childhood memories of his time on the land until his world was "turned upside down" in 1959.[5] Now, obtaining a Euro-Canadian education and being institutionalized at a residential school in Inuuvik presented a barrage of challenges that redefined his life.

A Grollier Hall supervisor, an Uunjit nun, clad in a habit and veil, ordered Ruben to strip naked and gave him a small towel to cover his most private area. After being de-loused, scrubbed clean, and cleansed, Ruben endured a full head shave. Afterwards, nuns assigned Ruben a pair of blue overalls with a number stitched on the front that

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[1] Six, Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik (Gwichyà dialect); literal translation: nihkii = both sides, tyik = three, Gwich'in Language Centre (GLC) and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee', Gwich'in Language Dictionary (Fort McPherson and Tsiigehtchic dialects), 5th Ed.* (Teetl'it Zheh & Tsiigehtchic: Gwich'in Language Centre and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, March 2005), 209.
[2] Literal translation: "How they look after themselves," Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik (Gwichyà dialect), Agnes Mitchell, Lisa André, and Crystal Gail Fraser.
[3] Anonymous #1, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Northwest Territories, NWT, 9 July 2013.
[4] The English spelling of Paulatuuq is Paulatuk and means "place of coal" in Inuvialuktun. See The Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, Government of the Northwest Territories [GNWT], and the Department of Indian Affairs and National Resources (DIAND), *Inuvialuit Final Agreement* (Ottawa: DIAND, 1984).
[5] Abraham Ruben, "Testimony: We Were So Far Away, The Inuit Experience of Residential Schools," www.legacyofhope.ca.

came to symbolize his identity as a residential school student.[6] Ruben's first day at Grollier Hall, an institution that sought to assimilate Indigenous children into Canadian society, marked the beginning of his cloistered life in a toxic and carceral environment.

In Nanhkak Thak, violence was key to 'educating' Indigenous northerners about their impending entry into Canadian society. Grey Nuns who worked at Grollier Hall called residential school programming "tangible evidence of the conscience of the Canadian people."[7] Indigenous children, some as young as four years old, were institutionalized at Grollier and Stringer Halls so they could attend Inuuvik's day schools. Missionaries, educators, and policy makers believed it both appropriate and necessary to manipulate Indigenous understandings about their bodies in an attempt to dismantle Indigenous families and assimilate youngsters into Uunjit society. This chapter is about how church and government sought to re-shape Indigenous bodies through Euro-Canadian understandings of health and hygiene and also how students reacted to these teachings.[8] Uunjit practices were vastly different from the ways Indigenous parents treated and raised their children.

The key players who contributed to the teaching of foreign practices include individuals employed by the Departments of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR) and Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), the territorial

[6] Angus Cockney, "I was just a number," *Globe and Mail*, Tuesday, February 27, 2001, Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives (ACCGSA) P2011-08 458 Mossie Moorby Fonds 1964-72; Ed Struzik, "Native Children Entered New World in Church-Run Schools," *Edmonton Journal*, May 12, 2002.
[7] Sisters FC and Olga Vegoureup, "Excerpts from Oblates Fathers' Codex Historiens and Grey Nuns Chronicles, 1980-1985," Sœurs de la Charité de Montréal (Sœurs Grises) Archives [SCMA], L134 Grollier Hall, Inuvik (1959-1987).
[8] Michel Foucault discusses how bodies could serve an instruments or intermediaries for the deprivation of individual liberty. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 11.

government's Department of Education (DOE), the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, and the Sisters of Charity of the Hôpital Général of Montreal.[9] They were complicit in promoting invasive practices that came to shape the ways in which youngsters understood their bodies. In their new environments, Indigenous children found their voices marginalized and the ways they understood their bodies and selves morphed into something very different than those of their families and ancestors.

Premised on colonial discourse that argued that Indigenous bodies were, by nature, diseased, immoral, and unclean,[10] teachers and administrators at day and residential schools in Inuuvik sought to eradicate Indigenous understandings of bodies and instill new ideas. With the opening of Grollier and Stringer Halls in 1959, this project of colonizing bodies expanded. In his interpretation of European prisons, Foucault posits that minds were "surface[s] of inscription for power."[11] Church and government educators sought to capture minds at Inuuvik's day and residential schools. With the intent of deepening the "power to punish,"[12] colonial reformers consistently sought new ways to extend their grasp over children. Through the movement of bodies off the land and into residential schools, the elimination of Indigenous languages, and the re-ordering of Indigenous seasonal lifestyles, government and church employees sought to assimilate these children into Canadian society. This chapter and the next analyze a

[9] This group is more commonly known as the Grey Nuns.
[10] Mary-Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900-1950* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), 57.
[11] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 102.
[12] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 89.

different kind “political anatomy, in which the body […] will be the principal character.”[13]

Carceral institutions, such as residential schools, were essential tools to colonize Indigenous peoples in what is now known as Canada. Indigenous Studies scholar Dian Million explains that Indian Residential Schools “were quintessential carceral spaces since they were organized to discipline both bodies and minds with the order socially invested in them” and that they produced a particular form of social power designed to reshape individuals through modes of discipline and mechanisms of surveillance.[14] Historian Mary-Ellen Kelm agreed and, in her important study, argued that during the first half of the twentieth century in British Columbia, “‘capturing minds’ meant capturing bodies first; indeed, residential schooling had, at its very core, the desire to physically supervise, contain, and control” Indigenous youngsters.[15] Historian John Milloy notes that because these children were separated from their families, lessons about diet, sanitation, cleanliness, and health provided important opportunities to imprint students and facilitate their assimilation into the Canadian settler nation.[16]

This dissertation argues that, while northern Indigenous youngsters were the casualties of malicious policies, they responded with intuition and insight. The ways in which students dealt with their everyday experiences were consequential and reflected the omnipresent realities of student life at residential institutions. These students did

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[13] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 102-103.
[14] Other carceral spaces include schools, military organizations, prisons, and mental hospitals. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*; Dian Million, “Telling Secrets: Sex, Power and Narratives in Indian Residential School Histories,” *Canadian Woman Studies* 20, 2 (2000), 96-97.
[15] Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies*, 59.
[16] John Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986, 2nd ed.* with a foreword by Mary Jane McCallum (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2017), 11.

not attempt to change the system, but rather addressed residential school circumstances as they experienced them. In this chapter and the next, institutionalized students grappled with their bodies being 'captured,' but exhibited the capacity to manipulate power relations. Rather than totally comply with new understandings about the body that sought to undermine various bodies of Indigenous knowledge, students "invigilated a process of adjustment […] between productive activities, resources of communication, and the play of power relations."[17]

Foucault's idea of "strategic reversibility" of power – which refers to a particular expression of power relations, a reordering of power – is a useful way of understanding the responses of Indigenous residential school students.[18] Some of these children applied the knowledge that they gained from previous experiences combined with the insights of residential school living and made decisions that contributed to their well-being as autonomous and sovereign Indigenous peoples. Readers will recall from the Gahtr'iheeddandaii Geenjit[19] that according to Foucault, expressions of political sovereignty are demonstrated through various acts of resistance to state power.[20] Through acts of such resistance, the children effectively reordered power relations and exercised a degree of control over their lives and bodies while institutionalized in carceral environments.

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[17] Michel Foucault, "Afterword," in Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michael Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics, with an afterword by Michel Foucault* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 2002), 218.
[18] Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with Two Lectures and an Interview with Michel Foucault*, Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 88.
[19] Introduction, see pages XX to XX.
[20] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-1978,* ed. Michael Senellart and trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Picador, 2004), 195.

This chapter started with Ruben's traumatic arrival at Grollier Hall in 1959. Chapters Four and Five highlighted three Dinjii Zhuh concepts of strength: t'aih (ancestral strength), vit'aih (mental/personal strength), and guut'àii (collective strength). Indeed, adult Indigenous peoples from all over the North embodied their own concepts of strength and resilience while advocating for better educational resources for their children, but students at Grollier and Stringer Halls were remarkable, strong children with complex personhoods that allowed them to navigate traumatic and invasive experiences. One expression of strength was the ability to identify moments where embracing calculated conformity proved more valuable than resisting the carcerality of residential school living.

The next two chapters focus on the oppressive and sometimes tragic nature of residential school life. At times, it may seem that students were unable to respond strategically to their conditions, but Indigenous children were continually guided by t'aih. Despite these unsettling times and the challenges that arose, in the words of Ruben's mother, "Be proud of your culture, your traditions and what we taught you. Whatever it takes, just keep fighting."[21] Students knew that they had the support of their ancestors, families, and communities behind them. Recalling Indigenous Education scholar Eve Tuck's calls for a moratorium on the use of damage-centered research,[22] this chapter seeks to uncover both the historical injustices and deep-seated trauma that

[21] Ruben, "Testimony."
[22] Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 79, 3 (Fall 2009), 422.

Indigenous communities and peoples have endured, especially in the North.[23] But "even when communities are broken and conquered, they are so much more than that—so much more that this incomplete story is an act of aggression."[24] This chapter contributes to her understanding of ethical research that assigns complex personhood[25] to Indigenous children.

My research suggests that Indigenous bodies continued to be objectified well into the third quarter of the twentieth century. Although Inuuvik's Grollier and Stringer Halls were intended to represent a new way of educating Indigenous children in the second half of the twentieth century, curricula involving the body strikingly resembled invasive teachings at Immaculate Conception (1926-1959) and All Saints (1936-1959) Indian Residential Schools, as well as Shingle Point Eskimo Experimental Residential School (1929-1932). The Department of Mines and Resources encouraged educators to adopt their official curricula regarding bodies, which included a basic education on health, hygiene, and sanitation.[26] Administrators and teachers sought to "tidy up the Eskimo race"[27] and ensure that "habits of neatness and cleanliness"[28] became a part children's characters.

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[23] Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 424.
[24] Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 416.
[25] Avery Gordon, Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) qtd. in Tuck, 420.
[26] Director, Department of Mines and Resources (DMR) to Cumming, August 25, 1944, Library and Archives Canada (LAC) RG85 Vol. 1505 600-1-1 File 2; Dr. Andrew Moore, "Education in the Mackenzie District," in *The New North-West*, C.A. Dawson, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), 246; Fred Fraser, District Administrator, Lands and Development Services Branch, DMR to Joseph-Marie Trocellier, Titular Bishop of Adramyttium, Vicar Apostolic of the Mackenzie, Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Fort Smith, January 31, 1949, Roman Catholic Dioceses of the Mackenzie-Fort Smith Archives (RCDMA) Croteau Files Box 2 of 3 Education Correspondence.
[27] Rutherdale, "'She Was a Ragged Little Thing,'" 230-231.
[28] Trocellier to Moore, July 15, 1945, LAC RG85 Vol. 1505 600-1-1 File 2.

As the 1950s came to a close, efforts to prepare Akłarvik students for their inevitable move to Inuuvik's Grollier and Stringer Halls increased. As demonstrated in Chapter Four, the construction of Inuuvik was cloaked in discourses that emphasized modernity and the implementation of "integrated" schooling which was based on heavily racialized understandings about Indigenous people and bringing Indigenous northerners into the Canadian nation state and its economy. A DNANR report in 1957 emphasized that work remained to be done among Inuvialuit living in Nanhkak Thak, since it was

> extremely difficult for the nomadic Eskimos to carry out all the more desirable habits of sanitation, cleanliness and health since tents and snow houses in which they live are so small and since their way of life is so primitive. Because of this, adequate health education programmes are carried out in all schools with emphasis being placed on proper health habits of sanitation and cleanliness.[29]

Although DNANR agents distributed tents to Indigenous families who were willing to relocate to Inuuvik two years later, they continued to judge the 'progress' of locals according to the cleanliness of their bodies and homes.[30] When Grollier and Stringer Halls opened, they were depicted as the first institutions in the region to launch Indigenous children into modernity. They symbolized the 'progress' and 'benevolence' of the federal social programs, even though education officials, as we will see, increasingly harboured increased anxieties about their efforts at reform.

The coercive altering of their bodily appearances upon arriving at Grollier and Stringer Halls were, for some youngsters, their first traumatic experience away from

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[29] Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR), "Education of Eskimos," February 1957, RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12.

[30] Sivertz, Director to Merrill "Candidates for Inuvik Hostels," November 3, 1959; L.B. Post, Regional Administrator to Merrill, December 10, 1959.

home.[31] Forced haircuts, delousing, and coal-oiling[32] were a common experience upon arrival at the residential school. The cutting of Indigenous hair had long been practiced at Uunjit Nanhkak Indian Residential Schools.[33] A new, shorter and more symmetrical hairstyle came to represent the transition from an Indigenous identity to a Euro-Canadian one, but also that government and church staff were fully in control of Indigenous children's bodies. It brought uniformity to the student population and restricted students' ability to be creative with their appearance and maintain autonomy over their personal presentation.

The cutting of hair was a direct assault on Indigenous cultural practices, since Dinjii Zhuh (and other Indigenous) families only wore short hair during periods of mourning.[34] Former residential school student and Inuk woman Rhoda Kaujak Katsak of Mittimatalik[35] explains that Inuit girls from Inuit Nunangat grew their hair from birth and "it was shameful for us to have short hair as a girl."[36] Recognizing that haircuts were an important part of Indigenous northern cultures, residential school administrators also used haircuts as a way to punish students for not conforming to the rules; Gwichyà

[31] Lawrence Norbert, Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (MVPI), "Aklavik, N.W.T., April 3, 1975, Proceedings at Community Hearing, Volume 2," in *Transcripts of Public Hearings: Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry* (Ottawa: The Inquiry, 1975-1977), 73.
[32] Students recall that the coal-oiling of hair was an uncomfortable and sometimes painful process that purported to smother lice. Coal oil, however, is highly flammable and this was a risky process.
[33] Perhaps the most well-known "before and after" image depicting the progress of Indigenous children who were institutionalized is that of Thomas Moore. For more, see the cover and Introduction of John Milloy's *A National Crime*.
[34] Alestine Andre, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Tsiigehtshik, NWT, 2 August 2013; Margaret Nazon, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Tsiigehtshik, NWT, 30 July 2013), 4-5; Rita Carpenter, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Tsiigehtshik, NWT, 5 August 2013).
[35] Mittimatalik, Nunavut is the Inuktitut word for "the place where the landing is" and was known, for a time, as Pond Inlet.
[36] Nancy Wachowich with Apphia Agalakti Awa, Rhoda Kaukjak Katsak, and Sandra Pikujak Katsak, *Saqiyuq: Stories From the Lives of Three Inuit Women* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 167, 194-195.

woman Alestine Andre recalls this vividly from her time at Grollier Hall during the 1960s.[37] Joan Nazon, the mother of Margaret Nazon, was quite upset upon arriving at Grollier Hall to visit her daughter; she did not recognize her daughter, who she had just seen a few weeks earlier, on account of her haircut.[38]

Angus Cockney arrived at Grollier Hall when he was five years old. This Inuk artist and former student wrote that

> I arrived as an innocent and scared five-year-old kid. Very quickly, I was given the number 248, showered, scrubbed, and cleansed. Others were already corralled through. My hair was cut down to the scalp. I was shown my locker. Good thing I was beside my older brother. He was known as 249.[39]

The assigning of numbers was an important facet of stripping all individuality and autonomy from Indigenous children, but Inuit and Inuvialuit children were disproportionately affected by this policy. Because Inuit historically used naming practices that reflected culturally significant items and relationships, they did not adhere to gender-specific naming practices or surnames. In 1941, in its effort to change Indigenous ways of living, the federal government deemed it appropriate to assign numbers to families to assist with their identification and the administration of healthcare, food stuffs, and family allowances. These became known as Eskimo disc numbers. Inuvialuk woman Rita Carpenter, originally from Ikaahuk, explained that

> We always had dog tags. My mother kept it in a special place, when we were going to school. It came on a…you know that rope you use, that twine for netting, it's real tough, but it's black. It's just like a black fishing line. And it used to be on a burgundy corrugated cardboard about the size of a toonie. And on one side is a crown, like the Queen's coronation crown and it has something of

[37] A. Andre, interview with Fraser.
[38] Margaret Nazon, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Tsiigehtshik, NWT, 20 July 2015.
[39] Cockney, "I was just a number."

> Canada on it. And on the other side, you'd flip it over, there'd be numbers on it. It's corrugated, it's stamped into hard corrugated cardboard. And those were our numbers.[40]

Before their arrival at Grollier and Stringer Halls, most Indigenous northerners were enmeshed in colonial naming practices due to the influence of missionaries, but Inuit and Inuvialuit children were especially so. Then, like the other Indigenous children, residential school staff assigned a number for the duration of their stay. Carpenter describes this experience upon her arrival at Stringer Hall in 1963:

> My locker number from the time I was six years old was sixty-four. I was always called Sixty-Four. I never heard no supervisors say "Rita." I mean, we were two, three hundred girls, but you'd think that after a couple of years showing up, they'd remember our names! But I was always Sixty-Four.[41]

Both Cockney and Carpenter's experiences underscore the violence that they endured through naming practices. Administrators used this as a way to strip children of their personal identities and also to dismantle kin relations and eradicate Indigenous naming practices.

Grollier and Stringer Hall administrators and staff used washing and bathing regimes to instill Euro-Canadian ideals of cleanliness and morality onto Indigenous bodies, but these practices also served to humiliate and demoralize innocent children. Student Eddy Kilowowzuk remembered that his cohort of Junior Boys at Grollier Hall was stripped upon their arrival at the residential school and "herded into a shower" only to become even more distressed when an uninvited person walked into the showering

[40] Rita Carpenter, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Tsiigehtshik, NWT, 5 August 2013.
[41] Carpenter, interview with Fraser.

area.[42] Former Grollier Hall student Angus Cockney recalled that during his institutionalization, cleanliness continued to be directly linked to whiteness, as nuns ordered their students to "try and wash the colour off our skin,"[43] directly linking church and state assimilative agendas to their Indigenous skin tones.[44]

Regimes of washing and the insistence on cleanliness were used to demoralize youngsters and traumatize their bodies. They were also tethered to the project of creating 'good' Canadian citizens. Students at Sir Alexander Mackenzie School (SAMS), who were overwhelmingly Indigenous, were forced to wash their hands upon their arrival every morning. After teachers were satisfied with their washing, they were instructed to point to Queen Elizabeth II's portrait on the wall and the Canadian flag at the back of the classroom, followed by singing the Canadian national anthem.[45] Afterwards, day school teachers guided students through a routine of a second hand washing, the combing of hair, the administration of vitamins, and the brushing of teeth.[46]

Messages about cleanliness, bodies, and citizenship were transmitted to Indigenous students through specific bodily practices. Regimes of washing not only undermined their Indigeneity and reinforced the message that these children were

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[42] "Yellowknife marchers protest abuse in residential schools," *Nanaimo Daily News* (June 2, 2000), A11.
[43] Cockney, "I was just a number."
[44] Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925, with a new introduction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).
[45] E.N. Grantham, "Report Respecting Education and Training and Related Manners: Central and Western Arctic Patrol by Air, March-April 1956," LAC MG31 D153 Vol. 2; Maxine E. Sutherland, Education Division, NAB, DNANR, "Report on the Language Teaching Project for Selected Schools in the Arctic, First Experiment, Frobisher Bay, March 1956 to January 1957," April 11, 1960, RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12 and LAC RG85 Vol. 711, File 630-169-1.
[46] Anonymous #1, interviewed with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik: 9 July 2013; Sutherland, "Report on the Language Teaching Project."

perpetually dirty, but they also helped usher them into the broader Canadian settler state. The stereotype that Indigenous people were immoral and thus dirty penetrated the minds of students. One former SAMS student, during the early 1960s, explained that "I always wanted to be like a white person because I thought they were so smart, they were so clean, you know?"[47] That the student wanted to be "like a white person" demonstrates the powerful effect that harmful teachings had on Indigenous children, but also that "integrated" schooling – the presence of newcomer Uunjit children at Inuuvik's day schools – had powerful consequences in assimilating northern populations.

One Indigenous student was surprised to learn upon going home from an Inuuvik residential school for the first time in six years, that their parents washed daily, since "I had heard that Indians really smell."[48] Sociologist Andrew Woolford found that "it was not uncommon for returning children to experience a feeling of disgust toward the habits of their parents and other community members."[49] Educators believed that if they first reformed children, they could reform entire families through children, and extend their assimilative and moral program beyond residential schools and into new, government-established communities.[50]

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[47] Anonymous #1, interview with Fraser.
[48] Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart Shook Like a Drum*, 101.
[49] Andrew Woolford, *This Benevolent Experiment: Indigenous Boarding Schools, Genocide, and Redress in Canada and the United States* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015), 154.
[50] The first formal federal campaigns, through the DMR, began in the 1940s with the hiring and placement of welfare. Responsible for much more than merely teaching, welfare teachers were expected to visit the homes of Indigenous people, teach them how to keep house, sew, and cook as well as implement proper methods of sanitation and the importance of cleanliness. Sub-Committee on Education, NWT Council, "Precis A: Educational Policy," December 31, 1947, RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12.

Soap and hot water cleansed the children's 'naturally' impure bodies, but one supervisor, who was described as having "overly strict discipline," took their colonial agenda one step further and stuffed a bar of soap into a child's mouth to punish them for speaking their Indigenous language in secret.[51] Residential school supervisors were threatened by the continued presence of Indigenous knowledge at Grollier and Stringer Halls, which directly undercut their efforts to assimilate children. At the residential schools specifically, staff aimed to teach children that they had little power over their own bodies.

The lack of privacy was also a lasting memory for former students of Inuuvik's residential schools, with many reflecting upon their experiences with shame and fear.[52] Dinjii Zhuh man Fred Koe recalls being "showered all just like cattle and we were herded together and no privacy."[53] Inuvialuit woman Velma Illasiak shared her experience about bathing during her time at Inuuvik's Stringer Hall during the early 1970s:

> I think it was a Saturday morning I was brought there and they took all my clothes. You know, your personal belongings and put you in showers with a lot of other people. Even though you're still a young girl, a young woman. Generally I find that even in swimming pools, you won't find Aboriginal women stripping down, ever. And you'll find non-Aboriginal women sort of all over the dressing room. I don't think we're inhibited, it's just not what we were taught.[54]

[51] Gary Black, Superintendent, DOE to Don Shepherd, Supervisor of Student Services and Projects, DOE, June 25, 1973, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24; Diane Dakers, "Residential School Survivors Gather to Heal," *The Globe and Mail* (July 1, 2011), A6.
[52] Report, Mossie Moorby, Nurse, Stringer Hall, c. June 1972, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 11; Floyd Roland, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, NWT, 18 July 2013; Anonymous #12, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, NWT, 13 July 2013; Donald Andre, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, NWT, 15 August 2013; Alice Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart Shook Like a Drum: What I Learned at the Indian Mission Schools, Northwest Territories* (Ottawa: Borealis Press, 2009), 27.
[53] Fred Koe, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, NWT, 16 July 2013.
[54] Velma Illasiak, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Akłarvik, NWT, 13 August 2013.

Stringer Hall staff took Illasiak's clothing without her consent, forcing her into an unpredictable situation among strangers when she felt the most vulnerable. Another student, during the same time period, said: "No privacy. It was just all open. You wanna change into your pajamas and you gotta go in the bathroom and do it in there."[55] These situations, as Foucault explains of penal institutions more generally, were designed to make Indigenous peoples feel "that the slightest offence [i.e. being Indigenous] was likely to be punished" and "arous[e] feelings of terror by the spectacle of power."[56]

Assimilationist practices extended from cleanliness to dress. Although federal residential school policies between 1959 and 1969 stated that student "clothing should conform to local types," children were dressed in identical uniforms, which usually

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[55] Maria (nilìh ch'uu Arey) Storr, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, NWT, 22 July 2013.

[56] This argument was adapted from Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 58. These regimes of cleanliness not only reached institutionalized youngsters, but also broader Indigenous communities. During the 1960s, DNANR Education Superintendent Joseph V. Jacobson implemented shower programs that specifically targeted Indigenous bodies; the territorial government's Department of Education widely expanded this program during the 1970s. Indigenous students and their extended families were encouraged to use these community showering facilities; since Inuuvik was designed to be racially segregated, running water and modern services were only available to Uunjit homes. Indigenous northerners had been, of course, keeping themselves clean and free of most diseases since Ts'ii Dęįį. Group community showering programs continued well into the 1980s at Grollier Hall, but also in other communities, such as ᑰᒑᕐᔪᒃ (Kugaaruk) and Gamètì. Joseph Vincent Jacobson, Inspector of Schools, Mackenzie District, Indian Affairs Branch (IAB), DNANR "Community Schools, Northern Style: A Term Report on Research Findings, Presented to the Graduate School of Education, University of Syracuse – 1960 Summer School," LAC MG31 D153 Vol. 1; Department of Education (DOE), "Education and Community Involvement: A Brief Survey," 1970, NWTA DOE Fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 3-7; Curriculum Division, DOE, *Elementary Education in the N.W.T.: A Handbook for Curriculum Development* (Yellowknife: GNWT, 1971), 47; Michael Pembroke, Principal, Inuujaq School, DOE, Arctic Bay to Superintendent, "Principal's Monthly Report" November 1974, March 1975, September 1975, November 1975, February 1976, August - September 1976, February 1977, NWTA DOE Fonds acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-15; Fred J. North, Principal, Lac La Marte Territorial School, DOE, "Principal's Monthly Report," November 30, 1977, February 3, 1978, NWTA DOE Fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-9; Meeting Minutes, "Pangnirtung Education Committee Minutes," January 30, 1978, NWTA DOE Fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-24; Education Programs and Evaluation Division, DOE, *Northwest Territories Community School Health Program* (Yellowknife: GNWT, 1979), 8; Anonymous #7, interviewed with Crystal Gail Fraser, Tsiigehtshik, Nanhkak Thak, 29 July 2013; Norman J. Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions: Education in the Northwest Territories From Early Days to 1984* (Yellowknife: DOE, 1991), 312, 317.

consisted of suits and ties or tunics and slacks for Junior and Senior Boys and dresses or tunics, skirts, and tams for Junior and Senior Girls.[57]

Figure 29. Grollier Hall Junior Girls marched down the road in their identical uniforms, which emphasized the uniformity and lack of individuality among the student body. They were wearing tams, reminiscent of the earlier Akłarvik uniforms, skirts and tights, along with white shirts and black coats. Untitled image, 196-? Archival Caption: "Girls from Grollier Hall. The Inuvik Laundry is on the right."[58]

The confiscation of clothes and imposition of a uniformed appearance puzzled children. Former Grollier Hall student Vince Teddy explains that "mom made us good clothes, brand-new clothes, but they took them away and dressed us all in the same uniforms."[59] Inuvialuk Grollier Hall student Angus Cockney recalled the demoralizing experience of uniformity: "I was confused. I looked at my somewhat cloned buddy beside me. We all

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[57] "Minutes of a Meeting Held on May 25th 1959 in Room 500 to Discuss Matters Arising in Connection with the Administration of Student Residences," RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 16; DIAND, "Supplementary Instructions for the Management of Pupil Residences in the Northwest Territories, Owned by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Operated Under Contract, Revised Edition, November 1968," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-25.
[58] NWTA Emily Stillwell fonds, acc. no. N-2005-006, item no. 0201-0. Registered Nurse Emily Stillwell photographed this daily routine. Originally from Saskatchewan, Stillwell worked as a nurse at All Saints' Anglican Hospital in Akłarvik, resided in Inuuvik and Somba K'e, and eventually left the North for at the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital in Amiskwaciw skahikan during the 1960s.
[59] Vince Teddy Interview, Stephanie Irlbacher-Fox, *Finding Dahshaa: Self-Government, Social Suffering, and Aboriginal Policy in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 144.

sported brush cuts and were dressed in suits with suffocating ties and jackets. Their face mirrored the confusion each of us was feeling."[60] Grey Nuns Supervisors at Grollier Hall were clearly more concerned with how the bodies of students were displayed over their personal comfort or preference. In 1965, nuns stated that the uniformity of identical and 'modern' clothing portrayed a "grand view"[61] for onlookers.

In 1969, after power over schooling and education in the Northwest Territories (NWT) devolved from DIAND to the DOE, the territorial government reduced clothing allowances for residential school children to a mere forty dollars per annum, which sparked widespread protest from both Indigenous parents and residential school administrators who claimed that "many of the students are improperly clad for the cold Arctic Winter" and that "there were still no funds in the residence account to purchase boots, mittens and hats for any of the students."[62] This would have been particularly important for students living at Grollier and Stringer Halls, the two most northerly residential schools in the NWT.

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[60] Cockney, "I was just a number."

[61] FC and Vegoureup, Excerpts from Oblates Fathers' Codex Historiens and Grey Nuns Chronicles. Although federal and territorial education staff sometimes used dress and clothing to underscore the 'progress' that residential schooling brought to Indigenous peoples, not all Canadians were comfortable with such depictions demonstrating the fraught nature of this colonial project. During the twentieth century, it was typical for missionaries and residential school staff to use the appearance of children to prove the value of assimilation to spectators, who were sometimes important decision makers and financial supporters. See: Karen Dubinsky, *The Second Great Disappointment: Honeymooning and Tourism at Niagara Falls* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1999), 63; Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth Century Northwest Coast* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005).

[62] DOE, "Department of Education, Government Owned Hostel – Supervised Under Contract," April 1969, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-21; Patty Rawler, "Ukkivik Residence, Frobisher Bay, Northwest Territories: A Report and Recommendations," December 2, 1973, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24.

There were, however, important exceptions at Grollier and Stringer Halls. Children were allowed to retain a few personal items, particularly those that were invaluable to surviving the long Arctic winters. Residential school students wore kaiichan[63] to SAMS everyday, giving them the ability to stay warm in practical footwear, but also to display their family's art on their bodies.

Figure 30. Grollier and Stringer Hall Junior Girls and Junior Boys sit along a SAMS classroom wall for their daily lessons in 1960 while wearing their handcrafted kaiichan.[64]

[63] Moccasins. Literal translation: kaiichan = around the ankle (Gwichyà dialect, Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik). GLC & GSCI, 157.

[64] Ruth Stewart attended Akłarvik's All Saints Indian Residential School, as well as Stringer and Akaitcho Halls. This image is from her private collection, permission granted to Crystal Gail Fraser on June 2, 2017 in Edmonton, Alberta.

Figure 31. Three Senior Girls at Akaitcho Hall sport different styles of kaiichan, reflecting the different regional styles of the North, in addition to their residential school-issued uniforms. Since these kaiichan were likely made by these teenagers, personal preference, skill level, and local fashion trends likely influenced their choice in footwear. The student on the right is wearing "slip-ons," a flexible rubber boot that allows people wearing handmade footwear to easily transition between indoor and outdoor environments. Archival Caption: "Federal School [Three girls, Akaitcho Hall students, stand next to a window in Akaitcho Hall, Yellowknife. They wear embroidered moccasins.]"[65]

State-sanctioned depictions of government-owned, church-operated educational institutions in Nanhkak Thak continued to obscure actual living conditions. In 1959, when Grollier and Stringer Halls opened, federal officials gave these residential schools glowing reports, despite Anglican Bishop Donald Marsh asserting that Grollier and Stringer Halls should not be "considered livable."[66] DNANR Minister Alvin Hamilton visited the residential schools a month after their official opening. Stringer Hall administrator Reverend Leonard Holman summarized Hamilton's inspection:

[65] NWTA Henry Busse fonds, acc. no. N-1979-052, item no. 5018. Tetł'it Gwich'in man Richard Stewart identifies these Dinjii Zhuh and Dene women as Mabel Wright (nilìh ch'uu) Blake, Eliza Robert (nilìh ch'uu Vittrekwa), and Emily Stewart (nilìh ch'uu Harris).
[66] Dorothy Robinson to Donald Marsh, Bishop, ACC, November 15, 1960, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 2-2 Box 59 File 2.

> Mr. Hamilton was very impressed with the school, pardon me, Residence, and especially the children. He hardly ate any dinner he was so busy watching them through the glass which separates the children's and Staff dining-rooms. Said he had never seen anything so colourful, the boys in their plaid shirts and the girls in their coloured dresses and aprons. He was much impressed with their happiness, smiles and incessant chatter. Perhaps he expected a lot of glum looking children??? Well he won't find them here in this house. Both older and younger ones are the best we have ever had.[67]

Children at Inuuvik's residential schools were thus perceived to be happy and healthy. Stringer Hall continued to receive glowing reports, particularly from its own staff. Anglican mission worker Dorothy Robinson assessed as the children "clean, tidily dressed and well fed."[68]

In 1965, however, DNANR researcher Charles Hobart undertook an extensive study of schooling in Nanhkak Thak and evaluated operations at Grollier and Stringer Halls. He underscored the "weaknesses" of Nanhkak Thak schools and residential schools, writing that "classes were usually large, teaching was poor, sustenance was often meager, and understanding of the situation and the needs of native children was often minimal."[69] Chronic overcrowding was problematic at SAMS and Grollier and Stringer Halls and exacerbated existing problems.[70] In 1965, for instance, Stringer Hall

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[67] Reverend Leonard "Hank" Penhorwood Holman, Administrator to Marsh, "Re your letter of Oct. 7, 1959," November 5, 1959, ACCGSA M96-7 Sub Series 2-1 Box 47 File 3.
[68] Dorothy "Robbie" L. Robinson, Religious Education Worker, Inuuvik, ACC, "Hostel Report," undated (c. 1960), ACCGSA M96-7 SS 2-2 Box 59 File 2.
[69] Charles W. Hobart, *Eskimos Education in Residential Schools in the Mackenzie District: A Descriptive and Comparative Report* (s.l.: s.n., 1971), 2 (Introduction).
[70] Although Grollier and Stringer Halls were overcapacity, some students were turned away forcing families to make other arrangements, which could include not attending school at all. CNWT, "Brief on the Financing of Education in the Northwest Territories School Grants and Tax Revenues Presented to the Commissioner in Council, Northwest Territories, January 1964 on behalf of Yellowknife Public School District No. 1, Yellowknife Separate School District No. 2, Hay River Separate School District No. 3, November 5, 1963" in *The Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Twenty-Ninth Session, Ottawa, Ontario, February 8-17, 1965, Vol. II*) Ottawa: Commissioner of the NWT 1965), 41; Abraham Okpik, Member, CNWT, "Motion on Commissioner's Opening Address, Education – Hay River – Temporary

operated at twenty-five percent overcapacity and SAMS was not faring better at thirty-seven percent.[71] Over three hundred Indigenous parents petitioned the DNANR to address the problem of overcrowding, but failed to receive a response from federal education officials.[72]

The same year, DNANR federal inspector Joseph Katz assessed Inuuvik's residential schools and found Stringer Hall's quarters "quite satisfactory," reflecting the DNANR's description of the facilities as "first class"[73] and up to code. Katz nevertheless suggested that

> dormitory facilities in hostels [should] be modified so as to provide for separate accommodation for different age groups, no more than twelve children aged 6 – 10 in one area, no more than six to eight children aged 11 – 13; no more than two to four aged 14 – 17; and students 18 and over have the privilege of either single or double rooms. All residences should provide for private clothes closets and book space for each individual in an area.[74]

Classrooms," *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Thirty-Second Session, Ottawa, Ontario, January 24 – February 7, 1966, Vol. I*, 9.

[71] "Commissioner's Opening Address," *Sessional Paper* No. 1A, 1963 (Second Session), LAC MG31 D94 Vol. 8 File 15; William A. Stott, Chairman, Emergency Committee, Home and School Association, SAMS to Arthur Laing, Minister, DNANR, March 30, 1964, NWTA DOE Fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-22; Robert Porritt, Member (Mackenzie South), CNWT, "On Allotment 1001," *The Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Twenty-Ninth Session, Ottawa, Ontario, February 8-17, 1965, Vol. I*, 410; DNANR, "Pupil Residence Quarterly Return, Stringer Hall, For Quarter Ending March 31, 1968," RG85 1445 Vol. 632 125-8 File 3; W.A. Johnston, Clerk Assistant, CNWT to Gillie, Director, DOE, June 6, 1968; Johnston to Gillie, Director, June 10, 1968, NWTA DOE Fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-20.

[72] R.A. Hodgkinsen to Administrator, October 9, 1962, LAC RG85 Vol. 1372 File 630-125-1 Pt. 3, E.M. Hinds, Teacher, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, "Report," January 9, 1953, LAC RG85 Vol. 1072 File 254-1 Pt. 2, quoted in David Paul King, "The History of the Federal Residential Schools for the Inuit Located in Chesterfield Inlet, Yellowknife, Inuvik and Churchill, 1955-1970," (MA Thesis, Trent University, 1998), 58.

[73] Thorsteinsson, "Education at the Top of the World – An Overview," in *Education North of 60: A Report Prepared by Members of the Canadian Association of Superintendents and Inspectors in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1965), 1.

[74] Joseph Katz, *Educational Environments of Schools – Hostel Complexes in the Northwest Territories* (Ottawa: Education Division, DNANR, 1965); National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR), "Stringer Hall Student Residence (Inuvik, NWT) Residence/School Narrative, February 10, 2005 (accessed on September 23, 2016, www.nctr.ca), 13.

This recommendation came five years after Departmental employee E.N. Grantham recommended the building of cubicles for Stringer and Grollier Hall students between ages sixteen and twenty-two, rather than then-current open-dormitory style quarters. The Department, however, continued to prioritize enrolment numbers over student safety and comfort, refusing to make the proposed changes since this alteration would be costly and reduce student intake numbers by eight per year.[75] The national Public Health Ordinance stated that "each child in a dormitory has four hundred cubic feet of air space," but DNANR regulations followed the guidelines of approximately two hundred and fifty cubic feet of air space.[76]

In 1968, federal medical health officer R.F. Harvey suggested that the number of beds at Grollier and Stringer Halls be reduced for increased privacy and to minimize the spread of airborne illnesses.[77] DIAND, fearing that residential schools would fail to reach their student quota, persistently noted that enrolment numbers conformed to the Public Health Ordinance and therefore should remain unaltered.[78] Even by the late

[75] E.N. Grantham, Northern Administration Branch, DNANR to Mr. Bishop, May 9, 1960, RCDMA Carney Files Box 8 of 12.
[76] When Grollier and Stringer Halls were under construction in the mid-to-late 1950s, DNANR engineers recommended that this space be increased to 50 square feet, but management wanted the building designed for maximum capacity rather than student health and comfort. Paul W. Waters, Chief, Engineering Projects, NALB, DNANR to P.B. Parker, May 31, 1955, LAC RG85 Vol. 1240 311-111B File 1. The calculation of two hundred and fifty cubic feet was derived from the thirty-three square feet of living space, with an allowance of a standard 2.3 meter-high ceiling.
[77] Harvey to Darkes, Superintendent, DIAND, April 26, 1968; Father Camille Piché, Administrator, Breynat Hall, DIAND, Łíídlįį Kų́ę́ to Darkes, Superintendent, DIAND, June 5, 1968, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-23.
[78] Darkes to Gillie, Superintendent, "Hostel Accommodation – Breynat Hall (Fort Smith)," July 3, 1968, Darkes, Superintendent, DIAND to Harvey, "Dormitory Accommodation and Student Medicals – Breynat Hall," July 3, 1968, Darkes, Superintendent, DIAND to C. Piché, "Hostel Accommodation," July 3, 1968, Stuart Milton Hodgson, Commissioner, CNWT to D.W. Simpson, Director, Education Division, NLAB, DIAND, "Hostel Accommodation Breynat Hall – Fort Smith," July 4, 1968, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-23. Even visitors to the residential schools, such as Girl Guide Leaders, remarked that the students were living in cramped quarters and deserved more privacy. XXXX, Inuuvik, GGC to XXXX,

1970s, when Maria Storr attended Grollier Hall as a Senior Girl, she recalled that there were five young adults sharing the same room: "we have one in each corner, a bed, and one could be in the middle. It would be so full."[79] Residential school administrators Max Ruyant and Leonard Holman were sometimes forced to respond to crowded conditions and transferred students, some from Nanhkak Thak to distant residential schools, sometimes without parental consent; they could also be returned home altogether, depriving them of an education.[80]

DNANR entrance guidelines for Grollier and Stringer Halls stated that students were to be administered yearly vaccinations and undergo examinations before leaving their home communities and then again upon their arrival at the residential school. These procedures were often neglected, on both ends. The federal government's official guidelines did not align with community resources; health programs and nursing stations had not yet been implemented in many northern communities and the arrival of hundreds of students over the course of a week overwhelmed doctors in Inuuvik.[81]

Commissioner, Yukon and CNWT, April 29, 1968, NWTA Northwest Territories Council fonds, acc. no. N-1992-274, item no. SS 4 File 5-18.

[79] Storr, interview with Fraser.

[80] The movement of students worked in other ways, too; they were transported to hotels that failed to meet enrollment quotas. R. Gordon Robertson, Deputy Minister, DNANR to Trocellier, June 12, 1957, RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11; Jean-Marie Lizé, OMI, Administrator, Lapointe Hall, DNANR to P. Piché, General Superintendent, January 18, undated (c. 1961), RCDMA Box 1 File 7; Administrator of the Mackenzie to Thorsteinsson, "School and Hostel Construction Requirements at Rae, Fort Smith, Hay River, Fort Simpson, Yellowknife and Fort Providence," February 17, 1964, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no, G-1995-004, item no. 8-22; Gillie, Superintendent to Mr. W. Karashowsky, Regional Superintendent of Schools, Fort Smith Region, DIAND, "Transfer of Students from the Anglican Hostel in Inuvik to the Anglican Hostel in Fort Simpson, September 1964," March 12, 1964, ACCGSA M96-07 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 2; Macpherson, Superintendent to Ruth Pulk, Hostel Mother, Cambridge Bay Small Student Residence, August 11, 1970, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-21; Joe A. Coady, Superintendent, DOE to P. Piché, OMI, July 22, 1976, RCDMA Grandin College Student Files.

[81] Bernard C. Gillie, District Superintendent of Schools, Mackenzie District to H.B. Brett, Mackenzie Area Headquarters, Department of National Health and Welfare (DNHW), "Medical Examinations for Pupils in the Fort Smith School Residence," July 5, 1968, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-23; A.J.

Within three months of the residential schools opening in 1959, Indigenous children at Grollier and Stringer Halls contracted measles, influenza, and hepatitis; doctors predicted that these outbreaks were on target to reach "epidemic proportions."[82]

The perception that Indigenous children (and their families) were filthy, unkept, and diseased were refuted by healthy admissions in the fall and their subsequent illnesses. In 1960, mission worker Dorothy Robinson reported that she spent ten days helping Stringer Hall staff tend to over one hundred students with influenza.[83] By 1968, the Department of National Health and Welfare was aware of this problem and advised DIAND officials to rectify intake procedures, yet changes were not implemented and these problems persisted.[84]

After territorial education officials took over the management of schools and residential schools in 1969, local resources had improved. Having witnessed chaos around student admissions for the previous twelve years, Stringer Hall administrator Leonard Holman was pleasantly surprised in 1971 that

> the local doctors were able to keep up with the arrivals and do the medicals as the students arrived. It has been recommended and it is hoped this will occur again next year. Of course, when the time comes it may not be possible for doctors to carry this through.[85]

Boxer, Superintendent, Akaitcho Hall to XXXX, Łíídlı̨ı̨ Kų́ę́, September 5, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17.

[82] Holman to Donald B. Marsh, October 21, 1958, ACCGSA M96-7 Sub Series 2-1 Box 47 File 3; Holman to Marsh, November 23, 1959, ACCGSA M96-7 Sub Series 2-1 Box 47 File 3; J.V. Jacobson, Chief Superintendent, Education Division, Northern Lands Branch, DNANR to the Director, "Inuvik Hostels – Measles," December 1, 1959, LAC RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125-1; Sisters FC and Olga Vegoureup, "Excerpts from Oblates Fathers' Codex Historiens and Grey Nuns Chronicles, 1980-1985," Sœurs de la Charité de Montréal (Sœurs Grises) Archives [SCMA], L134 Grollier Hall, Inuvik (1959-1987).

[83] Robinson to Unknown, April 17, 1960, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 2-2 Box 59 File 2.

[84] Dr. R.F. Harvey, Medical Health Officer, DNHW to Harold J. Darkes, Regional Superintendent of Schools, April 26, 1968, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-23.

[85] Holman to Mrs. Mossie I. Moorby on May 11, 1964, ACCGSA P2011-08 458 Mossie Moorby Fonds 1964-1972.

Though relieved that the healthcare system finally accommodated student health and policy guidelines, Holman had little faith that this would be a regular practice.

Nourishing the bodies of Indigenous children at Grollier and Stringer Halls should have been a priority for administrators; if they were going to build robust Canadians, students needed to be sufficiently fed. Some food was grown in the North. Akłarvik farmers during the 1950s, including All Saints' and Immaculate Conception mission staff, successfully harvested 10,000 pounds of potatoes per acre, with some potatoes weighing three pounds each.[86] Lettuce and tomatoes were common too and supplemented the native staples of blackcurrants, cranberries, and rosehips.[87] Although DNANR Minister Arthur Laing suspected that Inuuvik was not ideal for agricultural projects, the Department established an interdepartmental committee to investigate the potential for such ventures.[88] In the meantime, Oblate missionary and Belgian immigrant Joseph Adams nurtured a lush, green garden behind Grollier Hall.

The garden represented a lifeline for hungry residential school students. In those few moments when children exercised their autonomy and escaped residential school surveillance, perhaps when playing outside, volunteering in the garden, or running off during 'supervised' outdoor playtimes, they stole fresh produce to eat. During the summer of 1971, Adams' frustration with food theft mounted, noting that "those kids can steal $50 worth of stuff in five minutes," and he considered installing an electric

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[86] "North's Garden: 3-Pound Spuds in Arctic," *The Globe and Mail*, January 28, 1959.
[87] "North's Garden: 3-Pound Spuds in Arctic," *The Globe and Mail*, January 28, 1959.
[88] "North's Garden: 3-Pound Spuds in Arctic," *The Globe and Mail*, January 28, 1959.

fence to keep hungry children away.[89] The "power to punish" and the carcerality of residential school living could not be more evident as students attempted to nourish their bodies.[90]

To counter these "human pests," as Adams called the children, he erected a barbed-wire picket fence, but hungry children simply burrowed under the fence in an attempt to satisfy their hunger, a basic human right for which Grollier Hall staff failed to provide.[91] Oral interviews from the 1960s reveal that

> it was unanimously maintained by all of the alumnae who were interviewed that the food provided was inadequate. It was not merely a matter of not liking the foods placed before them. All emphasized that food was insufficient, and most noted that 'kids learned to steal at school because they were hungry.' They spoke of stealing food out of the kitchen and the garden, of snaring rabbits, and eating edible tree bark. One man of 45 years of age or so was still indignant that during the course of a full year at school he gained just one pound, increasing from 69 to 70.[92]

Without any other option available, some students were forced to bully others in order to meet their daily nutritional requirements. Former student Mary Carpenter recalls that "the seniors used to make us take up our bread for them in our bloomers. If we didn't they would beat us up. I know a lot of students that played sick, and they stole mouldy bread from the pantry so they wouldn't go hungry."[93]

Grollier and Stringer Hall children also recalled the teachings of their parents about harvesting food from nakhwinan. Some children forged for edible tree bark in the

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[89] NWTA Echo Lidster fonds, acc. no. N-1993-030, item no. 0260. The use of electricity to discipline students at Indian Residential Schools is well documented. See: TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2, 1939 to 2000* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 441.
[90] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 89.
[91] Scrivener, "Priest Plants His Garden in First Week of Arctic Summer."
[92] Charles W. Hobart, "Eskimos in Residential Schools in the Mackenzie District," undated (c. mid 1960s), RCDMA Unnumbered Box #1.
[93] Mary Carpenter, "Education 1," *The Drum* 2, 22 (May 25, 1967), 2.

wooded area across the road and behind the residential school. Others maintained secret rabbit snares across the road and behind the residential school.[94] Drawing upon their t'aih, or ancestral knowledge, of understanding the land and how to nourish their bodies with its fruits, as well as their vit'aih, or personal/mental strength, risking their personal safety if caught, these children embodied resilience as a way to ensure their health and wellbeing.

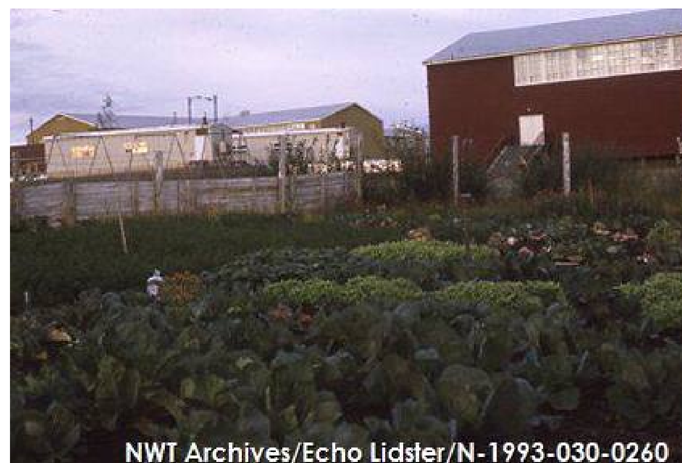

Figure 32. Oblate missionary and Grollier Hall employee Joseph Adams kept a garden behind Grollier Hall. This view from the road (contemporary Gwich'in Road) captures the back of Grollier Hall (red siding) and the peaks of Stringer Hall in the background (gold siding). Seeds are planted in June and the photograph of this harvest was likely captured in late August. Untitled. Archival Caption: "Father Adam's garden. Inuvik. August, 1971."[95]

Beginning in 1959, the Indian Affairs Branch established the cost of meals for children twelve years and under at $0.38 per day and $0.53 per day for those older than

[94] C.W. Hobart, "Eskimos in Residential Schools in the Mackenzie District," 1965, RCDMA Unnumbered Box #1.

[95] NWTA Echo Lidster fonds, acc. no. N-1993-030, item no. 0260; NWTA Gladys Vear photographs, acc. no. N-2013-023, item no. 0004. Dr. Echo Lidster, an uunjit woman originally from Vancouver, photographed the Grollier Hall garden during her appointment as the Housing Education Officer for the Western Arctic from 1967 to 1970. When Lidster captured this image, Lidster was a resident of Inuuvik for her new appointment as Supervisor of Adult Education Programs in the NWT.

twelve.[96] With proper care during the short gardening season, tomatoes, radishes, pepper cress, parsley, onions, cabbage, and other legumes flourished in the twenty-four hour sun-filled days that could be incorporated into the students' diet. In 1962, Inuk parent Johnnie Inukpuk of Inukjuak[97] was concerned about his children in Inuuvik, explaining that they "got so used to white food while living in hostels that they became dissatisfied with native food."[98] According to the NWT Council, allowing locally-sourced "native food" at Grollier and Stringer Halls violated the NWT Game Ordinance,[99] but the Council was flexible and willing to pass "an order allowing the serving of game meat in the hostels" if "hostel management specifically requests the Commissioner to pass such an order."[100] There were no requests. Five years later, the NWT Council heard from several distressed parents regarding the diets of their children and changed territorial policy to allow for sourcing local markets for northern specialty meats, such as łuk zheii, vàdzaih, and vàdzaih dehgąįį.[101] The theft of food from Grollier Hall's garden and the

[96] In a newspaper article, Adams shared his engineering plans for a successful garden, noting that it had to be at least thirty feet away from any tree and a board fence was necessary to act as a windbreak. Paul Scrivener, "Priest Plants His Garden in First Week of Arctic Summer," *The Globe and Mail*, November 11, 1971; Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, "Government-Owned Indian Residential Schools, Financial Instructions Effective January 1, 1959," RCDMA Croteau Files Box 3 of 3 Financial Institutions.
[97] The word Inukjuak in Inuktitut means "*The Giant*"; this community was once known as Port Harrison and is located in Nunavik.
[98] Johnnie Inukpuk, Meeting Notes, "Committee on Eskimo Affairs," April 2-3, 1962, RCDMA OMI Box 7 of 12.
[99] John Sandlos, *Hunters at the Margin: Native People and Wildlife Conservation in the Northwest Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).
[100] P.F. Girard, Secretary, Northern Administration Branch, DNANR, Meeting Notes, "Committee on Eskimo Affairs," April 2-3, 1962, RCDMA OMI Box 7 of 12.
[101] Łuk zheii = whitefish. Literal translation: łuk = fish; zheii = fresh (Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, Gwichyà dialect); Vàdzaih = caribou. No literal translation (Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects); Vàdzaih dehgąįį = reindeer. Literal translation: vàdzaih = caribou; dehgąįį = white (Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, Gwichyà dialect). GLC and GSCI, 42. 194, 264. Stuart M. Hodgson, Commissioner, NWT Council to Director, Northern Administration Branch, DIAND, "Item for Action No. 44-Hostel Cost Discrepancies – Boarding Homes – High School Students – Re-adjust Catering Finances," April 1, 1969, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-

activism of parents speaks to the power of guut'àii – the collective strength of students, their families, and ancestors in ensuring that the children survived while institutionalized.

Both Ruyant and Holman could have fed residential school children in abundance, since the territorial and federal governments covered "reasonable" food costs. Federal and territorial residential school policies throughout the 1960s and 1970s stated that "actual reasonable costs of food will be paid for by the department as operating expenses."[102] Ruyant, likely responding to the pressure from Indigenous parents, provided local foods for students, although low food costs were the likely reason for his shift to purchasing locally-sourced food. Still he provided Indigenous students with nutritious meals and small reminders of home. In 1964, Ruyant sourced reindeer meat from Vadzaih Degaii Zheh for $0.41 per pound compared to $0.62 per pound through the Hudson Bay Company.[103] And by 1966, Grollier Hall staff supplemented the children's diet with dhik'ii.[104]

In 1971, Grollier Hall housed 176 students and Stringer Hall 200. Administrators Ruyant and Holman, respectively, spent nearly identical monies on sustenance for students: $339 per student at Grollier and $338 at Stringer, approximately $1.18 per

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004, item no. 8-20; NWT Council, "Sessional Paper No. 4 (Second Session, 1968): Hostel Management," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-23.

[102] See: DIAND, "Supplementary Instructions," November 1968; DOE, "Supplementary Instructions," January 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-25.

[103] Sister Florence Nolin, SGM [The Sisters of Charity of the Hôpital Général of Montreal], Grollier Hall to Unknown, December 25, 1964, RCDMA Croteau Files Box 2 of 3 Education Piche Correspondence.

[104] Sisters FC and Olga Vegoureup, "Excerpts from Oblates Fathers' Codex Historiens and Grey Nuns Chronicles, 1980-1985," Sœurs de la Charité de Montréal (Sœurs Grises) Archives [SCMA], L134 Grollier Hall, Inuvik (1959-1987). Dhik'ii is arctic char in Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik (Teetł'it and Gwichyà dialects. No literal translation. GLC & GSCI, 92.

day.[105] During the 1970s, vitaminized biscuits were widely distributed in day and residential schools and fed to children as young as eight years old, despite concerns about shelf life, deterioration of supplements, and the dangers of vitamins overdoses.[106] By 1978, territorial education officials were aware that vitaminized biscuits were controversial and simply suggested that schools and residential schools discontinue the program, since there "were some indications that the program was having a negative rather than positive effect."[107] Federal nutrition consultant Jean Steckle investigated in 1979 and banned their distribution.[108] In the same study, they found that items such as Kool-Aid, instant soup mix, Cheese Whiz, and granola bars, rather than nutritional foods, were a main staple for residential school students.[109] The situation in Inuuvik demonstrates that although formal residential schooling policies had shifted by the 1960s to allow for the incorporation of country foods and better funding, residential

[105] In 1971, Ruyant spent a total of $68,575 on food for students, approximately 23% of Grollier Hall's $300,265 operating budget. Stringer Hall's Holman expended $59,519 on sustenance for children, equating to 24% of his $249,900 operating allowance. According to inflation rates, $1.17 in 1971 equates to $7.16 in 2017. Richard C. Druce, Operational Auditor, Evaluation & Audit Bureau, GNWT, "Church Operated Student Residences Comparative Costs for the Year Ended December 31, 1971," March 29, 1972, RCDMA OMI Box 4 of 12.

[106] Jean Steckle, Nutrition Consultant, Program Development, Medical Services Branch, Health and Welfare Canada to Norman J. Macpherson, Director General, Federal Liaison Bureau, GNWT, February 13, 1979, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-5; Education Programs and Evaluation Division, DOE, GNWT, *Northwest Territories Community School Health Program* (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1979), 9.

[107] Brian W. Lewis, Director, DOE to Principals, Superintendents, Area Superintendents, DOE, "Distribution of Vitaminized Biscuits," August 1, 1978, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-5.

[108] Steckle to Macpherson, Director General, February 13, 1979; Gerald Mulders, Assistant Director, DOE to Regional Superintendents, Area Superintendents, and Acting Superintendents, DOE "School Noon Lunch Programs," February 27, 1979, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-5; Education Programs and Evaluation Division, DOE *Northwest Territories Community School Health Program* (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1979), 6, 9, 12.

[109] Steckle to Macpherson, Director General, February 13, 1979, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-5.

schooling staff continued to control important decisions that affected student health and wellbeing.

Grollier and Stringer Hall administrators did not always relay important information to parents about their children's health. In 1971, specifically, several residential school students were hospitalized for unknown reasons and administrators failed to follow up with parents about the health and safety of their children.[110] Upon receiving such news, sometimes through a third party, parents became very concerned and often demanded the return of their children to their home community, despite possible retribution from local Indian agents or the territorial Department of Education.[111] During the 1960s, it was still common practice to educate Indigenous children for nearly a seven-hour school day while they were in hospital, either at the Inuuvik General Hospital or the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital[112] in Amiskwaciw skahikan.[113]

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[110] 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, Rev. Ed., November 1968," DOE, "Supplementary Instructions for the Management of Student Residences in the Northwest Territories Owned by the Government of the Northwest Territories and Operated Under Contract, Rev. Ed., January 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-25; Marilyn Krauskopf, DOE to R. Walker, Superintendent, DOE, November 3, 1975; T.S. Fawcett, Superintendent, DOE to Jim Walker, Superintendent, DOE, November 3, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17. XXXX XXXX, Vice-Chairperson, Rankin Inlet Community Education Committee to Brian W. Lewis, Director, DOE, "Re: XXXX XXXX," December 7, 1978, A.R. Zariwny, Regional Director, Keewatin Region, DOE to Lewis, "XXXX XXXX Student – Sir John Franklin High School," December 12, 1978, Lewis to XXXX, December 13, 1978, XXXX to Lewis, December 21, 1978, NWTA DOE Fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 3-3; Annie Benoit (nilìh ch'uu Koe), interviewed by William Firth, Sandra Dolan, and Laura Peterson (Fort McPherson: GSCI, April 9, 1999), 3.

[111] Marsh, "Arctic Hospitals," *Arctic* News (Toronto: Diocese of the Arctic, ACC, 1961), 11; Tom S. Fawcett, Superintendent, DOE to Walker, Superintendent, November 3, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, 9-17.

[112] Laurie Meijer Drees, "The Nanaimo and Charles Camsell Indian Hospitals: First Nations' Narratives of Heath Care, 1945 to 1965," *Social History/Histoire Sociale* 43, 85 (2010). Also see Maureen Lux, *Separate Beds: A History of Indian Hospitals in Canada, 1920s-1980s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

[113] Marsh, "Arctic Hospitals," *Arctic* News (Toronto: Diocese of the Arctic, ACC, 1961), 11.

Student deaths at Grollier and Stringer Halls, although not as statistically dismal as other places, were also a part of institutional life and demonstrate that the system sometimes had complete control over incarcerated bodies.[114] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada estimated that between 1867 and 2000, there were, at the very minimum, 252 documented deaths of residential school students in the NWT.[115] In his 1965 study, Hobart also found that "medical opinion was in agreement that poor diet, overcrowding, inadequate clothing, and exposure to disease were the chief causes of the high morbidity and mortality in the schools."[116] In 1972, a Stringer Hall student drowned in Inuuvik's Boot Lake, trying to navigate a canoe on a lake filled with ice.[117] The DOE had student safety policies in place, but that unfortunately was not enough to prevent such tragedies.[118] And as discussed in the

[114] The Department of the Interior hired Dr. Peter Henderson Bryce in 1904 to manage public health issues for the Departments of Indian Affairs and Immigration. In 1907, Bryce released a shocking report that criticized the poor health conditions in residential schools, particularly those on the Plains, which reported student death rates between twenty-four and sixty-nine percent. In 1922, Bryce published the results of his report. Additionally, Kelm noted that at the Coqualeetz Industrial School, approximately twenty percent of Indigenous students died in 1905. Other schools, such as Kuper Island IRS had much higher death rates. Bryce, *The Story of a National Crime: Being a Record of the Health Conditions of the Indians of Canada from 1904 to 1921* (Ottawa: James Hope & Sons, Limited, 1922); Kelm, "'A Scandalous Procession': Residential Schooling and the Re/formation of Aboriginal Bodies, 1900-1950," *Native Studies Review* 11, 2 (1996), 62; Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 196.
[115] Mitchel Wiles, "Records show 341 student deaths at residential schools in the North," *CBC News* (December 15, 2015), www.cbc.ca/news, accessed October 13, 2017.
[116] In 1955, the DNANR was "fully aware that there is some over-crowding," despite the rule of "when the hostel enrolment has reached the approved registration, no further children will be admitted." Stringer Hall, in 1965, was overcapacity by at least 40 students. Frank J.G. Cunningham, Director, DNANR to the District Administrator, May 2, 1955, LAC RG85 442 Vol. 630 119-3 File 8; Jacobson, Chief, Education Division, Northern Administration and Lands Branch (NALB), DNANR to Paul Piché, General Superintendent, Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission (IEWC), University of Ottawa, July 10, 1958, RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 18; Holman, Administrator, Stringer Hall to Cook, Bishop Suffragan of the Arctic, ACC, October 29, 1965, ACCGSA M2006-03 Series 3 Henry Cook Records Box 3 File 6.
[117] Holman, Administrator to Coady, "Re: Death of Pupil in Residence, XXXX, b.d. – 1-5-57, Cambridge Bay," June 19, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24; "S.H.S.S. Student Drowns," *The Drum* 7, 22 (June 22, 1972), 2.
[118] Gillie, Director to Superintendents, Student Residence Administrators, and Principals, "Student Involvement on Work Projects," June 1, 1970, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 3-7.

previous chapter, running away from Grollier and Stringer Halls could have tragic results.

Responding to parental accusations in 1974 that the Department had failed to properly inform them about the health of their children, Education Superintendent Harold Darkes wrote that these allegations were based on "ignorance" and that the parents' comments were "inaccurate" and "irresponsible."[119] Instead of addressing important issues, DOE management continued to deflect criticism rather than change policies to improve the health and wellbeing of their students.

There was widespread use of alcohol at Inuuvik's residential schools, which was a key discussion point for administrators when the legal drinking age was lowered from 21 to 19 in 1970.[120] Indigenous parents were aware of the problem and sometimes refused to send their children to Inuuvik residential schools.[121] Supervisors sometimes provided students with alcohol and cigarettes, often from their personal supply.[122] But given that under-age students were also able to purchase their own alcohol at GNWT-operated liquor stores "without difficulty," it is perhaps not surprising that there was widespread drinking at these institutions.[123] At Stringer and Fleming Halls, it was

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[119] Darkes to XXXX, Secretary-Treasurer, Fort Resolution Educational Advisory Committee, October 24, 1974, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, 1-3.

[120] Wasacase, "Superintendents and Administrators Conference, October 20 – 22, 1970," NWTA DOE Fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-6.

[121] Naidoo, "Visit to Inuvik Region Schools, November 15, 16, 17, 1976," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 20-1. Inuit parents were also concerned with the construction of a residential school in ᑯᒡᔪᐊᖅn (Churchill), where many Inuit Nunangat children would be sent. Marsh, Bishop to Arthur Laing, Minister, DNANR, March 24, 1964, RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12.

[122] King to Buell, "Discipline," July 6, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24; Coady to XXXX, Chairman, Fort McPherson Settlement Council, December 11, 1974, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 3-3; A. Andre, interviewed by Fraser, 19.

[123] Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, administrators and DOE officials admitted that students could easily purchase alcohol at the territorial liquor store, but did not call for a policy review on under-age access to

acceptable for Senior Boys to drink all night in the dorm with their supervisors.[124] Some students were sniffing solvents, which caused others to live in a constant state of fear of violence from their peers.[125] Approaches to such behaviour varied according to residential school, the administrator in power, and era.[126] Some tolerated this behaviour and others expelled students, despite territorial policy stating that students "should be given every assistance to overcome his particular problem" and that Alcohol Education

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booze. Boxer to Assistant Superintendent of Education, "Problems – Consumming [sic] Alcoholic Drink by Akaitcho Hall Students," December 9, 1974, Boxer to DOE, "Report: XXXX XXXX – Tungsten, XXXX XXXX – Prelude Lake, XXXX XXXX – Eskimo Point, DRINKING, February 22, 1975," February 25, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17; "Alcohol Problems," *The Inuvik Drum* 17, 38 (September 23, 1982), 4.

[124] Various men in the community were also caught "accommodating" teenage girls in their private residences. Boxer to Dayelle Blonjeaux, GNWT, April 5, 1971, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24; Boxer to Miller, "Withdrawal of XXXX XXXX," October 16, 1973, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17; Coady to XXXX, Chairman, Fort McPherson Settlement Council, December 11, 1974, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 3-3; Anonymous #15, interviewed by Fraser (Tsiigehtshik: July 8, 2013).7

[125] DIAND, "Notes," April 1, 1961; Boxer to Mr. XXXX XXXX, Parent, Fort Norman, November 19, 1973; Boxer to Coady, "XXXX XXXX, Inuvik," December 2, 1974; Boxer to Darkes, "Re: XXXX XXXX, XXXX XXXX," February 10, 1974; Boxer to Graves, "Appraisal and Comments Regarding Students from Hay River Region Relative to Their Return to Akaitcho Hall and Sir John Franklin School for the 1974-75 School Term," July 2, 1974; Boxer to Graves, "Appraisal and Comments Regarding Fort Smith Students Attending Sir John Franklin School and Akaitcho Hall With Regard to Their Return Here for the 1974-75 Term," July 2, 1974; Boxer to Walker, "Re: Certain Matters Recorded for Information," September 19, 1974; Boxer to Walker, "Re: XXXX XXXX of Snowdrift," September 25, 1974; Boxer to McNamee, December 3, 1974; Boxer to Assistant Superintendent of Education, " Problems – Comsumming [sic] Alcoholic Drink by Akaitcho Hall Students," December 9, 1974; Boxer to XXXX XXXX, Parent, Łíídlı̨ı̨ Kų́ę́, December 9, 1974; Boxer to Gilberg, "XXXX XXXX, Rankin Inlet," February 2, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17; Macpherson, Superintendent to McKenzie, October 27, 1971, Curriculum Division, *Elementary Education in the N.W.T.*, 48; Holman, Administrator to Mr. & Mrs. XXXX XXXX, Tuktoyaktuk, November 29, 1971, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24; Coady to XXXX, Chairman, Fort McPherson Settlement Council, December 11, 1974, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 3-3; Report, Magistrate Robert W. Halifax, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, "Re: Koe Go Cho Residence, Fort Simpson, N.W.T.," December 28, 1977; Duggan, Assistant Superintendent, DOE to Assistant Director, DOE, "Fort Norman Students – Grollier Hall," November 9, 1978, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 4-2. The huffing of solvents has been an epidemic in the NWT. Pembroke to Superintendent, "Principal's Monthly Report," April 1977, May – June 1977, NWTA G-1995-004, 10-15; "The Decade Review, 1970-1971," *The Inuvik Drum* 15, 3 (Wednesday, February 8, 1980), 9; "Glue Sniffing a Problem," *The Inuvik Drum* 15, 33 (October 8, 1980), 7.

[126] For example, there were more student expulsions documented under the power of Akaitcho Hall's Administrator C. Bell than any other residential school during the 1960s and 1970s in the NWT.

programs be implemented.[127] Despite the concern, the only NWT community to have a drug education program was Pine Point,[128] a non-Indigenous community.[129]

Children as young as ten years old who committed minor offences, such as alcohol consumption, uttering threats, or petty theft, found themselves in court and sometimes prison.[130] Rather than address the systemic problems at the root of violence, the Commissioner of the NWT increased the strength of the RCMP.[131] This is perhaps not surprising since during the 1960s and 1970s, large residential schools also provided a home for minors who were former inmates, young offenders, and on probation before they were able to return to their families, as ordered by DIAND and the GNWT's Department of Social Development.[132] The early 1980s witnessed an increase in juvenile

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[127] Although it was official policy to expel students for the possession or use of alcohol and/or drugs, it was rarely enforced. Holman, Administrator to Coady, "Re: XXXX XXXX – W3-XXXX, B.D. XXXX, gde. 12," November 29, 1971, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24; Anonymous #8, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 23 July 2013.

[128] Cominco, the mining company, built the community of Pine Point when they began operating there in 1965. The town closed in 1988 when Cominco halted operations. See *Treaty No. 8, Made June 21, 1899 and Adhesions Reports, etc.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966).

[129] In 1965, the NWT Council recommended an alcohol education program for both students and the general public, but the DOE stated that it was not possible to implement this it in schools at the time, since "there is now no staff member to undertake a revision of that part of the curriculum." Stuart M. Hodgson, Member, CNWT and Ben G. Sivertz, Commissioner of the NWT, "Recommendation to Council No. 3 – Alcohol Education Program in the N.W.T.," *The Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Twenty-Ninth Session, Ottawa, Ontario, February 8-17, 1965, Vol. I*, 436; CNWT, "Recommendation to Council No. 3 (First Session, 1965), Alcohol Education Programme, January 8, 1973," in *The Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Twenty-Ninth Session, Ottawa, Ontario, February 8-17, 1965, Vol. II*, 65; DOE, "Education and Community Involvement: A Brief Survey," 1970, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 3-7.

[130] Ann D. Enge, Chief Matron, Correctional Centre to Stapleton, June 4, 1974, Boxer to Coady, "XXXX [sic], Inuvik," December 2, 1974, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17; McCallum to Acting Director, DOE, "Policy for Local Boarding Homes," July 14, 1976, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 3-3; "Order in the Magistrate's Court of the Northwest Territories in the Matter of the Juvenile Delinquents Act R.S.C. 1970 Chapter J-3," November 29, 1977; "Juvenile Crimes on the Increase," *The Inuvik Drum* 17, 27 (July 8, 1982), 1.

[131] Sinclair, "Future of 'Education Hub of North' in Doubt After Student Beatings."

[132] The GNWT acknowledged that the category of juvenile delinquents "is difficult to define. Delinquency in general is a term that could be applied to a child only by virtue of court action." Young offenders were only placed in the large residential schools (Grollier, Stringer, and Akaitcho Halls). Small "cottage hostels"

related crime, with institutionalized children being identified as the majority of the culprits.[133]

In emotionally and physically traumatic environments, students acted out or bent the rules as a way to cope. Alestine Andre explains that "there did not seem to be an end to it except in your mind, where you had ultimate control to escape."[134] Some students smoked "grass" or drank alcohol to cope with their environment.[135] Inuit parents whose children were institutionalized at both Grollier Hall and the residential school in ᐃᖃᓗᐃᑦ had the Baker Lake Alcohol Committee write a letter to superintendents, administrators, and principals, expressing deep concern for the

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were not to admit students "who are considered delinquent, incorrigible, or otherwise unmanageable." CNWT, "Recommendation to Council No. 1 (First Session 1965), Financing of School Districts in the Northwest Territories," in *The Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Twenty-Ninth Session, Ottawa, Ontario, February 8-17, 1965, Vol. II*, 22; Hawkins to Darkes, "Applications for Pupil Residences," August 26, 1968, DIAND, "Probation Office Admissions," October 17, 1968, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-23; Norman Larson, Superintendent, Juvenile Training Centre, DOJ to Wilkins, July 30, 1969, Wilkins to Macpherson, Superintendent, August 19, 1969, Wilkins to Macpherson, Superintendent, "XXXX XXXX, XXXX XXXX," August 19, 1969, Gillie, Director to Wilkins, "XXXX XXXX, XXXX XXXX," August 22, 1969, NWTA DOE fonds acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-21; DOE, "Instructions for the Operation of Small Student Residences in the Northwest Territories," undated (c. 1970), NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G1995-004, item no. 8-26; Enge to Stapleton, June 4, 1974; Boxer to Walker, "Re: XXXX XXXX, Fort Smith," June 12, 1974, Enge to Walker, "Re: XXXX XXXX," September 24, 1974, Boxer to Coady, "XXXX XXXX, Inuvik," December 2, 1974, Boxer to Walker, "XXXX XXXX, Yellowknife," February 3, 1975, Robert Budde, Treatment and Training Officer, Correctional Centre, DSD to Walker, "Re: XXXX XXXX," April 29, 1975, Walker to XXXX, Cambridge Bay, May 14, 1975, C. Bell to DSD, "XXXX XXXX – XXXX XXXX," February 18, 1976, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17.

[133] "Juvenile Crimes on the Rise," *The Inuvik Drum* 17, 27 (July 8, 1982), 1, 16.

[134] A. Andre, "Offred at the Roman Catholic Hostel," 105.

[135] Boxer to Black, "Re: Appraisal of Students from Fort Simpson Region with Reference to Their Return to Akaitcho Hall and Sir John Franklin School for the 1973-74 Term," June 22, 1973, Boxer and Toutant, Principal to Coady, "Re: Appraisal of Inuvik Region Students with Reference to Their Returning to Akaitcho Hall and Sir John Franklin School for the 1973-74 Term," June 22, 1973, Boxer to Walker, "XXXX XXXX – Cambridge Bay," October 21, 1974, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17; Anonymous, interviewed by Robert J. Carney, Researcher, March 1987, RCMDA McCarthy and Carney Files Box 2 of 4. The smoking of marijuana was widespread in North America, particularly during 1960s and 1970s. See: Marcel Martel, "'The Age of Aquarius': Medical Expertise and the Prevention and Control of Drug Use Undertaken by the Quebec and Ontario Governments," in *The Sixties*; Kenneth J. Meier, *The Politics of Sin: Drugs, Alcohol, and Public Policy* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1994).

supervision of their children, stating that "parents do worry about their children gone for school." They asked that their "children be given more supervision."[136]

Power relations that enveloped these unsuspecting Indigenous bodies were based on imposed ideas around discipline, cleanliness, and morality. Re-forming Indigenous students who resided at residential schools was of crucial importance to the overall schooling project in Nanhkak Thak. The picture below shows a stark example of the order of power relations at Stringer Hall in 1968. Junior Boys' Supervisor Mary Harper authoritatively towers over Indigenous student Floyd Dillon. Harper wears a clean white smock, stands with her hands behind her back and shoulders relaxed, and her gaze on Dillon. She trusted that the subject had learned to adequately clean his runners and was willing to so do without protest. Dillon quietly cleaned his shoes, while wearing an apron to prevent soiled clothes, and did not make eye contact with Harper or the camera. Mops are neatly and uniformly hung on the wall, symbolizing the expectations that staff had of their residential school students.

[136] Baker Lake Alcohol Committee to Malcolm Farrow, Principal, Gordon Robertson Educational Centre, Dennis Servant, Ukkivik Student Residence and Stapleton, "Re: Smoking "Grass," September 28, 1978, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-5.

Figure 33. Junior Boys supervisor Mary Harper observed and inspected Indigenous student Floyd Dillon scrubbing their runners. Title: "Stringer Hall (Inuvik, NWT)." Archival Caption: "Miss Mary Harper, the Junior Boys' Supervisor. Floyd Dillon is scrubbing his muddy runners. -- June 1968."[137]

Analyzing the actions of Indigenous children at Nanhkak Thak's residential schools within the context of the "strategic reversibility"[138] of power and the Dinjii Zhuh concepts of t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii, it becomes apparent that despite the trauma and carcerality of everyday life in northern residential institutions and at day schools, there was a window of opportunity for "subversion, appropriation, and reconstitution,"[139] whether through calculated conformity, breaking the rules, or breaking Canadian law. This "strategy of struggle,"[140] which was common for all students and frequently used in

[137] ACCGSA Mossie Moorby fonds.
[138] Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 194.
[139] Sam Hickey and Giles Mohan, *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development* (London: Zed Books, 2004), 81.
[140] Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 194.

the North, allows us to further theorize how Indigenous peoples reacted to, engaged with, and understood their relationship to a quickly encroaching Canadian nation state. For Foucault, disciplining unruly and dangerous bodies, "their utility and their docility, their distribution and their submission,"[141] was central to the vitality of what he calls the "sovereign"[142] – or in this case, the settler colonial state. This chapter and Ets'ideech'ii Neekąįį[143] demonstrates that Indigenous youngsters at Grollier and Stringer Halls did everything in their power to assure their safety and corporeal autonomy, whether that meant submitting, maintaining the status quo, or fully rebelling.

[141] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 25.
[142] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 47.
[143] Seven. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjìk Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 209.

Ets'ideech'ii Neekąįį:[1] Geetàk Gwiizih Kwaa Nihts'at T'agidi'ìh.[2] "The hazards that can result from too permissive or undisciplined sexual behaviour":[3] Gender, Sexuality, and Violence at Grollier and Stringer Halls, 1959 to 1979

Gwichyà Gwich'in young woman Margaret Nazon slowly walked down the hall to the nun's office. She ran her hand along the wooden paneling on the corridor wall as her gaze was fixated on the tiled floor. Nazon dreaded ts'ik diits'an nathilìt[4] while institutionalized at Grollier Hall. Not only was she removed from the comfort of vihành'[5] during this difficult time, but the Grey Nuns made Nazon, and other girls and young women, feel like spectacles. These strangers attempted to monitor and control even the most intimate bodily functions. When Nazon arrived at the nuns' office, she was forced to ask for a menstrual pad and then wait for the nun to record her information: the date on which her ts'ik diits'an nathilìt began and when the pad was distributed. Nazon explained that "the sister had a big chart with all the girls' names. So every time you had your period you had to go and ask for a sanitary napkin. They wouldn't allow tampons. So, sanitary napkins. That's how they know [that you are menstruating]."[6] Historian Sharra Vostral argued that the use of tampons was alarming for some, since "there

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[1] Seven. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Gwich'in Language Centre (GLC) and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjìk Gwi'dinehtl'ee', Gwich'in Language Dictionary (Fort McPherson and Tsiigehtchic dialects), 5th Ed.* (Teetl'it Zheh & Tsiigehtchic, Northwest Territories [NWT]: Gwich'in Language Centre and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, March 2005), 209.

[2] "Sometimes they do wrong to each other." Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Agnes Mitchell, Lisa André, and Crystal Gail Fraser.

[3] Department of Education (DOE), Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT), "Grades 7 to 9, Social Hygiene Guidance Course," undated (c. 1970), Roman Catholic Diocese of Mackenzie Archives (RCDMA) Box 1 File 18.

[4] Menstruation/menstrual cycle. Literal translation: ts'ik = sickness; diits'an = one's own; nathilìt = became to be. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect). This term is currently under revision as menstruation is linked to Dinjii Zhuh medicine power and therefore is not an illness. GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 154.

[5] Her mother. Literal translation: vi (pronoun) = her; hành' (root word) = mother. GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjìk Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 160; Terry Norwegian-Sawyer, *Gwich'in: Language Lessons, Arctic Red River Dialect* (Gwichyàh Gwich'in) (Whitehorse: Yukon Native Language Centre, 1994), 24.

[6] Margaret Nazon, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Tsiigehtshik, Nanhkak Thak, 30 July 2013.

was a lot of discomfort with the idea of women touching themselves in any way in their vaginal and labia area, especially young girls," and the idea that tampons were "not only inappropriate because [they] might break the hymen, but [they] might be also pleasurable and might be a way for girls to experience orgasmic pleasure."[7] Vostral wrote about the increasing popularity of Tampax among the general public during the 1930s, despite the distaste expressed by some. The Roman Catholic Church, however, continued to embrace antiquated and factually false beliefs about the use of tampons.

Not only did Nazon and her peers have to disclose a personal and normal bodily function to Uunjit strangers, but the distribution of pads created student-supervisor relationships of dependence. Additionally, Nazon's ts'ik diits'an nathilìt was on public display for anyone to see; although 'traditional' Dinjii Zhuh customs around ts'ik diits'an nathilìt (described below) involved community elements, nuns perceived menstruation as unsanitary and dirty, which led to students feeling judged, shamed, and fearful. To make matters worse, the daily routines at Grollier and Stringer Halls, and also at the local day schools, were regimented and unforgiving. There were strict guidelines around the changing of menstrual pads; teachers and staff dictated 'appropriate' times for washroom breaks, placing young women in uncomfortable and potentially embarrassing situations.[8] This experience was far different than what Nazon was taught in her traditional Dinjii Zhuh setting.

[7] Sharra Vostral, *Under Wraps: A History of Menstrual Hygiene Technology* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008), 116.
[8] Anonymous #1, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 9 July 2013.

Figure 34. Margaret Nazon, shown here as a young girl, stands with her mother at their fish camp, Chii Echęįį[9] *along the Nagwichoonjik. It was in this quotidian context that Nazon would have learned about becoming a woman and all that entailed: ts'ik diits'an nathilìt, traditional Dinjii Zhuh marriage customs, and the role of women in Nanhkak Thak society. While institutionalized at Grollier Hall, Nazon was not only removed from her land and her matrilineal society, but also subjected to harmful colonial practices that had life-long consequences of how she viewed her body as a Gwichyà Gwich'in woman. Archival caption: "[Joan Nazon sits at a table while her daughter Margaret Nazon and grandson Ryan Donovan stand with her. They are at Joan and Edward Nazon's fish camp at Chii echeii, the ferry landing on the Mackenzie River across from Tsiigehtchic. The river is behind them.]"*[10]

As demonstrated in the previous chapter on bodies, health, and hygiene, Indigenous bodies were fertile sites of potential change and Uunjit newcomers used unsuspecting Indigenous youngsters as a way to broaden their networks of power to include the corporeal and assimilate young bodies into Uunjit Nanhkak society. At Inuuvik's Grollier and Stringer Halls between 1959 and 1979, thousands of children were subjected to invasive practices that

[9] Chii Echęįį, "cliff-shelter of," is an area on a cliff slope on the Nagwichoonjik that is located between Tsiigehtshik and Srehtadhadląįį. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect). Joan and Edward Nazon established a camp here in the late 1960s. Margaret Nazon is now the primary occupant of this camp. www.atlas.gwichin.ca.

[10] Untitled, July 1978, Northwest Territories Archives (NWTA), James Jerome fonds, acc. no. N-1987-017, item no. 1512.

permanently changed their relationship with their bodies. At such carceral institutions, according to Michel Foucault, the chief goal was to "render individuals docile and useful, by means of precise work on their bodies,"[11] which, at Grollier and Stringer, assisted with colonial goals of the assimilation of Dinjii Zhuh, Inuvialuit, Métis, Inuit, Sahtú, Dënesųłį̨ne, and Tłįchǫ peoples well into the third quarter of the twentieth century. "The power to punish"[12] is the topic of this chapter and, here, I examine how children's bodies were caught up in networks of power that resulted in demoralizing, oppressive, and criminal behaviours. The overall goal of these residential schools was to "be an exhaustive disciplinary apparatus for all aspects of the individual."[13]

Although all students were negatively affected by these practices and policies, Grollier and Stringer Hall administrations campaigned to transform Indigenous bodies, particularly the sexuality of young Indigenous women. Historians have demonstrated that girls and young women were special targets of colonial policies and subjected to violence at alarming rates.[14] As a project that was closely tethered to assimilating Indigenous northerners into broader Canadian society, this was one area where residential school staff and teachers paid close attention to children's 'progress' in becoming modern citizens. Sexualized violence enacted on the bodies of Indigenous women was crucial in establishing settler domination.

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[11] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 231.
[12] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish,* 231.
[13] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish,* 236.
[14] The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (NIMMIWG) found this to be the case in 2019 as well. NIMMIWG, *Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2 vols.* (June 2019).

Foucault discusses “policies of coercion” in terms of a “new micro-physics of power”[15] at these austere institutions. These micro-physics, according to Foucault, included “small cunning acts endowed with a great power of diffusion, subtle arrangements, apparently innocent, but profoundly suspicious, mechanisms that obeyed economies too shameful to be acknowledged.”[16] Foucault, however, did not explicitly analyze gender and how it related to incarceration or austere institutions. Following the work of other feminist scholars who have critiqued Foucault, I argue that much knowledge will be gleaned by examining the perspectives of girls and young women while they were institutionalized at Grollier and Stringer Halls. This, unfortunately, will not include analyses of how northern Indigenous peoples understood gender or how contemporary identities, such as 2SLGBTQQIP*,[17] might have been expressed at Inuuvik’s residential schools.[18]

The power exerted over the bodies of girls and young women had a profound and lasting impact on individuals, and discourses around sexuality were entwined with lessons about Christianity, morality, and secrecy. Students were subjected to acts of misogyny, bad attitudes, abuses of power, and violent assaults. Yet most of these children endured. Although not thriving, they were surviving. Not all students were Dinjii Zhuh but they all used Indigenous forms of strength that were unique to their respective nations. Here, I focus on the Dinjii Zhuh concepts of t’aih, vit’aih, and guut’àii. Indeed, to remain at Grollier and Stringer Halls in the pursuit of receiving an education at the local day schools, Sir Alexander Mackenzie School

[15] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 139.
[16] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 139.
[17] 2SLGBTIQQA stands for two-spirited, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, asexual, pansexual. The * here indicates that these concepts are changing and fluid on an ongoing basis.
[18] There are currently no archival or published materials that document these important topics.

(SAMS) and Samuel Hearne Secondary School (SHSS), Indigenous youngsters exercised their complex personhoods.[19] Although this chapter focuses on the carcerality of everyday life, perhaps more than any other chapter, it aligns with Indigenous Education scholar Eve Tuck's arguments about damage-centered research. Tuck notes that "in a damage-centered framework, pain and loss are documented in order to obtain particular political or material gains."[20] Given that we know so little about these institutions, this chapter demonstrates how Indigenous youngsters responded to the most toxic and vile acts.

Children, such as Margaret Nazon, were no longer exposed to teachings on the importance of ts'ik diits'an nathilìt and shan,[21] how to create and maintain healthy intimate relationships, and knowledge about Indigenous worldviews as they related to genders. Both policies and people removed these children from their families and lands; once students arrived in their new habitat (see Ihładh Gwinlè[22]), residential school and church employees were left to their own devices and instilled powerful ideas to re-shape how children understood their bodies. Ideologies about women's bodies that were instilled at Grollier and Stringer Halls included dialogue and practices around controlling women's sexuality and their 'natural' promiscuity; 'illegitimate' pregnancies; and the spread of sexually transmitted infections (STIs), syphilis in particular, which was historically linked to discourses about social and moral decay and racial degeneration.

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[19] Avery Gordon, Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) qtd. in Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 79, 3 (Fall 2009), 420.
[20] Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," 413.
[21] Spiritual medicine or medicine power. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 153.
[22] Five. Dìgìteech'aa Gagìnaajàt: "Going into a big city for somebody that is entirely new to this white society." Hostel Admissions, Travelling to Inuuvik, and Getting 'Settled' At Grollier and Stringer Halls, 1959 to 1979.

At Grollier and Stringer Halls, Uunjit administrators and supervisors ensured that there was a fundamental shift away from Indigenous practices where young women's first ts'ik diits'an nathilìt was publicly acknowledged and used as a time for essential cultural training; school and residential school policies actively displaced Indigenous philosophies about bodies and their connection to the larger social world. Inuvialuk woman Rita (nilìh ch'uu[23] Elias) Carpenter attended both Grollier and Stringer Halls[24] during the 1960s and asserted that instead of learning these valuable lessons from her mother, she was forced to learn about her reproductive system "from the girl in the next bed. Not next door, but [the] next bed [over]."[25] Indeed, these institutionalized children would have appreciated lessons about their bodies, and their dependence on this information provided an opportunity to strengthen friendships and develop camaraderie. Drawing upon both vit'aih and guut'àii, girls and young women who were separated from their families depended on both personal and communal strength when learning about their bodies.

For Dinjii Zhuh, however, gendered bodies were much more complex than what was encapsulated in a conversation between bed neighbours. When Velma Illasiak[26] attended Stringer Hall in the 1970s, she was forced to learn about her body by herself and asserted that

[23] I use the Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk phrase "nilìh ch'uu" to replace to common French convention "née." Literal translation: "used to be" (Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk, Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects), Alestine Andre and Eleanor Firth.
[24] Carpenter's experience is unique; it was rare that a child attended both religious institutions. This usually happened if a student was expelled from one residential school, which forced them to move to the other. In Carpenter's case, her mother converted to Roman Catholicism during a frightening labour and delivery, meaning that when Carpenter returned to school in Inuuvik that fall, she was institutionalized at Grollier Hall. Rita (nilìh ch'uu Elias) Carpenter, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Tsiigehtshik, Nanhkak Thak, 5 August 2013.
[25] Carpenter, interview with Fraser. For more on Dinjii Zhuh menstrual practices and legends, see: Leslie Main Johnson, *Trail of Story, Traveller's Path: Reflections on Ethnoecology and Landscape* (Edmonton: AU Press, 2010); Robert Feagan, *Mystery at Shildii Rock* (Toronto: Dundurn Group, 2007); GSCI, *Gwich'in COPE Stories* (Fort McPherson, NWT: GSCI, 2010).
[26] In 1999, Illasiak became the first Inuvialuk principal of Moose err School in Akłarvik.

had she been at home with her family, her mother would have informed her about pubescent changes and the well-established Inuvialuit customs for her entry into womanhood.[27] Inextricably linked to shan and the wellbeing of their communities, bodies were potent and extraordinary. Dinjii Zhuh Anjòo Therese (Remy) Sawyer explains that

> At puberty, a young girl would separate from her family to live in a hut by herself, for a period lasting up to one full year. During this time, men and boys were not allowed to approach her, to talk to or even look at her. Only the family's older women, and in particular the grandmother, kept her company. During this time the knowledge that enabled the young girls to understand the importance of her responsibilities, was passed on from one generation to the next. Men did not have access to this knowledge: …they taught me how to respect all those things that were associated with the way you lived in those years.[28]

This period of sequestering was very important for both women and broader Dinjii Zhuh society. It provided space for young women and prominent Anjòo[29] to strengthen their relationships. Young women received critical training about their roles in our matrilineal society, especially how to use shan and its link to ts'ik diits'an nathilìt.

Dinjii Zhuh Anjòo Mary endi explained that women's shan and ts'ik diits'an nathilìt guided socio-economic activities and "when we get a little bit older, maybe thirteen, twelve or thirteen, they [her family] tell us, 'You're going to be a woman pretty soon. You have to learn how to sew.' So, every time we get our periods, they let us sit around and do our sewing."[30]

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[27] Carpenter, interview with Fraser; Velma Illasiak, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Akłarvik, Nanhkak Thak, 13 August 2013; Joanne Barnaby, Mitsuru Shimpo, and Cyntha Struthers, *Rhetoric and Reality: Education and Work in Changing Denendeh* (Waterloo, ON: University of St. Jerome's College, 1991), 30.

[28] Michael Heine, Alestine Andre, Ingrid ritsch, and Alma Cardinal, *Gwich'in Gwichya Googwankak: The Histories and Stories of the Gwichya Gwich'in*, Revised Edition (Tsiigehtshik and Fort McPherson, NWT: GSCI, 2007), 100. For other Dinjii Zhuh teachings about menstruation and medicine power, see: Eliza Andre, "The Crow Story – Part #2," in *Gwich'in COPE Stories*, 42; William Nerysoo, "The Girl and the Crow," in *Gwich'in COPE Stories*, 406.

[29] Literal translation: Elder, Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà and Teetł'it dialects), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 80.

[30] Mary (nilìh ch'uu oe) endi, interviewed by William Firth, Sandra Dolan, and Laura Peterson (Fort McPherson, NWT: GSCI, April 9, 1999), 8-9.

There was very little secrecy around bodies in general; when girls and women were experiencing their ts'ik diits'an nathilìt, the family and other people close in proximity were aware. This was important knowledge not only to practice rituals of the body, but also to assess how best to use women's shan during this time. If shan was not properly respected and used as it was intended, there could be devasting consequences, as detailed in the Ts'ii Dęįį story about the young women who turned her father, brother, and dog to stone at Shìłdii[31] after lifting her hood and looking at them while experiencing ts'ik diits'an nathilìt.[32]

Dene woman Alice Blondin-Perrin wrote about her experiences at St. Joseph's Indian Residential School in Deníu ų́ę́, a Roman Catholic institution, where conversations around normal biological functions, such as puberty, ts'ik diits'an nathilìt, sexual intercourse, and masturbation were strictly forbidden. She explains that intimate matters for Catholics were a "secret never to be talked about because it was sinful," leaving children alone and isolated in the strange and emotional journey of puberty.[33] This too was the case at Oblate-managed Grollier Hall, where Grey Nuns were employed by the federal and territorial governments as supervisors. But Indigenous northern cultures were much more transparent and supportive about women's intimate matters.

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[31] Shìłdii means "sitting down or sitting in fear." Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Teetł'it dialect). This sacred site is located on the Teetł'it Gwinjik approximately eighteen kilometers up from Teetł'it Zheh. www.atlas.gwichin.ca.

[32] Many Dinjii Zhuh Anjòo have told this story, including William Nerysoo, Sarah Simon, Neil Colin, William Teya, and Dorothy Alexie. Neil Colin's telling of the story is as follows: "her mother knew she [had] a strong medicine. So her mother told her not to look up when your dad and your brother and dog [were] coming down, don't ever look up…when they were coming down she turn[ed] around and looked up. She looked at them and her dad and brother and the dog turned to stone. That's [the] story of it." www.atlas.gwichin.ca. The (mis)use of shan and devastating consequences play a prominent role in northern Indigenous knowledge. For instance, Sahtú Got'ı̨nę Elder Morris Modeste shared a story about two young men who disobeyed orders while travelling on the Sahtú and were transformed into trees.

[33] Alice Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart Shook Like a Drum: What I Learned at the Indian Mission Schools, Northwest Territories* (Ottawa: Borealis Press, 2009), 6.

The extensive regulation of women's bodies and their reproductive capacities was an integral part of assimilative agendas for both the federal and territorial governments. From 1959 until at least the early 1980s, Grollier and Stringer Hall policies stated that students were subjected to medical examinations upon admission.[34] The bodies of women, however, required increased levels of surveillance for a number of different factors, which include: the prominent role of Indigenous women in the North as matriarchs; the influence of shan and how, according to Indigenous customs, women have the ability to communicate with animal and spiritual worlds; and the role of women as mothers and parents, since they were the key, through their reproductive abilities, to ensuring that their respective Indigenous nations persisted.

If the chart in the nuns' office was not sufficient to adequately control young girls and women, Grollier Hall staff, under the direction of administrator Max Ruyant, administered monthly pelvic examinations to Senior Girls from at least the mid-to-late 1960s to early 1970s. This policy starkly set Grollier and Stringer Halls apart from each other.[35] These examinations

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[34] After 1969, the DOE had an agreement with the Department of Health and Welfare Canada requiring student examinations, which included yearly physicals, chest x-rays, and immunizations. In 1976, it was discovered that students were not offered medical examinations upon their arrival in Frobisher Bay. R. Gordon Robertson, Commissioner, Council of the Northwest Territories (CNWT) and Deputy Minister, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR) to Joseph-Marie Trocellier, Bishop, Titular Bishop of Adramyttium, Vicar Apostolic of the Mackenzie, OMI, Thebacha, June 12, 1957; Joseph Jacobson, Chief, Education Division, Northern Administration and Lands Branch (NALB), DNANR to Paul Piché, General Superintendent, Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission, University of Ottawa, July 10, 1958, RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 18; DOE, "Pupil Residence Admission Application," May 1969, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-22; XXXX, Łíídlįį ųę́ to Gary R. Black, Superintendent, DOE, September 3, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 4-2; Dr. David M. Coulter, Frobisher Bay General Hospital, Health and Welfare Canada (HWC) to Dr. F.J. Covill, Regional Director, Medical Services, NWT Region, HWC, "Medical Examinations of Students in Residence," September 22, 1976, Covill to Warren C. Rongve, Acting Director, DOE, "Re: Medical Examinations of Students in Residence," October 15, 1976, Mulders to Covill, "Medical Examination of Students Living in Ukkivik Student Residence, Frobisher Bay (Your File: 150-1-8-N (N1)), October 22, 1976, Mulders to William Stapleton, Superintendent, DOE, October 22, 1976, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 3-3; Mary Harrinton Bryant, *4 Years – And Then Some* (Ottawa: Pro Printers, 2007), 184.

[35] Nazon, interview with Fraser;   aren Stote, *An Act of Genocide: Colonialism and the Sterilization of Aboriginal Women* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2015), 5.

were conducted purportedly to identify pregnancy or sexually transmitted infections, but their consequences reached far deeper. Forced examinations taught young women that consent over their bodies was irrelevant, that Uunjit people had full, unmitigated control over Indigenous bodies, and that Indigenous practices of sexuality and parenting needed to be eradicated.

Living in close proximity to young men, young women residing at Grollier and Stringer Halls sometimes broke residential school rules and became pregnant. According to the men who sat on the Northwest Territories Council, "illegitimate" pregnancies among Indigenous women in the NWT were six times the national average.[36] Northern politicians understood so-called underage pregnancies as a "social problem due to an increasing lack of morals combined with a lack of knowledge by our young people of the principles of birth control."[37] Again, the history of intimacy reveals the differences between Grollier and Stringer Halls. A former Stringer Hall student recalled that Nurse Moorby had placed her on oral contraceptive pills to regulate her acne and menstrual cycle; Stringer Hall administrator Leonard Holman knew about this and had the power to order Moorby to cease this treatment, yet he did not.[38] Grollier Hall youngsters, however, neither learned about nor had access to birth control.[39] Young women

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[36] CNWT, "Sessional Paper No. 5 (Second Session, 1966), Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories, 1965: Illegitimate Births," *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Thirty-Third Session, Resolute, Northwest Territories, October 31 – November 18, 1966, Vol. II*, 78.
[37] CNWT, "Sessional Paper No. 5 (Second Session, 1966)," 78.
[38] Rachel Attituq Qitsualik, "Mr. Holman Dreams: Part One of Two," *Nunatsiaq News*, September 24, 1999.
[39] Decriminalization of selling birth control occurred in 1969, but this did not necessarily mean that Indigenous peoples in the North were accessing birth control on a regular basis.

there either arrived at the residential school already pregnant or conceived during their time at the residential school.[40]

Worried that these circumstances would tarnish the already poor reputation of Inuuvik's residential schools, staff refused to frame this 'problem' in terms of a system that badly needed overhauling. Rather than investigate changes to family and health curriculum, the Department of Education (DOE) continued to employ staff – many of them missionaries – who held antiquated beliefs about women and sexuality. In 1972, Stringer Hall nurse Mossie Moorby alleged that school and staff "wrongly counseled" expectant mothers and noted that the "fathers [were] unknown!"[41] The fathers were unknown, perhaps to residential school staff only.

Gwichyà Gwich'in former student Alestine Andre recalled that during her later years at Grollier Hall, between 1965 and 1967, a fellow Senior Girl became pregnant. Fearing retribution from the Senior Girls' supervisors, this student concealed her pregnancy. Andre explained that "she actually died, because I think she was hiding it and next thing we knew, she had died."[42] Having no confidence in Ruyant or her supervisors (especially given their staunch Roman Catholic beliefs around premarital sex and pregnancy), she feared expulsion and lost her life as a result.[43] A few years later, Grollier Hall policies remained unforgiving. In 1969, nuns suspected Andre's mentee (or "charge"), a Junior Girl, of being pregnant. Andre remembered that

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[40] Albert J. Boxer, Administrator, Akaitcho Hall to Larry D. Gilberg, Superintendent, DOE, "Re: XXXX XXXX," January 24, 1975; Ron L. Toutant, Principal, Sir John Franklin High School, Sǫǫ̀mbak'è to Gilberg, February 6, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17; Nazon, interview with Fraser.
[41] Report, Mossie Moorby, Nurse, Stringer Hall, undated (c. June 1972), Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives (ACCGSA) M96-7 Sub Series (SS) 3-3 Box 110 File 11.
[42] Alestine Andre, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Tsiigehtshik, Nanhkak Thak, 2 August 2013.
[43] Andre, interview with Fraser.

> she was really bloated in her belly, in her stomach area. And everybody thought she was pregnant. And oh my god, you should have heard the talking including the nuns, you know they were going – they were besides themselves. And so they went into the center for testing and all that and it came back negative. She was just bloated.[44]

The experience of this Junior Girl demonstrates that administrators and supervisors, particularly at the Oblate residential school, were overwhelmingly anxious about the sexuality of girls and young women, so much so that Junior and Senior Girls required additional surveillance beyond 'basic' pelvic examinations and ts'ik diits'an nathilìt tracking.

Student pregnancies at residential schools were not unique to Grollier and Stringer Halls. In 1975, Yellowknife's Sir John Franklin High School principal Ron L. Toutant wrote to Akaitcho Hall administrator A.J. Boxer and asked if students had been instructed in intimate matters, since he had several students from the residential school in "the family way."[45] And Lapointe Hall's administrator in Łíídlįį ų́ę́ in 1977 reported a high number of pregnancies among residential school students.[46] That teenagers were having unprotected sex was not the problem, but rather that "this situation, as you can well appreciate, often generates parental hostility towards the Department of Education."[47] Rather than supporting expectant families,

[44] Andre, interview with Fraser.
[45] Gilberg to Boxer, "Family Life Education," January 30, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17.
[46] Report, Leonard P. Holman, Administrator, Stringer Hall, DOE to Anglican Church of Canada (ACC), undated (c. June 1972), ACCGSA M96-7 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 11; Charles Bell, Administrator, Akaitcho Hall, DOE to Gilberg, "Confidential: XXXX XXXX – Departure from Akaitcho," February 9, 1976, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17; XXXX to Dave Nickerson, Minister, Department of Social Development, GNWT, February 18, 1977; Stuart M. Hodgson, Commissioner, CNWT to Lewis, Director, March 22, 1977; Joe MacEachern, Superintendent, DOE to Gilberg, April 14, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 3-3; Gilberg to Lewis, "La Pointe Hall," April 19, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-2.
[47] MacEachern to Gilberg.

Education staff were more concerned with the perception of the Department and the increasing unrest of Indigenous families, as detailed in Dąą.[48]

Territorial education staff stated that pregnant students must return to their home communities, but residential school administrators used their personal discretion to enforce this recommendation.[49] Stringer Hall's administrator Leonard Holman was flexible[50] in these matters, but Grollier Hall's Max Ruyant enforced a strict policy of expelling young Indigenous women and sending them back to their home communities.[51] This was problematic, especially in Inuuvik, where both federal and territorial bureaucrats highlighted the construction of a cutting-edge, modern hospital that opened alongside the educational facilities in 1961 and believed their healthcare to be "the most advanced system in Canada."[52] If state-of-the-art healthcare was available in Inuuvik, then students, Catholic or not, should have had the option to remain at the residence and continue their education while receiving pre-natal care. Grollier and Stringer Hall staff encouraged young women who were "social welfare placements" (see Ihładh Gwinlè') to place their children for adoption.[53]

Adolescent or premarital pregnancy for Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit families in Nanhkak Thak was a widely accepted social practice and often presented opportunities for arranged

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[48] Chapter Four. Adachoo at Chit Gįįlii' wàh: "Listen! It's louder now. From here, from there. Indian voices, Métis voices, demanding attention, demanding equality." Indigenous Northerners Respond to Schooling Policies at Inuuvik's Day Schools, 1959 to 1969, 161 to 200.
[49] Report, Moorby, undated (c. June 1972). Boxer to R. Jim Walker, Assistant Superintendent, DOE, "Re: Certain Matters Recorded for Information," September 19, 1974; Boxer to Principal, Chesterfield Inlet Territorial School, December 19, 1974, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17; Nazon, interview with Fraser; Richard Papik, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Akłarvik, Nanhkak Thak, 13 August 2013.
[50] For Akaitcho Hall students "in the family way," Principal Toutant was flexible and left the decision to the student if they wanted to complete the semester or return home. Toutant to Gilberg.
[51] Nazon, interview with Fraser.
[52] "The Decade Review, 1970-1971," *The Inuvik Drum* 15, 3 (Wednesday, February 8, 1980), 9.
[53] V. Illasiak, interview with Fraser.

marriages.[54] Young people in their early teens often "saw themselves getting married and starting a family within a very few years, as had their mothers and grandmothers for generations."[55] It was not uncommon for young Indigenous people to start a family at an early age; despite being institutionalized, girls and young women drew on t'aih and their relationship with the broader community of Inuuvik. They observed their cousins, aunties, and other role models having large families, from an early age. By controlling the sexuality of young women through invasive and non-consensual pelvic exams, forbidding sexual relations at Grollier and Stringer Halls, monitoring the bodies of both girls and women, and determining the future of pregnant women, the DOE was reaffirming its assimilative policies to Indigenous youngsters. A major pillar of northern residential schools was to dismantle Indigenous families and dissolve Indigenous networks of kinship. During this time period, national discourse was generally hostile to "unwed mothers" regardless of their heritage. At the residential schools in the North, however, the oppression of women's autonomy to make decisions about their bodies and families was intertwined with the incarceration of Indigenous youth and the DOE's goal of assimilating youngsters into Uunjit Nanhkak society.

DOE officials and students were acutely aware that residential schools were potent spaces rife with sexualized interactions and the trend to garner unmitigated control over Indigenous sexualities came in the form of a public syphilis campaign that spanned schools, residential schools, hospitals, and nursing stations in Nanhkak Thak from the 1940s through to

[54] Charles W. Hobart, Chapter 3, undated c. late 1960s, RCDMA Unnumbered Box #1.
[55] Miggs Wynne Morris, *Return to the Drum: Teaching Among the Dene in Canada's North* (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 2000), 20.

the 1970s.[56] During the 1940s, Indian Affairs officials called syphilis a "menace" and stated that "there are no opportunities for desirable social life for these people and it seems almost inevitable that they get into trouble."[57] Despite their "increased efforts, there have been an increased number of reports of venereal disease among the natives both in the southern areas and in certain isolated northern areas where venereal disease was hitherto a rarity."[58] The Department determined the root cause of the problem to be the increased mobility of Indigenous and Uunjit northerners: new highways and a blossoming aviation industry that allowed people to travel for employment; the arrival of Uunjit transient workers for employment with construction projects; the increased presence of the United States and Canadian militaries; and the growth of 'organized settlements' that encouraged a permanent and concentrated population. All of these factors allowed for diverse and short relationships. New drugs, penicillin in particular, alleviated some syphilis outbreaks, but infection rates continued to concern state agents and missionaries.

The prevention and treatment of syphilis that continued into the 1960s and 1970s was the concern of both the federal and territorial governments and gave Uunjit decisionmakers an opportunity to further reshape Indigenous sexualities. Northern outbreaks reportedly occurred at an "alarming pace,"[59] which was estimated to be eight to twenty-five times the Canadian

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[56] Department of Mines and Resources (DMR), *Annual Report of Indian Affairs Branch for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1944* (Ottawa: DMR, 1944), 10; "Venereal Disease is a Disease," *The Drum* 6, 44 (November 17, 1971), 4.
[57] DMR, *Annual Report of Indian Affairs Branch for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1944*, 10; DMR, *Annual Report of Indian Affairs Branch for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1945* (Ottawa: DMR, 1945), 11; DMR, *Annual Report of Indian Affairs Branch for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1946* (Ottawa: DMR, 1946), 13.
[58] DMR, *Annual Report of Indian Affairs Branch for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1946*, 15.
[59] The CNWT admitted statistical discrepancies: nearly ninety-five percent of cases in the North were reported, whereas only ten to fifteen percent were disclosed in Uunjit Nanhkak. Furthermore, the rate of infection was increasing nationally, not only in the North. Scott Young, "The Vanishing Nobility," *The Globe and Mail* (June 26, 1964), 6; Dr. Butler and Frank Vallee, "Bill No. 4 – Appropriations 1965-66," *The Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Twenty-Ninth Session, Ottawa, Ontario, February 8-17, 1965, Vol. I*, 340-341; Bent G. Sivertz,

national average during the 1960s. In 1967, Inuuvik's Dr. Frank Boyce reported that he treated four to five cases of syphilis per day and estimated that half of the town was infected. He blamed "alcohol and promiscuous sexual indulgences"[60] for the spread of the infection. Supported by both the federal and territorial governments, an official campaign against syphilis was executed in 1971. This was relevant, in part, to Senior Boys and Senior Girls at Grollier and Stringer Halls since they contracted STIs through their intimate interactions with Inuuvik residents when travelling for sports and extra-curricular activities, and when they returned to their home communities for long weekends and holidays. Indeed, by 1972, Grollier and Stringer Hall nursing staff were trained about the diagnosis and treatment of syphilis and treated Indigenous youngsters for this STI.[61]

Nanhkak Thak residents learned about these new efforts launched by the territorial government's Northern Health Services through a local newspaper advertisement:

> Any sexual contact outside of marriage has a high risk of infection…There is a good chance that the easy pick-ups, the good time girls and the fast talking wolves do have an infection, and that they will not worry about passing it onto others…Often it is the night on the town that produces V.D. Such celebrations usually include alcohol. Alcohol reduces self-discipline and makes people do things they ordinarily would not do. Many people start out for a few drinks and end up with a venereal infection. One way for a

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Commissioner of the NWT, "Sessional Paper No. 4 (Second Session, 1954), Annual Report of the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, 1964 – 1965," *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Thirtieth Session, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, June 14-25, 1965, Vol. II*, 131; CNWT, "Sessional Paper No. 5 (Second Session, 1965), Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories, 1964," *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Thirtieth Session, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, June 14-25, 1965, Vol. II*, 166-167; CNWT, "Venereal Disease" and "Sessional Paper No. 5 (Second Session, 1966), Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories, 1965: Summary," *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Thirty-Third Session, Resolute, Northwest Territories, October 31 – November 18, 1966, Vol. II*, 76, 89; Dr. S.R. Fleming, Inuvik General Hospital, "Venereal Disease," *The Drum* 2, 11 (March 16, 1967), 5.

[60] "An Adventure Loving Doctor in Tame Young Inuvik," *The Globe and Mail* (October 7, 1967), A14; "The School Health Services," *The Drum* 2, 46 (December 7, 1967), 2.

[61] Colin C. Elliott to Rod C. Mc enzie, Administrator, Gordon Robertson Educational, March 27, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24.

man to protect himself from these infections is to use a condom or a ‘safe’ as they are often called.[62]

The NWT Council linked “immorality” to “alcoholism and the lack of alternative past times and pleasures”[63] and prioritized the safety of men over women; women were apparently unworthy of protection against STIs. Increased outbreaks of syphilis occurred in larger centres, such as Inuuvik, Sǫ̀ǫ̀mbak'è, and Xátł’odehchee where there were “major construction works” and “a large number of single men come into the territory.”[64] Given that the majority of the population in the Denendeh was Indigenous, the NWT Council was, in effect, using familiar colonial language. As Women Studies scholar aren Stote argues in a national context, government, school, and medical officials were quick to blame Indigenous women for the spread of infections, reducing intimate relationships to immoral acts of misjudgment.[65]

In 1972, DOE officials debated STIs among the student body, questioning if health officials were required to divulge personal health results to Grollier and Stringer Hall staff.[66]

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[62] R. G. Trueblood, Northern Health Service, “Gonorrhea,” *The Inuvik Drum* 4, 1 (January 9, 1969), 10; “Drumbeat,” *The Inuvik Drum* 4, 4 (February 7, 1969), 8; Northern Health Services (NHS), GNWT “Protect Yourself Against V.D.,” *The Drum* 2, 27 (July 8, 1971), 3. In 1965-66, the GNWT spent $3000 on SYPHILIS programs. CNWT, “Chapter 4: An Ordinance Respecting Expenditures for the Public Service of the Northwest Territories for the Financial Year Ending the 31st Day of March, 1966,” in *The Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Twenty-Ninth Session, Ottawa, Ontario, February 8-17, 1965, Vol. II*, 9; CNWT, “Bill 9 – Allotment 155 – Venereal Disease Control,” *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Thirty-Second Session, Ottawa, Ontario, January 24 – February 7, 1966, Vol. I*, 346; CNWT, “Sessional Paper No. 9 (Second Session, 1966,), Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for Fiscal Year 1965-66,” *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Thirty-Third Session, Resolute, Northwest Territories, October 31 – November 18, 1966, Vol. II*, 331.

[63] Venereal Disease, N.W.T. 1965, Education, Sex and Age Grouping,” *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Thirty-Third Session, Resolute, Northwest Territories, October 31 – November 18, 1966, Vol. II*, 90.

[64] Butler, “Bill No. 4 – Appropriations 1965-66,” 341; Butler, “Sessional Paper No. 5 – Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories,” *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Thirtieth Session, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, June 14-25, 1965, Vol. I*, 405; CNWT, “Sessional Paper No. 5 (Second Session, 1966), Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories, 1965: “Venereal Disease, N.W.T. 1965, Education, Sex and Age Grouping,” *Council of the Northwest Territories Debates, Thirty-Third Session, Resolute, Northwest Territories, October 31 – November 18, 1966, Vol. II*, 90.

[65] Stote, *An Act of Genocide*, 40.

[66] Rod C. Mc enzie, Administrator, Ukkivik Student Residence to Shepherd, March 29, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24.

Students over the age of sixteen were protected under territorial law that afforded them the right to decide who had access to information about their health, including the results of syphilis testing. Although residential school supervisors were technically "acting parents"[67] and legal guardians, medical professionals were not permitted to share personal information with them about Grollier and Stringer Hall children. The refusal of medical professionals to disclose information about student bodies drastically curtailed the power of Grollier and Stringer Hall staff to control Indigenous sexualities. They no longer knew, definitively, if their students were sexually active or not. This did not, however, stop students from requiring treatment. In Inuuvik alone, fifty-four adolescents were part of a federal health experiment that tested potential syphilis vaccines, and many more underwent antibiotic treatment for STIs.[68]

By this time, Grollier and Stringer Halls had been open for nearly a decade and thousands of Indigenous children had been inadequately educated about their changing bodies and sexualites. When Inuuvik's secular high school opened in 1968, conversations about sexual education intensified. Territorial educators encouraged a rigorous curriculum around STIs, emphasizing that "a 'once over lightly' exposure to this area is not sufficient" since many youngsters were infected.[69] In the broader Nanhkak Thak community, parents of residential school and day school children and education employees worked together to develop new programming. DIAND education staff consulted with "parents, clergy, education staff, community workers and medical people" in Nanhkak Thak and DIAND Assistant Deputy

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[67] Elliott to Mc enzie..

[68] "VD Vaccine Trial Results Hopeful," *The Calgary Herald* (November 7, 1972), reprinted in *The Drum* 7, 45 (November 29, 1972), 9; Ian Mosby, "Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools, 1942-1952," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 46, 91 (May 2013).

[69] Curriculum Division, *Elementary Education in the N.W.T.*, 48.

Minister J.H. Gordon reported that there were "several representatives of Indigenous people [in attendance at local meetings] and that they were able to make significant contributions to the decision-making."[70] As already detailed, DIAND management emphasized their innovative approaches to schooling, highlighting the progress of the Department for their 'care' of Indigenous youngsters. Gordon went on to note that it was "almost unique in Canadian education to have a school program developed and initiated entirely by the local community."[71]

The fact that these curricula was being discussed at all was contentious, especially for Inuuvik's Roman Catholic Mission and Grollier Hall's Oblate administrator, Max Ruyant.[72] Ruyant was completely opposed to the teaching of anything sexual. Bishop Paul Piché used this opportunity to bargain for an increased Catholic presence at SHSS, threatening to outright reject the course unless DIAND management approved "one weekly period on ethics and moral principles in grade ten, eleven, and twelve given by a Catholic professor."[73] NWT Commissioner Stuart Hodgson intervened and brokered a deal between the Roman Catholic and Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC) that all parties would submit what they considered appropriate to appear in sexual health curricula.[74]

When the power over education was devolved to the territorial government's DOE in 1969, parents and community were no longer involved in decisions about curricula, particularly

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[70] J.A. MacDonald, Deputy Minister, DIAND to Bishop Paul Piché, OMI, Vicar Apostolic of the Mackenzie, Thebacha, March 21, 1968, RCDMA Carney Files Box 11 of 12; Bernard C. Gillie, District Superintendent of Schools, Mackenzie District, Northern Administration Branch, DIAND to Piché, April 25, 1968, RCDMA Box 1 File 18; J.H. Gordon, Assistant Deputy Minister, DIAND to Piché, August 14, 1968, RCDMA Carney Files Box 11 of 12.
[71] Gordon to Piché.
[72] Toutant, "Principal's Monthly Report," May 8, 1974, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-10; *Arcturus* 3, 2 (November 1973), 37; "Health Improving," *The Inuvik Drum* 17, 27 (July 8, 1982), 6. In the 1980s, the DOE increased its funding for health curriculum substantially to create and implement material that would be relevant to northern students. "$ for Health Curriculum," *The Inuvik Drum* 17, 37 (September 16, 1982), 6.
[73] Piché to Gordon, August 27, 1968, RCDMA Carney Files Box 11 of 12.
[74] Hodgson to Piché, December 4, 1968, RCDMA Unmarked Box File Inuvik High School.

the development of social hygiene courses, which strongly focused on the transmission of syphilis.[75] Teachers delivered this curriculum in health classes through filmstrips and by offering free sexual health clinics.[76] The film *One Quarter Million Teenagers* was a part of the Family Life Education Program, which explained the "physiological aspects of venereal disease from the standpoint of health, avoiding any discussion of the moral issues involved."[77] The DOE attempted to provide students with information that was an "honest and enlightened attack" on sexual infections.[78] The film, along with other materials, allowed educators to "discuss some of the hazards that can result from too permissive or undisciplined sexual behaviour, e.g., unwanted pregnancy, abortion, venereal disease."[79] By all accounts, this programming closely resembled Uunjit Nanhkak materials and offered no context on challenges that students faced in Inuuvik or at Grollier and Stringer Halls. In this case, Inuuvik students – who were overwhelmingly Indigenous – learned that "undisciplined" sexual behaviour could lead to socially unacceptable situations. The Family Life Education Program was part of a larger trend in high school curricula that instilled western notions about heterosexuality and gender.[80]

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[75] DOE, "Background and Scope of a Social Hygiene Guidance Program," undated (c. 1969), RCDMA Unmarked Box File Inuvik High School.
[76] DOE, "References for Social Hygiene and Family Life Education Program," undated (c. 1968), RCDMA Unmarked Box File Inuvik High School.
[77] Meeting Minutes, "Family Life Education Program," Inuvik, May 15 and 16, c. 1968/1969, RCDMA Box 1 File 18; "References for Social Hygiene and Family Life Education Program"; Churchill Films, *A Quarter Million Teenagers*, 15:51 minutes, 1964.
[78] Curriculum Division, *Learning in the Middle Years: A Handbook for Curriculum Development* (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1973), 37.
[79] DOE, "Grades 7 to 9, Social Hygiene Guidance Course."
[80] A selection includes: William Bauer, *Moving Into Manhood* (Doubleday, 1963); Bauer, *Way to Womanhood* (Doubleday, 1965); *Eleanor* Boll, *That Man That You Marry* (MacRae-Smith, 1960); Roy Ernest Dickerson, *Into Manhood* (Association Press, 1962); Evelyn Duvall, *Love and the Facts of Life* (Association Press, 1963); Evelyn Duvall, *Why Wait Till Marriage?* (Association Press, 1965); Ruth Fedder, *A Girl Grows Up*, rev. ed. (McGraw-Hill, 1957); Henry Gregor Felson, *Letters to a Teen-age Son* (Head Dodd, 1962); Eric W. Johnson, *Love and Sex in Plain Language* (Lippincott, 1965); Judson T. Landis, *Building a Successful Marriage*, 4th ed. (Prentice Hall, 1963); Paul H. Landis, *Your Dating Days, Looking Forward to Happy Marriage* (McGraw-Hill, 1954); S.R. Laycock, *Family Living and Sex Education* (Canadian Health Education Specialists Society, 1967), RCDMA Box 1 File 18.

Both residential school staff and territorial curricula developers sought to expand sexual education, alongside the syphilis campaign, and offered Grollier and Stringer Hall students "advice"[81] about intimate partner selection. Ruyant and his staff of Grey Nuns at Grollier Hall followed an Oblate manual for teenage education and, in 1962, taught residential school students that intimate relations were to be "exclusively between husband and wife."[82] They also questioned "why [Indigenous residential school] girls want to marry white men,"[83] speculating that Indigenous women in Nanhkak Thak preferred Uunjit men due to "easier living, better living, and [their elevated] social rank."[84] Given that some Dinjii Zhuh, Inuvialuit, and Métis students in the region had been attending residential schooling since 1867 and had a long history of fostering new relations with neighbours, it is unsurprising that some Indigenous women and their families nurtured cross-cultural relationships and were aware of the social capital that such unions could bring.

The DOE, in their printed handbook, prescribed the selection of spouses for northern students, emphasizing the importance of similar background, religion, and race, noting that

> the day may come when prejudice against inter-racial marriage will disappear, but it has not yet arrived. Some problems that are likely to be encountered are social disapproval by both the public and friends, rejection of children by both racial groups as being half-caste.[85]

By encouraging Uunjit children to date and marry other Uunjit children, and Indigenous children to marry other Indigenous children, DOE staff did its best to ensure that Nanhkak Thak,

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[81] Grollier Hall, "Sujet D'Etude Pour La Reunion Du District en Juin 1962," RCDMA Filing Cabinet Inuvik and Holman Box, Binder File Inuvik.
[82] Grollier Hall, "Sujet D'Etude Pour La Reunion Du District en Juin 1962."
[83] Grollier Hall, "Sujet D'Etude Pour La Reunion Du District en Juin 1962."
[84] Grollier Hall, "Sujet D'Etude Pour La Reunion Du District en Juin 1962."
[85] DOE, "Grades 10 to 12, Social Hygiene Guidance Course," undated (c. 1970,) RCDMA Box 1 File 18.

and more importantly Inuuvik, remained racially segregated. Influencing Indigenous children to select one intimate partner over another based on racial constructions was a way for the Canadian nation state to attempt to inhibit the autonomy of Indigenous peoples, shape their bodies, and influence social relations.

Violence was another way in which church and state agents controlled Indigenous bodies. Critical race scholar Sherene Razack argues that violence was one way to teach Indigenous people that they were "undeserving of full personhood."[86] One way to fully colonize Indigenous youngsters was through physical violation, thereby ensuring their feelings of powerlessness. Foucault wrote that "it is always the body that is at issue – the body and its forces, their utility and their docility, their distribution and their submission."[87] Sexual misconduct, violence, and assault were used toward the ultimate goal of conditioning Indigenous children to be submissive and docile. Residential school administrators and supervisors, policymakers, and other education staff were responsible for the safety of residential school children. These people failed thousands of Indigenous children over the course of thirty-seven years at Inuuvik's Grollier and Stringer Halls.

Although residential school staff were expected to 'care' for students who were institutionalized at Grollier and Stringer Halls, there was an overwhelming absence of parenting skills, particularly at the Oblate-managed Grollier Hall. Staff-student relationships there, according to Alestine Andre, were "strictly business," and children were simply "handled; they

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[86] Sherene H. Razack, "Gendered Racial Violence and Spatialized Justice: The Murder of Pamela George," *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 15, 2 (2000), 94.
[87] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 25.

are not cared for or mothered.”[88] Andre recalls “the cool, aloof stares of the nuns” and their “very mean and nasty” attitudes.[89] This demeanor was, in part, due to the power that individual supervisors were given and that they acted and responded with little oversight or supervision. Official territorial policy stated that Grollier and Stringer Hall “Management will employ a standard of care towards the children in the pupil residence equivalent to that which a careful parent would adopt in respect of his own child.”[90]

Abuse occurred at almost every residential school dotting the North and there is a persistent and strong living memory of this trauma.[91] The two most notorious institutions were Inuuvik’s Grollier Hall and ᐃᒡᓗᓕᒑᕐᔪᒃ’s[92] Turquetil Hall. These residential schools had persisting reputations of misconduct and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) described these institutions as “regimes” that inflicted sexual abuse and harsh discipline “that scarred more than one generation of children.”[93] Although my discussion focuses on the

[88] Anonymous #10, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Teetł’it Zheh, Nanhkak Thak, 31 July 2013; A. Andre, interview with Fraser, 11; Hobart, 11 (Chapter 2).
[89] Alestine Andre, “Offred at the Roman Catholic Hostel,” *Atlantis: A Women Studies Journal* 17, 2 (Spring/Summer 1992), 105; Cockney, interview with Fraser.
[90] Clause 22, Hostel Management Contract, ACC and CNWT, “Memorandum of Agreement,” April 1, 1969, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-20.
[91] We currently know of the following communities where northern Indigenous students who were institutionalized at government-owned, church-operated residential schools were sexually abused: Akłarvik, ᐃᒃᐱᐊᕐᔪᒃ (Ikpiarjuk; Arctic Bay), ᐃᒡᓗᓕᒑᕐᔪᒃ (Igluligaarjuk; Chesterfield Inlet), Délı̨né, ᐃᒡᓗᓕᒃ (Iglulik; Igloolik), Inuuvik, Adawe, ᒥᑦᑎᒪᑕᓕᒃ (Mittimatalik; Pond Inlet), ᑲᖕᒋᖅᑭᓂᖅ (angiqliniq; Rankin Inlet), Teetł’it Zheh, and Sǫǫ̀mbak'è. At ᐃᒡᓗᓕᒑᕐᔪᒃ, former students made eighty-six allegations of sexual abuse and 150 allegations of physical abuse. “RCMP Press Statement: Allegations of Sexual & Physical Abuse, Sir Joseph Bernier Federal Day School, Chesterfield Inlet, N.W.T. – 1952-1969, June 27, 1995,” “List of Participants Speaking – Meeting July 20 – 23, 1993,” L. Brandson, Conference Notes, “In the Spirit of Healing: A Special Reunion, Chesterfield Inlet, N.W.T., July 20-23, 1993,” RCDMA OMI Box 3 of 12;   atherine Peterson, *Sir Joseph Bernier Federal Day School, Turquetil Hall Investigation Report* (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1994).
[92] Igluligaarjuk translates to “place with few houses” and is Nunavut’s oldest community. It was formerly known as Chesterfield Inlet.
[93] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), *Canada’s Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience. The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Volume 2* (Montreal &   ingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015), 4.

years after 1959 in Nanhkak Thak, abusive policies were also prevalent at Akłarvik's All Saints and Immaculate Conception Indian Residential Schools.[94] Inuvialuk woman Rosie Albert recalled that during her stay at All Saints during the 1940s, she felt that "even a dog would get treated better than that [the students]," and Anthony Thrasher remembered being "strapped to a bed and whipped with a three-foot watch chain."[95]

Federal officials knew about the abuse. One investigator commented that during this time period, "over-zealous"[96] disciplinary tactics created situations of fear and anxiety. Physical abuse among Grollier and Stringer Hall youngsters was evident throughout the 1960s and 1970s. The "use [of] great force to encourage students to act in a certain way" was not uncommon at these institutions and this sometimes resulted in staff enacting "instances of brutality," with some students sustaining physical injuries, such as broken bones.[97] Despite *School Ordinance* and the *Indian Act* rules stating that children must attend the residential school that aligned with their religious denomination, some parents brokered deals with local administrator as a response to accounts of maltreatment, which resulted in the transfer of their children to the other institution.[98] Although some Indigenous parents were physical when disciplining their children, the difference here is that institutionalized children were placed in that situation because they were Indigenous, because they had to conform for assimilative

[94] Trocellier, Bishop to Dr. Andrew Moore, July 15, 1945, LAC RG85 Vol. 1505 600-1-1 File 2.
[95] Rosie Albert (nilìh ch'uu Stefansson), interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 18 July 2013; Anthony Apakark Thrasher et. al. *Thrasher…Skid Row Eskimo* (Toronto: Griffin House, 1976), 37.
[96] Peterson, *Sir Joseph Bernier Federal Day School*, 8
[97] Hogg to Mc enzie, March 22, 1972; Mc enzie to Hogg, March 24, 1972; Black to Shepherd, June 26, 1973, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24; Diane Baxter, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 11 July 2013.
[98] The transfer of Anglican and Roman Catholic schools was contentious. The DMR did not encourage such action for fear of friction between the two organizations, but parents generally worked out local arrangements and did not include the Department. TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 21.

reasons, and because the networks of power in place rendered Indigenous bodies as objects that needed to be controlled by Uunjit newcomers.

Five years after the opening of residential schools in Nanhkak Thak, Fleming Hall, an MSCC-managed, government-owned residential school in Teetł'it Zheh, was among the first institutions to come under scrutiny. In 1964, a Dinjii Zhuh employee reported a string of malicious incidents among Junior Girls to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). The RCMP interviewed the girls and discovered that their supervisor had taken them on walks to a nearby swimming area and repeatedly sexually assaulted them.[99] The investigation also revealed that the accused had a history of spending evenings with young girls in their playroom. Fleming Hall employee Don Perdue pleaded guilty to exposure and paid a fine of twenty-five dollars.[100] Despite his conviction, MSCC management was "satisfied that he be retained" in his position as residential school employee and that no "maliciousness was intended."[101] Although the MSCC left the final decision to DNANR officials who were fully aware of the issue, church management stated on separate occasions that they had "no intention of asking that Perdue be dropped" from Fleming Hall.[102]

Numerous examples stemming from the greater Nanhkak Thak region demonstrate that abuse occurred territory-wide. In 1965, Anglican Bishop Henry G. Cook discovered that the administrator at Bompas Hall in Łíídlįį ųę́ was having "unsatisfactory relationships with boys," although he admitted that the news was "not really unexpected," indicating that he might have

[99] Allan Jackson, Administrator, Fleming Hall, Teetł'it Zheh, DOE, to Jones, "Re: Mr. Don Perdue," April 13, 1964, ACCGSA M2006 SS 3-2 (Series 3) Box 1 File 4.
[100] Jackson to Jones "Re: Mr. Don Perdue," April 13, 1964.
[101] Jones to Cook, Bishop April 20, 1964; Cook, Bishop to Jones, April 22, 1964, ACCGSA M2006 SS 3-2 (Series 3) Box 1 File 4.
[102] Jones to Cook; Cook to Jones, April 22, 1964.

been aware of previous situations.[103] Ironically, the accused had offered advice on how to deal with Perdue a year earlier.[104] DNANR Education Superintendent B. Thoresteinsson stated that the Department was not willing to pursue the claim, prompting the MSCC to call the response a "weird smoke screen."[105] MSCC officials were satisfied not to investigate and continued to employ this individual, while they "ke[pt] an eye out" and "ears open" for further criminal behaviour.[106]

Predators who worked as educators sometimes leveraged their power to force residential school students into sexual relationships. The TRC estimated that 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."[107] Martin Houston, Jerzy George Maczynskiwas, and Jean Coumeau were the culprits of assault on innocent and unsuspecting children at Grollier Hall.[108] Former Grollier Hall student Richard Hardy recalled in 1998 that during Houston's time at Grollier Hall from 1960 to 1962, this Senior Boys' supervisor coerced "the entire senior boys' dorm out of bed around midnight and [he was] having us run around the gymnasium bare-assed naked for hours for his enjoyment."[109] One student recalled that his supervisor threatened him with the loss of sign-

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[103] Cook learned this from the MSCC. Cook to Jones, MSCC, April 26, 1965, ACCGSA M2006 SS 3-2 (Series 3) Box 1 File 4.
[104] Cook to D. Wootten and Jackson, "Mr. Don Perdue," April 3, 1964; Jackson to Jones, "Re: Mr. Don Perdue," April 13, 1964, Jones to Cook; Cook to Darkes, April 20, 1964, Cook, Bishop to D. Wootten and Jackson, April 20, 1964, ACCGSA M2006 SS 3-2 (Series 3) Box 1 File 4.
[105] Jones to Cook.
[106] Cook to Jones, April 26, 1965, ACCGSA M2006 SS 3-2 (Series 3) Box 1 File 4; Jackson to Jones, March 12, 1968, ACCGSA M2006 SS 3-2 (Series 3) Box 1 File 5.
[107] TRC, *What We Have Learned: Principles of Truth and Reconciliation* (Montreal & ingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 76-77.
[108] Ed Struzik, "Schools scandal"; "Ex-supervisor jailed for assaulting pupils," *Edmonton Journal* (August 8, 1997), A10.
[109] Ed Struzik, "Schools scandal: Child abuser now a Manitoba priest," *Edmonton Journal* (May 11, 2002), A1.

out privileges and extra-curricular activities if he did not comply with coerced sexual acts.[110] Other students were forced into a private space and ordered to remove their clothes.[111] Over the course of the 1960 to 1961 school year, Houston repeatedly sexually assaulted at least five Grollier Hall boys, fondled two others, and 'inspected' innocent children as they emerged from the shower.[112] Those who refused to comply with his orders faced intense episodes of physical assault.[113] Houston committed his final crime at Grollier Hall in 1962, when he kidnapped a residential school boy and was arrested and charged later that year in Ottawa for the possession of obscene material.[114]

These notorious criminals inflicted long-term and sustained damage on children. Paul Leroux was another predator; he was a former judge for the Territorial Government's Family and Juvenile Court, a member of the Big Brothers mentorship program, and a boys' supervisor and sports coach for both federal and territorial governments between 1967 and 1979.[115] Among Grollier Hall students, Leroux was known as "Mr. Macho" and commanded the respect and submission of students, particularly young men. His status as "Mr. Macho" was based on false perceptions and unequal power relations that few other supervisors ever achieved.[116] Métis woman Bernice Lavoie later described Leroux as a "slick, likeable man" who carefully

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[110] Charlie Gillis, "The Ghosts of Grollier Hall: The Western Arctic is on the Front Lines of a $350-Million Campaign to Exorcise the Demons of Abuse that Haunt Thousands of Natives Who Attended Residential Schools," *Edmonton Journal*, January 11, 1998. This narrative of employees either revoking or granting extra privileges to students is common at southern schools as well.
[111] Gillis, "The Ghosts of Grollier Hall."
[112] Andrew Raven, "Grollier Hall Supervisor Sentenced," *Northern News Service* (August 20, 2004), www.nnsl.com; Ed Struzik, "Ordaining abuser an error -- Church: Catholic officials admits Houston bad choice for clergy," *Edmonton Journal* (June 7, 2002), A2.
[113] Ed Struzik, "Schools scandal: Child abuser now a Manitoba priest."
[114] Raven, "Grollier Hall Supervisor Sentenced."
[115] "Ex-school official admits sex with boys," *The Gazette* (August 13, 1998), A6.
[116] Charlie Gilles, "'Mr. Macho' Commanded Respect,'" *Edmonton Journal*, January 11, 1998.

sought opportunities that allowed him to work closely with children.[117] Leroux's heinous acts, often executed at night, disrupted the lives of dozens of boys, some who were younger than fourteen years old.[118] Sometimes, he arranged young boys in a circle, as one former student recalled, and "he got everyone naked [...] and he started touching people."[119] One former Grollier Hall student recalled that his supervisor threatened to sever his involvement in extra-curricular activities and revoke his evening and weekend privileges if he did not comply with coerced sexual acts.[120] Other students were forced into private spaces and ordered to remove their clothes, so their abusers could take pornographic photographs.[121] As a further measure of controlling the bodies of young Indigenous boys, Leroux doped children with alcohol.[122] Despite a young boy filing a complaint with Grollier Hall administrator Father Max Ruyant, charges against Leroux were not filed until in 1979, when he was convicted for sexual assault and sentenced to four months in prison.[123] Territorial staff at the DOE refused to deal with these situations adequately, dismissing the testimony of Indigenous students and instead waiting until "concrete evidence" was obtained.[124]

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[117] "Pardoned man faces 32 new sex charges," *Star – Phoenix* (July 2, 1997), A11.
[118] Brent Pushkarenko, "School supervisor faces verdict over sexual abuse," *Edmonton Journal* (August 14, 1998), A6.
[119] Gillis, "The ghosts of Grollier Hall."
[120] Gillis, "The Ghosts of Grollier Hall." This narrative of employees either revoking or granting extra privileges to students is common at southern schools as well. Fred, 22.
[121] Gillis, "The Ghosts of Grollier Hall."
[122] Brent Pushkarenko, "Former judge admits to sex with boys in his care; Victims as young as 14 years old," *Edmonton Journal* (August 12, 1998), A1.
[123] Eddie Lavoie, Administrator, Grollier Hall to Bishop Denis Croteau, Roman Catholic Diocese of Mackenzie-Fort Smith, September 3, 1998, RCDMA Croteau Files Box 2 of 3 Sexual Abuse. Within a year of being released from prison, Leroux obtained employment with the Human Rights Commission in Vancouver. Chris Cariou, "Lax screening for sex offenders riles advocate," *Standard* (July 9, 1997), A6.
[124] MacEachern to Gilberg.

For girls and young women institutionalized at Grollier and Stringer Halls, their experiences were profoundly traumatic and determined by imbalances in gendered relations.[125] Young Indigenous men were also affected by colonial policies; indeed, the normalization of bodily harm and violence, misogynist ideologies, and the domination of women had permeated their once strong-Indigenous worldviews. In a tragic turn of events, residential school students sometimes became abusers themselves.[126] Former Stringer Hall student Robert Alexie Jr. explained that "people who are abused will abuse themselves. That's what happened to our people. That's the cycle we are trying to end."[127] Many abusers were themselves victims of trauma, but equally invested in narratives that enabled them to swing the pendulum of power in their favour in contexts where they wielded little control over their bodily autonomy. Power networks, then, not only operated between teacher-supervisor-administrator and students, but among student groups themselves. In this case, girls and young women had the additional baggage of attempting to navigate the murky networks of violence to prevent harm.

Indigenous children were frequently exposed to spaces in which violence routinely occurred; Inuuvik's geography was unsympathetic. As a government town that was built from scratch, it was constantly under construction. Spaces that were hidden from the public's gaze were common: temporary buildings – like annexes used for schools – provided liminal and

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[125] Anonymous #10, interview with Fraser; Jody Woods, "*I Remind Until I Fall*: An Examination of Space, Memory and Experience at the Coqualeetza Indian Residential School and Indian Hospital," MA Thesis (University of British Columbia, 1996), 17.
[126] "Victims Become Abusers – Fontaine," *News/North* (June 24, 1991), 13, RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12; Diane Dakers, "Residential School Survivors Gather to Heal: Stories of Abuse, Loneliness, Shame and Fear Shared at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Northern National Event," *The Globe and Mail* (July 1, 2011), A6.
[127] Alexie Jr., email to Fraser; Phil Fontaine, "We Are All Born Innocent," in *Residential Schools: The Stolen Years*, Linda Jaine, ed. (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1993), 55; Cariboo Tribal Council, "Faith Misplaced: Lasting Effects of Abuse in a First Nations Community," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 18, 2 (1991).

dangerous areas, small thresholds between utilidors and the ground, and the curious, but cold empty contours of buildings on stilts.[128] And under the utilidor was a much more ominous space, since students were sometimes sexually assaulted under the large metal tube. Spaces and objects can be imbued with "special meanings, protections, and practices."[129] Rita Carpenter, who was placed at both Grollier and Stringer Halls during her time in Inuuvik, said that "it happened right under the utilidor. We knew where it happened, we knew who it was and knew who did it."[130] Unfortunately, her niece was a victim. "They [the offenders] had access to alcohol. That's where it started." She "was raped when she was seven by a Senior Boy. She just about died. They found her frozen, her bum stuck into the ice under one of the annex school buildings."[131]

1971 was a turbulent year for sexual assault at Stringer Hall. One troubled young man, who was dependent on alcohol, "mistreated" his girlfriend on several occasions.[132] The young woman was clearly a victim of abuse and administrator Holman speculated that her desire to remain in the relationship was "maybe out of fear."[133] The alleged abuser was neither reprimanded for his behaviour nor removed from Stringer Hall and staff only took offence to the situation when the student in question swore at a supervisor.[134] The same year, a fourteen-

[128] Razack, "Gendered Racial Violence and Spatialized Justice," 93.
[129] Mary C. Wright, "The Women's Lodge: Constructing Gender on the Nineteen-Century Pacific Northwest Plateau," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History, Sixth Ed*., eds. Gleason, Tamara Myers, and Adele Perry (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2006), 102.
[130] Carpenter, interview with Fraser.
[131] Carpenter, interview with Fraser.
[132] Alcohol seemed to be a factor in sexual abuse cases. See: George Sinclair, "Future of 'Education Hub of North' in Doubt After Student Beatings: Trouble in Fort Smith," *The Montreal Gazette* (November 13, 1974), 9.
[133] Holman to Mr. & Mrs. XXXX XXXX, Tuktuyaaqtuuq, November 29, 1971.
[134] The supervisor claimed that she was "deeply hurt and shocked" by being sworn at – not by the fact that the student was abusing his girlfriend. Holman to Mr. & Mrs. XXXX XXXX.

year old male student "indecently assaulted" a seven-year-old girl under a warehouse on residential school property. Holman wrote that

> As the little girl is a ward of the Territorial Govt., the Dept. of Social Development was brought into the picture. The family is very well known to all of us and due to the poor home environment and severe psychiatric disturbances in the older sisters, it was felt no charges should be laid but this lad be examined by the Psychiatrist who is due in very shortly. It was also felt that the lad should not remain any longer at Stringer Hall.[135]

In this situation, the "poor" home environment and history of the victim's sisters partially absolved the abuser of a crime.

Holman wrote that two female students visited friends at Grollier Hall. When they were found, one girls' clothes "were in disarray and she said she had been raped."[136] The other girl "was apparently only mauled a bit by one of the lads involved, in one of the other bedrooms, events are very hazy and so no charges have been laid concerning her."[137] It was unclear if the "boys spiked their drinks" but all were known to local RCMP officers. Five men were arrested and charged, one of whom had assaulted a nurse's aide the previous evening.[138] These young women were from Ikaahuk and Tuktuyaaqtuuq, Inuvialuit communities hundreds of kilometers north of Inuuvik, and had no local support apart from what was offered at the residential school.

The same weekend, another Stringer Hall student was sexually assaulted: "She met two other youths who enticed her to the apartment in single staff [quarters] occupied by one of them. Here she claims they made her stay all night and they had intercourse with her."[139] The

[135] Holman to Coady, April 1, 1971, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24.
[136] Holman to Coady, November 6, 1971, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24.
[137] Holman to Coady, November 6, 1971.
[138] Holman to Coady, November 6, 1971.
[139] Holman to Coady, November 6, 1971.

student was very shaken up, but Holman was encouraged that she wanted to do better in her studies.[140] The student's ability to do well in school was linked to her desire to remain at the residential school and likely to dismiss her experience as a victim of sexual assault. DOE management chose not to rectify the source of the problem. Additionally, they did not charge the abusers using Canadian law; this was perhaps a satisfactory outcome given that the colonial legal system generally reinforces violent behaviour. Perhaps the best-case solution would have been to adopt a restorative justice model for youngsters, in consultation with Nanhkak Thak Indigenous nations.

Given that assimilation continued to be the order of the day, the DOE often resorted to victim-blaming in an effort to absolve themselves from responsibility for the safety of their students. Language used by DOE employees downplayed the serious nature of situations and often highlighted the perceived sexualized image of young Indigenous women. Inuvialuk student and Grollier Hall resident Rita Carpenter recalled having her teacher, Mr. Labossier, "go down my dress and start grabbing [my] knees."[141] She reported her grade seven social studies teacher to the SHSS principal for harassment, only to be removed her from the class while the teacher continued teaching duties.[142] Carpenter, reflecting on the situation, said, "I just couldn't, nobody believed me so I just let it go. I'm going to get punished for opening my mouth, I'll just keep it quiet […] I don't know how the rest of the girls put up with it."[143]

[140] Holman to Coady, November 6, 1971.
[141] Carpenter, interview with Fraser.
[142] Carpenter, interview with Fraser.
[143] Carpenter, interview with Fraser.

Under the direction of Education Director Brian Lewis, territorial staff at the Curriculum Division published problematic materials in an effort to inform students about consent over their bodies. The Department regularly published a student magazine, entitled *PIK*. An issue in 1977 contained a comic depicting two Indigenous hunters engaged in curious activities; they used the language of “stupid ass” and “screw driver” and an other-than-human animal was depicted that stated “Gruw, I’m here to rape!”[144] For Indigenous societies in the North, human-animal relationships are complex and it is fair to say that the analogy of an animal threatening to penetrate and possibly use lethal force against a person is the ultimate colonial construct. A part of Dinjii Zhuh shan includes the ability to communicate and negotiate with the environment (animals included, for they are our kin). This example of how our kin could be responsible for sexually violating children is yet another example of assimilative curricula.

Dinjii Zhuh man Tommy Wright of Akłarvik, member of the local Education Advisory Committee, wrote the Department protesting the “lack of common sense” and offensive nature of the comic.[145] Rather than retracting the issue or offering an apology, Lewis explained that “more and more of our [curriculum] work is farmed out to be done by private enterprise which is, of course, in line with Government policy. This means that we tend to exercise less control.”[146] Completely dismissing the concerns of Nanhkak Thak education staff and parents, Lewis denied that the publication came directly from his staff and instead held a third-party

[144] Programme Development Division, *PIK* 6, 2 (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1977).
[145] Tommy Wright, Chairman, Aklavik Education Advisory Committee to Lewis, April 22, 1976, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-19.
[146] Lewis, Director to Wright, May 5, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-19.

contractor responsible for the poor judgment, essentially upholding departmental culture that denied Indigenous students autonomy over their bodies and normalized rape culture.

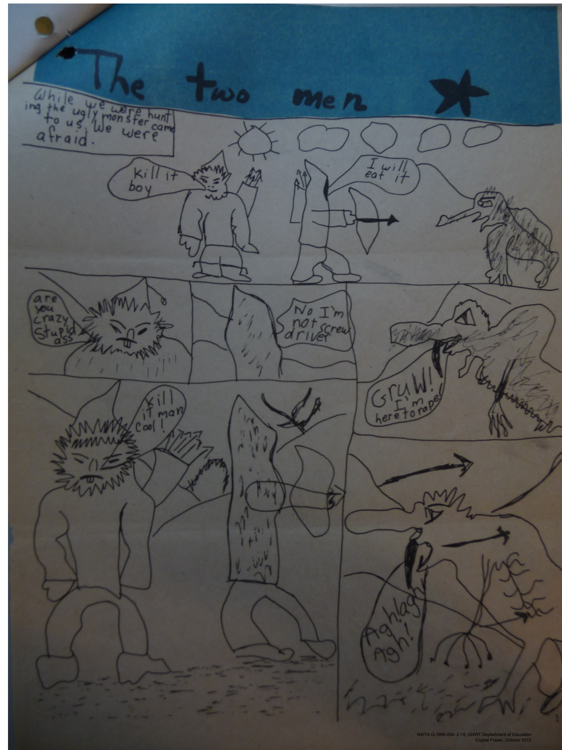

Figure 35. This image is an exerpt from the student magazine PIK. Given that the DOE outsourced the content of this publication, the artist remains unknown. The men appear to be Indigenous hunters, demonstrating their power over nature by threatening to kill the animal. This representation deviates wildly from Dinjii Zhuh philosophies that guide human-animal-spirit relationships.[147]

If abuse at day and residential schools was not sufficiently traumatic, Indigenous students feared for their safety during the summer months, while they were in their home communities with their families. A critical component to employment with the DOE was mobility. Working with few resources in a large region, administrators, teachers, and staff constantly traversed the North to undertake reviews, consult with colleagues, attend training, and perform administrative duties. Beginning in 1969, Education Director Bernard Gillie

[147] Programme Development Division, *PIK* 6, 2 (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1977).

approved Grollier Hall Boys' supervisor and sexual predator Paul Leroux to conduct summer community visits in Nanhkak Thak to purportedly monitor his students and consult with their families.[148] Disturbingly, Leroux refused his regular salary and considered his expenses as "part of his holiday."[149] Sending sexual predators to students further traumatized young bodies and further extended the injustices of residential schools into communities.

Grollier and Stringer Hall students were not the only ones traumatized. Violent altercations took place at Inuuvik's day schools, SAMS and SHSS.[150] During the 1970s, David Button, SHSS student counselor and local group home operator, exploited his position of power by abusing teenaged school children at the school itself, in his own home, and even in his vehicle during a driving lesson.[151] He routinely visited Akłarvik's Moose   err School in his capacity as a counselor throughout the 1970s, extending his reach beyond Inuuvik to a different student population.[152]

Twelve years after the first day and residential schools opened in Nanhkak Thak, DOE management had been presented with enough cases of sexual misconduct, territory wide, that it released support materials for educators on how to interact with students. Assuming that

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[148] Gillie, Director, DOE to Residence Administrators, DOE, "Summer Visits to Home Settlements by Contract Hostel Personnel," May 15, 1969, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-22.
[149] Coady to Gillie, Director, "Re – Summer Visits to Home Settlements by Contract Hostel Personnel," June 18, 1969, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-22.
[150] The use of discipline and abuse was not unique to Inuuvik. Amy Von Heyking writes about Alberta students in the early twentieth century who had their mouths taped shut for whistling, teachers shaking students "until their teeth rattled," and the common use of the strap. Von Heyking, *Creating Citizens: History and Identity in Alberta's Schools, 1905-1980* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006), 14-15.
[151] Martha Wickett, "Conviction for indecent assault," *Salmon Arm Observer* (March 10, 2015).
[152] Robert   ennedy Bell, Principal, Moose   err School, Akłarvik, DOE, "Inuvik Region Principal's Monthly Report to Superintendent of Education," May 28, 1975 and June 1, 1976, Anthony J. Stewart, Moose   err School, "Inuvik Region Principal's Monthly Report to Superintendent of Education," October 31, 1976.

most, if not all, 'problem' students were Indigenous, the guide for *Elementary Education in the NWT*, published in 1971, stated that

> In native experience overt signs of anger or frustration, as these are displayed through disciplinary actions, can have little meaning. What may appear to the non-native as being permissiveness on the part of the parents in actuality may be a subtle yet effective approach to child rearing based on love and understanding of a deeper quality than is conventionally known in many Euro-Canadian households. Moreover, the fact that the teacher, on occasion, loses his temper, or in the vernacular, "blows his cool", will undoubtedly do little to enhance the image of the foreign teacher in the eyes of a pupil accustomed to gentle reprimands within a family circle characterized by its considerations of his needs.[153]

Acknowledging the wide cultural embankment between teachers and students, the Department suggested that patience and "gentle reprimands" were more effective than a stern approach.

Yet other official Department printed materials tell otherwise. An excerpt from a DOE teachers' newsletter in 1973 depicts a presumably uunjit teacher or supervisor, a person in a position of power, threatening to beat an Indigenous student. Since this publication was widely distributed to and read by education and schooling staff, teachers, and residential school workers, DOE management transmitted a very clear message that abusing Indigenous children was tolerated and even encouraged.

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[153] Curriculum Division, *Elementary Education in the N.W.T.*, 8.

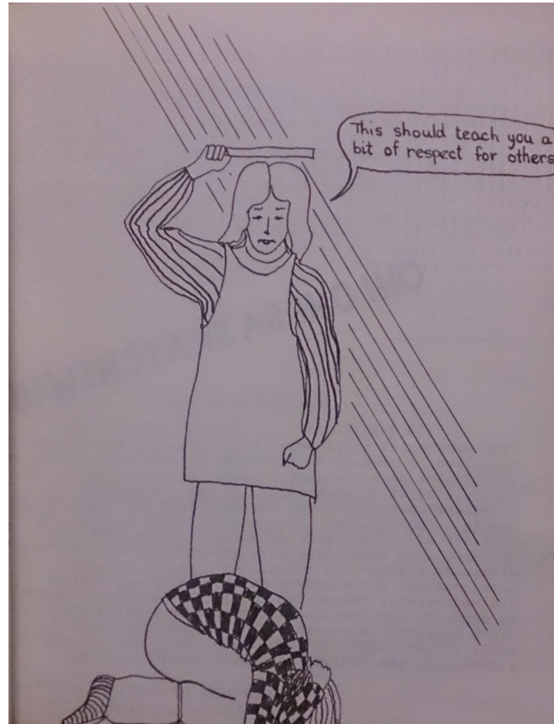

Figure 36. The plaid shirt, long hair, and kaiichan resembles the uniforms that students sometimes wore at Grollier and Stringer Halls. The student is depicted bracing himself or herself, ready for the blows that would soon come.[154] *The authority figure says, "This should teach you a bit of respect for others," which reinforces the idea that bodies continued to be central to perfecting an imposed social order that ranked Indigenous northerners at the bottom.*[155]

The federal and territorial governments employed troubled individuals, people in positions of power who were paid to provide warm and caring environments for students, but who sometimes had records of substance abuse, mental illnesses, police records, or were generally known as "despicable characters."[156] On some occasions throughout the 1960s and 1970s, DOE staff arrived at work intoxicated and continued to drink on the job.[157] DNANR and

[154] *Arcturus* 3, 1 (Yellowknife, NWT: Curriculum Division, DOE, September 1973), 37.
[155] *Arcturus* 3, 1.
[156] J. Webster, Archdeacon, All Saints Anglican Mission to Donald B. Marsh, Bishop of the Arctic, MSCC, January 15, 1958, Cook to Marsh, "Re: Rev. Leonard P. Holman," January 27, 1958, Cook to Holman, "Re: Engineer," January 27, 1958, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 2-1 Box 47 File 3.
[157] Shepherd to Macpherson, Director, December 20, 1972; Dave Nisbet, Administrator, Lapointe Hall, DOE to Shepherd, April 2, 1973; Nisbet to Black, May 30, 1973, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24; Coady to XXXX, Chairman, Fort McPherson Settlement Council, December 11, 1974, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 3-3.

DIAND inspection reports from the mid 1960s suggest that administrators Ruyant and Holman hired unqualified staff at Grollier and Stringer Halls and failed to properly train these new hires.[158] In 1969, DIAND implemented new hiring policies guidelines for residential schools, taking some of the hiring power away from the Roman Catholic and Anglicans churches to simply nominate and then hire an individual of their choice.[159] From then on, candidates had to possess specific qualifications, including the ability to "promote healthy mental, physical, emotional and social development of children; provide emotional support and counsel children" and undergo extensive training to prepare for their new positions.[160] Yet in September of 1969, uunjit man David Ashdown arrived at Stringer Hall as the new boys' supervisor. He arrived four hours before his shift, which required caring for seventy-six students, and his "training" entailed being ordered to distribute clothes and assign beds.[161]

The territorial government strengthened their hiring policies in 1971 and required child care workers to have a high school diploma or full Grade 10 credits, with experience in Indigenous languages and four years of experience in a residential institution.[162] There were a few qualified Indigenous peoples who applied for these positions, but DOE management judged those applicants more severely than uunjit applicants, making assumptions about their

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[158] Joseph atz, *Educational Environments of School – Hostel Complexes in the Northwest Territories* Ottawa: Education Division, DNANR, July 1965); Henry G. Cook to Gillie, Director, August 5, 1970, RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 16.

[159] D.G. Mac ay, Program Personnel Adviser, Indian and Eskimo Affairs, DIAND to All Regional Personnel Administrators Except Maritimes, "Selection Standards for Child Care Workers," September 4, 1969, ACCGSA M96-07 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 5.

[160] "Selection Standards, Senior Child Care Worker (W.P.1)," DIAND, September 4, 1969, ACCGSA M96-07 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 5.

[161] Bob Harvey, "Bishop strives for native healing," *The Ottawa Citizen* (December 9, 2001), A15.

[162] There were different levels of childcare workers. The criteria listed above for a Child Care Worker M.P.S. 5 was the most attainable for Indigenous candidates. Other positions, particularly the W.P. 1 Child Care Worker position had more rigorous requirements. DOE, "Selection Standards: Child Care Worker (M.P.S. 5), May 1971," DOE, "Selection Standards: Child Care Worker (W.P. 1), May 1971," RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 16.

character based on community gossip.[163] Imposing a double standard on new hires, Indigenous peoples simply had to be suspected of an offence to be deemed inappropriate for the position.[164] DOE management continued to hire and rehire problematic individuals or shuffle those accused of poor or criminal behaviour into other positions and regions.[165] Meanwhile, predators, such as Leroux, retained their positions.

Church and government officials knew about the ongoing abuse at Nanhkak Thak's day and residential schools, but did nothing about it.[166] In 1975, DOE Education Superintendent Harold Darkes called one residential school "the harem," demonstrating that management joked about northern residential schools as sexualized spaces.[167] Historians Richard Enns and John Milloy have confirmed this to be the case at residential schools in southern Canada, that church and government officials were well aware of these crimes and failed to act in the best

[163] One Teacher Education Program (TEP) applicant was rejected from the program for his "rather serious drinking problem," based on community rumours from who the GNWT considered to be a "reliable source." The same year, another applicant was considered to have "a certain emotional instability and she suffers from fits of depression," which was according to her residential school record. Macpherson, Chairman, TEP Interviewing Board, DOE, "Report of Interviewing Board for Teacher Training Applicants, June 22, 1970," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-7.

[164] One Snowdrift woman and potential TEP student was rejected from the program and stripped of the possibility of any employment opportunities with the DOE after she, and others, were suspected of petty theft. Macpherson, Superintendent to XXXX, Snowdrift, July 12, 1971, NWTA DOE Fonds acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 5-13.

[165] Report, Moorby, c. June 1972. Former Administrator of Fleming and Stringer Halls, David Danks, is one example. He was accused of condoning student drinking and running the residential school "like a prison." Despite this, Holman "tried to pull a few wires in the upper echelon" and secure him another position in the DOE. Blewett to Macpherson, Director, "Visit to Stringer Hall – 5/12/74," December 6, 1974; Holman to John R. Sperry, ACC, March 11, 1975, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 11.

[166] Anthony Di Mascio and Leigh Hortop-Di Mascio, "Residential Schooling in the Arctic: A Historical Case Study and Perspective," *Native Studies Review* 20, 2 (2011), 32.

[167] Darkes, Superintendent to Macpherson, Director, "Student Accommodation – Fort Smith," April 21, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 3-3. There are many other examples of misogyny and sexism within the DOE during the 1970s and was considered an "old boys' club." While sexist language was not always used in the context of Indigenous students, female employees sometimes carried the burden. DOE, "Minutes: Superintendents Conference, Fort Smith Region, December 6 – 8, 1978," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-1; Anonymous #12, interview with Fraser.

interest of students.[168] By the early 1970s, territorial education management, likely responding to previous situations, released an official policy regulating intimate relationships between staff and students that read: "The relationship between staff and students of the opposite sex must be proper, courteous, and somewhat formal. There can be no dating or other action that sets up a special relationship between a staff member and a student of opposite sex."[169]

Although the DOE established the guidelines for student-staff relationships, it lacked formal protocol for sexual assault and other crimes. If employees of the Anglican and Catholic Churches and the various federal and territorial governments refused to act on the evidence that Indigenous children were victims of ongoing violence at Inuuvik residential and day schools, it became a matter of public record in 1976, as revealed at Berger Inquiry public hearings.[170] Former Grollier Hall student Donald Andre explained that "there was a few things reported and nothing was done and I guess it just carried on for a few years."[171] Andre went on to say that his parents who lived in Tsiigehtshik suspected "something was wrong at Grollier," and allowed him to quietly leave school and move home.[172] A former Stringer Hall student agreed, claiming "the stories that you hear, you know like, what went on at Grollier. And we were just next door! Hiding it, I guess. But then you think back and you think those people had

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[168] Richard Enns, "'Then Shall the Wilderness Be Glad and Blossom as the Rose': Presbyterian Hopes for the Regina Industrial School (1891 to 1910)," *Prairie Forum* 35, 2 (Fall 2010), 44; John Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986, 2nd ed.* with a foreword by Mary Jane McCallum (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2017), 136.
[169] Boxer to All Members of Staff, DOE, "Staff-Student Relationship," undated (c. early 1970s), NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-21.
[170] Walt Taylor, Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, "Vancouver, B.C., May 12, 1976, Proceedings at Community Hearing, Volume 51," in *Transcripts of Public Hearings: Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry* (Ottawa: The Inquiry, 1975-1977), 5090.
[171] Donald Andre, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak 15 August 2013.
[172] Donald later went back to school for upgrading and onto higher education. D. Andre, interview with Fraser.

to know. They had to know. It's just so sickening."[173] Former Grollier Hall student Rita Carpenter remembers hearing about sexual assaults and says they occurred far more frequently than anyone cared to admit, approximately "every other couple of months."[174]

There were a number of ways that children responded to the abuse and trauma imposed on their bodies. Indigenous Studies scholar . Tsianina Lomawaima argues that historians have rarely "portrayed boarding schools as arenas for reciprocating exercise of power between school staff and students – in other words, as an interaction students helped to create."[175] Some of the most pervasive forms of student resistance to residential school rules and regulations occurred on a daily basis, through bodily expressions. eeping mobile Indigenous bodies in place and in check was important, and various systems of surveillance afforded staff the perception that students were under control, but children and their parents were sometimes able to subvert the system. In a similar vein, Foucault wrote that "in effect, between a relationship of power and a strategy of struggle there is a reciprocal appeal, a perpetual linking and a perpetual reversal. At every moment the relationship of power may become a confrontation between two adversaries."[176] Examining these direct and indirect confrontations frames the "resistance and revolts" of residential school children as a strategic response to harrowing treatment.[177]

Indigenous children who attended day schools in other communities were also victimized by uunjit teachers, employees of the territorial government, but also used

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[173] Elizabeth (Betty) Firth, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Teetł'it Zheh, Nanhkak Thak, 28 July 2013.
[174] Carpenter, interview with Fraser.
[175] . Tsianina Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority Over Mind and Body," *American Anthropologist* 20, 2 (May 1993), 227.
[176] Foucault, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry* 8, 4 (Summer 1982), 794.
[177] Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 795.

Indigenous forms of individual strength to partly resist sexual harassment.[178] At SHSS during the late 1970s, a Dinjii Zhuh student who was institutionalized at Grollier Hall noted that her Uunjit homeroom teacher made sexual advances towards her and the only way she could stop him was to threaten to contact his wife.[179] The fact she stood up to her teacher – a white, educated, middle-class man – and threatened him with what he likely perceived as the worst punishment demonstrates the innate use of Dinjii Zhuh strength that this young woman was able to find and use in a productive way.

In these toxic and traumatic settings, students acted out or bent the rules as a way to cope. At Grollier and Stringer Halls, there was widespread use of "grass" and many students consumed alcohol as a method of coping with their environment.[180] Alcohol consumption was a key discussion point for administrators when the legal drinking age was lowered from twenty-one to nineteen in 1970, but that hardly mattered since under-age students were able to purchase their own alcohol at government-operated liquor stores "without difficulty."[181]

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[178] Teacher and Education Consultant Ed Horne who worked at schools in ᓴᓂᑭᓗᐊᖅ (Sanikiluaq), ᑭᒻᒥᕈᑦ (immirut), ᑭᙵᐃᑦ (Cape Dorset), ᐃᖃᓗᐃᑦ (Iqaluit), and ᐊᐅᔪᐃᑦᑐᖅ (Grise Fiord) between 1971 and 1985 was convicted in 2007 on fifteen sex-related crimes. The following year, sixty-nine Inuit sought formal compensation from the Governments of the Northwest Territories and Nunavut. Sara Minogue, "Former NWT premier knew of abuse in schools, victims' lawyer says," *The Globe and Mail* (February 5, 2008); "Former teacher faces 10 sex charges in Iqaluit trial," *CBC News* (October 15, 2007). Martin Cloughley, who taught at day schools in Dęlįné and Gamètì, pleaded guilty in 1996 to assaulting nine of his former students, who were Dene and Inuit girls under the age of fourteen. "N.W.T., ex-teacher sued over sex assaults," *CBC News* (November 17, 2009).
[179] Anonymous #13, E-mail message to Crystal Gail Fraser, 16 December 16 2014.
[180] Boxer to Black, "Re: Appraisal of Students from Fort Simpson Region with Reference to Their Return to Akaitcho Hall and Sir John Franklin School for the 1973-74 Term," June 22, 1973; Boxer and Toutant to Coady, "Re: Appraisal of Inuvik Region Students with Reference to Their Returning to Akaitcho Hall and Sir John Franklin School for the 1973-74 Term," June 22, 1973; Boxer to Walker, "XXXX XXXX – Cambridge Bay," October 21, 1974, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17.
[181] Colin Wasacase, Supervisor, Student Residences, DOE. "Superintendents and Administrators Conference, October 20 – 22, 1970," NWTA DOE Fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-6. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, residential school administrators and DOE officials admitted that students could easily purchase alcohol at the territorial liquor store but did not call for a policy review on under-age access to booze. Boxer to Assistant Superintendent, DOE, "Problems – Consumming [sic] Alcoholic Drink by Akaitcho Hall Students," December 9, 1974, Boxer to DOE, "Report: XXXX XXXX – Tungsten, XXXX XXXX – Prelude Lake, XXXX XXXX – Eskimo Point,

Students were known to manipulate supervisors to obtain alcohol and cigarettes.[182] Although some students chose to use drugs and alcohol, doing so sometimes had tragic consequences. In 1972, Lucky Dillon was found deceased at Grollier Hall after ingesting a lethal dose of prescription drugs.[183] Whether Dillon's death was an accident or a suicide, students used substances that gave them some measure of strength and control over their own bodies.

Figure 37. A student lights a cigarette in the common room at an Inuvik Residential School. While it was acceptable to smoke in public places well into the twenty-first century, the harmful effects of smoking and second-hand smoke are historically well documented. Here, Doctor appears to be enjoying leisure time and is dressed in casual clothing. Untitled, 1974. Archival Caption: "Lorraine Doctor."[184]

At Stringer and Fleming Halls, Senior Boys drank in their dorms over weekends with their supervisors and it was not uncommon for territorial education employees to be reprimanded for hosting parties in their private residences for their students.[185]

DRIN ING, February 22, 1975," February 25, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17; "Alcohol Problems," *The Inuvik Drum* 17, 38 (September 23, 1982), 4.

[182] C.D. ing, Principal, Gordon Robertson Educational Centre, DOE to W.W. Buell, Superintendent, DOE, "Discipline," July 6, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24; Coady to XXXX, Chairman, Fort McPherson Settlement Council; A. Andre, interviewed by Fraser.

[183] "Inuvik Man Found Dead," *The Drum* 7, 33 (September 7, 1972), 2.

[184] NWTA Felix Labat fonds, acc. no. N-2004-007, item no. 0331.

[185] Various men in the community were also caught "accommodating" teenage girls in their private residences. Boxer to Dayelle Blonjeaux, GNWT, April 5, 1971, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24; Boxer to Miller, "Withdrawal of XXXX XXXX," October 16, 1973, NWTA acc no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-17; Coady to XXXX, Chairman, Fort McPherson Settlement Council; Anonymous #1, interview with Fraser; Anonymous #15, interviewed with Crystal Fraser, Tsiigehtshik, Nanhkak Thak, 8 July 2013.

The goal of disciplining the bodies of Indigenous children began at Akłarvik's residential schools, but, from the perspective of colonizers, continued to be deemed a worthy project well into the 1960s and 1970s. The control over women's sexuality through monthly pelvic exams, rules around intimate relationships, and pregnancy further defined residential school policies in Inuuvik. Students rarely controlled these situations, which is unsurprising given the tragic and violent crimes that occurred at Grollier and Stringer Halls. Missionaries, administrators, residential school supervisors, educational staff, and teachers at both the federal and territorial level used these violent and oppressive tactics to discipline these unruly children, assert dominance over them, and demonstrate their monopoly of violence. Those 'in charge' displayed a certain "contempt for the body" and since bodies were central to imposing a uniform social order that was ill-designed to prepare these youngsters for their entry into 'modern' Canadian society, but rather reshaped children so they would no longer fit into northern Indigenous societies.[186] But Indigenous girls and young women resisted and persisted. Through the friendships they created, creative outlets available to them, and the ancestral strength that was rooted in them innately, most survived their institutionalization at Grollier and Stringer Halls.

[186] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 54.

Nihk'ii Dąą[1]: Tsèetr'idi'įį.[2] Students "have become teenagers that are bubbling over with ideas and confidence"[3]: Cross-Country Skiing at Grollier and Stringer Halls, 1959 to 1979

Seventeen-year-old Edhii Tat Gwich'in skier Sharon Firth[4] looked up at the bright arctic sun slowly fading into the distance. It was November and perpetual darkness would soon envelop her lands during the deep winter months. For Sharon, 'short' days hardly mattered since she lived to feel the hard packed snow under her cross-country skis, even more so during the 1971-72 season since she was training for the Olympic Winter Games.[5] Excitedly recalling the thrill, Sharon exclaimed that

> Occasionally, I caught fleeting glimpses of the skier in front of me flashing through the trees. I skied hard to catch her. I could sense the skiers pressing from behind. They were all in my race, but, in a way, I was in my own little world, my focus narrowed to a few meters of track in front of me.[6]

For Indigenous children, like Sharon, who cross-country skied, sport provided a much-needed outlet for the trauma that came with the carcerality of everyday life. Its thrill not

[1] Eight. Literal translation: vanchadh = thumb; nak'aoh = one side; zhàk = down; dhityin = it is there. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Gwich'in Language Centre (GLC) and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), *Teetł'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee', Gwich'in Language Dictionary (Fort McPherson and Tsiigehtchic dialects), 5th Ed.* (Teetł'it Zheh & Tsiigehtchic, Northwest Territories [NWT]: GLC and GSCI, March 2005), 79.
[2] "Sports, games, playing." Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik (Gwichyà dialect), Agnes Mitchell, Lisa André, and Crystal Gail Fraser.
[3] Bjorger V. Pettersen, *The Story of TEST Program* (Prince George, BC: Beekman Printing Ltd., 1969), 7.
[4] In 2017, the University of Alberta awarded Sharon Anne Firth an honourary doctorate of laws for her contribution to sport in Canada.
[5] For more on the Olympics and Indigenous peoples, see Jennifer Adese, "'You Just Censored Two Native Artists': Diseased Logics and Anti-Olympic Resistance," *Public* 53 (2016) and "Colluding with the Enemy? Nationalism and Depictions of 'Aboriginality' in Canadian Olympic Moments," *American Indian Quarterly* 36, 4 (2002).
[6] Sally Manning, *Guts and Glory: The Arctic Skiers Who Challenged the World with a foreword by Beckie Scott* (Yellowknife, NWT: Outcrop, The Northern Publishers, 2006), 2.

only gave children a sense of purpose and solitude, it also all allowed them to reconnect with their cultures in ways that institutional living never could.

Figure 38. Dinjii Zhuh teenager Sharon Firth is seen here training for the Olympics.[7]

Sharon and her twin sister, Shirley, were born to Fanny Rose Greenland and Stephen Firth of Akłarvik and were the ninth and tenth children of their Dinjii Zhuh-Métis family. Living according to their customs, Shirley and Sharon managed their family's trapline, which they checked daily, usually by dogteam.[8] After moving to Inuuvik in 1959, Fanny Rose fell ill and the Firth children were placed in Grollier Hall.[9] As discussed in previous chapters, there were many different ways in which children, their languages and cultures, were repressed and violated in these colonial institutions. The

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[7] Hąį' to Dr. Sharon Anne Firth for granting me permission to use this photo. *Canadian Ski Museum (91.42.1.4), www.skimuseum.ca.*

[8] Northwest Territories Literacy Council (NWTLC), *Sharon Firth and Shirley Firth-Larsson: Hard Work and Dreams, Skiing Around the World* (Yellowknife, NWT: Education, Culture & Employment, Government of the Northwest Territories [GNWT], January 2014), 11.

[9] NWTLC, *Sharon Firth and Shirley Firth-Larsson*, 11.

Firth twins and scores of other Indigenous residential school students found solace through sporting programs in Inuuvik and made these activities central to their lives.

The intent behind church- and state-sponsored sport at Grollier and Stringer Halls were assimilative but veiled through the installation of this ‘positive’ programming. Residential school administrations and staff from a previous era had used similar tactics. Depending on the spectacle of performance at southern institutions, various programs were implemented, such as gymnastics and cadets, and used as a way to not only control the bodies of Indigenous children, but also to garner public support for these oppressive institutions.[10]

The previous chapter examined gender, sexuality, and health at Inuuvik’s residential schools from 1959 to 1979 and highlighted how students’ strategically responded to oppressive networks of power and drew on t’aih, vit’aih, but also guut’àii of their peers, friends, and families. This chapter largely focuses on the pleasurable and fond memories of institutionalized youngsters in Inuuvik. I demonstrate how sport transformed young people into teenagers who were “bubbling over with ideas and confidence.”[11] Perhaps more than any other chapter, Indigenous students emerge as resilient, active, and playful children, despite ongoing colonial efforts to reshape, assimilate, and even break the spirits of Indigenous peoples. In most of their interactions with sport, students strategically reordered networks of power that reshaped assimilative recreational programs at Grollier and Stringer Hall into

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[10] Janice Forsyth, “Bodies of Meaning: Sports and Games at Canadian Residential Schools,” in *Aboriginal Peoples and Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Issues*, Forsyth and Audrey R. Giles, eds. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 24.
[11] Pettersen, *The Story of TEST Program*, 7.

experiences that brought them happiness and also strengthened their Indigenous identities and allowed them to refute colonial agendas. I examine cross-country skiing and the Northern Games (NG) from the late 1960s through to the close of the 1970s, particularly the introduction and rise of cross-country skiing through the Territorial Experimental Ski Training (TEST) Program and conclude with a brief discussion of the Northern Games. Both initiatives fostered spaces for Indigenous students, some of whom were institutionalized at Inuuvik's residential schools, to reconnect with their Indigenous identities, learn something about their culture, and connect with their land and environments. But in aligning with the previous chapters, I provide important historical context about sports at Grollier and Stringer Halls; that is why this chapter ultimately begins with the opening of Inuuvik's residential schools in 1959.

Influenced by Indigenous Studies scholar K. Tsianina Lomawaima's research on childhood strategies of coping at the Chilocco School, I consider how Indigenous students at Nanhkak Thak residential schools responded to colonial policies during a time when the federal government was overtly preoccupied with bringing northerners into the 'modern' nation state.[12] As I have argued in previous chapters, Grollier and Stringer Halls students were well aware of the asymmetrical power relations. Again, Michel Foucault's "strategic reversibility of power" can be usefully applied here to underscore students' abilities to maneuver "counter-conducts"[13] and reorder networks of power to provide a favourable outcome for the individual and their peers. For

[12] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).
[13] Colin Gordon, "Governmental Rationality: An Introduction" and Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with Two Lectures By and An Interview with Michel Foucault*, G. Burchell et. al. eds. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), 5, 91.

Foucault, any act of resisting state power is an expression of political sovereignty[14] and, in the context of my work, reveals the "complex personhood"[15] of Indigenous children. Indigenous Education scholar Eve Tuck writes that this concept "draws on Indigenous understandings of collectivity and the interdependence of the collective and the person rather than on the Western focus on the individual."[16] Through sport, we see that teamwork, comradery, and a sense of belonging was immensely important to Indigenous youngsters, particularly as they navigated the oppressive day and residential schooling system on a daily basis. They were inherently sovereign as Indigenous peoples, but knew that through guut'àii – collective strength – they could overcome most struggles.

One of the important differences between Inuuvik's residential schools and their predecessors was the availability of 'modern luxuries,' such as utilidors and new heating systems, meaning that students were freed from the burden of hauling water, ice, and fuel. As well, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR) began to hire people to fill positions that students were once forced to take on: cooks, janitors, maintenance workers, and caretakers were now responsible for the day-to-day operations of these structures. Grollier and Stringer Hall children were afforded the luxury that their predecessors lacked at the old Indian Residential Schools in Akłarvik, Xátł'odehchee, Zhati Kų́ę́, and Deníu Kų́ę́. Students at Inuuvik's residential schools,

[14] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-1978,* ed. Michael Senellart and trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Picador, 2004), 195.
[15] Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) qtd. in Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 79, 3 (Fall 2009), 420; Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," 420.
[16] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 420.

therefore, gained more leisure time than earlier students. Sport and recreation were not the only ways to fill that time, but they provided a strong tool for Grollier and Stringer Hall staff to extend their control over the bodies of Indigenous children in light of increasing daily regimentation. They also became sites of resistance.

Historically, sport and recreation were an integral part of Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit cultures in Nanhkak Thak but like the other cultural practices, students were rarely able to engage in and enjoy their Indigenous sports and past times while institutionalized. Before 1950, earlier generations of Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit recalled playing soccer with a moose skin ball on the flats at Tsiigehtshik, demonstrating their skills at the incredibly difficult high kick, or participating in the blanket toss, a celebrated Inuvialuit tradition.

Figure 39. The Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit nations had many popular sports that brought a healthy spirit of competition and physical and mental wellbeing to Nanhkak Thak. Left: Dinjii Zhuh children play soccer in Tsiigehtshik. "Football at the Flats, Summer 1908."[17]

[17] Michael Heine, Alestine Andre, Ingrid Kritsch, and Alma Cardinal, *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak: The History and Stories of the Gwichya Gwich'in* (Tsiigehtshik and Fort McPherson, NWT: Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute [GSCI], 2007), 232.

One of the main goals at Grollier and Stringer Halls was for youth to "acquire habits, attitudes, and standards" in their progression towards becoming 'modern' Canadian citizens.[18] Historian Janice Forsyth argued that sport at Canadian residential and boarding schools "constituted a small but important part of the federal agenda to instill a new and deeply rooted embodied sense of self among the government's young charges" and "they helped to mobilize civic support for Indian assimilation."[19] Historian J.R. Miller added that to "reinforce the message that the white society's ways were the 'way of good,'" sport comprised another facet of Indigenous life that missionaries and bureaucrats sought to alter.[20] Historian Annie Gilbert Coleman argued that in this period, skiing blossomed in North America and that it "(re)shaped western culture, peddling 'western' and 'European' images in powerful advertising campaigns."[21]

As much as it was used to "(re)shape" western culture, it was also mobilized to assimilate Indigenous peoples. For Indigenous children in Nanhkak Thak to fully 'modernize' and become 'good' citizens, there had to be "racial uplift."[22] Physical recreational programs focused on sports that were played by the growing Uunjit population. Indigenous children were exposed to the Canadian Broadcast Corporation's popular radio programming and along with a growing Uunjit population promoted Euro-

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[18] Joseph Katz, "Principles and Procedures Recommended for the Organization and Administration of School-Hostel Complexes in the North-West Territories," RCDMA Unnumbered Box #1.
[19] Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning," 1.
[20] J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 208.
[21] Annie Gilbert Coleman, "The Unbearable Whiteness of Skiing," *Pacific Historical Review, Tourism and the American West* 65, 4 (November 1966), 584.
[22] Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning," 25.

Canadian sports, such as baseball and hockey, Indigenous sports were increasingly marginalized.[23]

There were three reasons why sport emerged as a part of residential schooling culture in Inuuvik during the late 1960s and 1970s. First, as discussed in Dąą,[24] Indigenous northern parents were increasingly critical of the removal of their children from their homes. Thus, by offering extra-curricular activities for children, residential school administrators and government officials aimed to quell the voices of dissent. Second, in an effort to better control the children, managers focused on the children's emotional wellbeing. Calling it the "nerve of any hostel," Oblate Father Henri Posset wrote that recreation "regulates the happiness of the children and the satisfaction of the supervisors."[25] Finally, although DNANR (later, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development [DIAND]) funded residential schools with austerity, the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC), Roman Catholic Church, territorial government, and other organizations and societies provided funding for sports and related activities.

These residential schools were equipped with large, modern gymnasiums, a variety of sporting equipment, and several ice rinks; Grollier Hall also had a swimming

[23] James A. MacKinnon, Minister, Department of Mines and Resources (DMR), "Indian School Bulletin, Issued by the Education Division, Indian Affairs Branch (IAB), No. 4, Vol. 3, Items 21-32, 1 April 1949," Library and Archives Canada (LAC) RG10 Vol. 6036 File 150-92 Pt. 1; Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1988), 18; Heine et al., *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak*, 231.
[24] Chapter Four. Adachoo Kat Chit Gįįlii' Kwàh: "Listen! It's louder now. From here, from there. Indian voices, Métis voices, demanding attention, demanding equality!" Indigenous Northerners Respond to Schooling Issues, 1959 to 1969, pages 161-200.
[25] Henri Posset, Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI), Administrator, Lapointe Hall to Bent G. Sivertz, Director, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR), January 10, 1964, RCDMA Box 1 File 7.

pool.[26] According to DNANR guidelines, Grollier and Stringer Hall administrators were required to provide students with recreational and extra-curricular programs that were designed to "supplement and support"[27] the day schooling programs offered at Sir Alexander Mackenzie School (SAMS) and later at Samuel Hearne Secondary School (SHSS). That Nanhkak Thak day and residential school staff worked in unison on curricula development – to ensure their programming simultaneously sought to assimilate Indigenous youngsters – demonstrates that governments (federal and territorial) and churches went to a great deal of effort to meet the needs of Indigenous children.

DNANR management also sought "to encourage activities which contribute towards the proper development of the children and to provide a means of keeping the children properly occupied"[28] and budgeted ten dollars annually per student, managed at the discretion of the residential school administrator. Despite this, Grollier and Stringer Halls in Inuuvik were continuously hampered by the lack of funding for extra-curricular activities. The residential schools relied on the "cooperative efforts"[29] of local church groups and service clubs to provide a broader selection of sporting equipment

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[26] Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience, The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Vol. 2* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 120.

[27] National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR), "Grollier Hall Student Residence (Inuvik, NWT) Residence/School Narrative," February 28, 2005, www.nctr.ca, 7.

[28] Northern Administration Branch (NAB), DNANR, "Extra-Curricular Activities, Supplementary Instructions for the Management of Hostels Owned by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources and Operated Under Contract, Effective January 1, 1960," and "Education – NWT Instructions in Administering Student Hostels, 1960 and 1968 RCDMA Croteau Files Box 3 of 3.

[29] IAB, Department of Citizenship and Immigration (DCI), "Operation of Government-Owned Indian Residential Schools on a Controlled Cost Basis," April 1958, RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 18; IAB, DCI, "Government-Owned Indian Residential Schools, Financial Instructions Effective January 1, 1959," RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 11; NAB, "Supplementary Instructions for the Management of Hostels Owned by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources and Operated Under Contract, Effective January 1, 1960," RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 18.

and uniforms. The burden was placed on administrators to fundraise and creatively spend monies. Although church officials were generally not keen on expending their limited financial resources to improve institutional living, Grollier and Stringer Hall administrators did place a high premium on sport and recreation, often paying for equipment from their own pockets and submitting the receipts to the DNANR for possible reimbursement.[30]

In 1965, upon observing that Grollier and Stringer Hall children were overburdened with chores, mandatory homework blocks in the evening, plus church services, DNANR auditor Joseph Katz recommended that "each hostel resident be granted more unscheduled time" and that "activity programs in hostels be extended to include more arts and crafts, music and art."[31] As a solution, Katz suggested that the federal government increase the current allotment of ten dollars per resident for extracurricular activities to fifteen dollars; Grollier and Stringer Hall administrators received a slight increase in equipment funding but the annual ten-dollar-per-student rate remained unchanged until at least 1968.[32] Although DNANR did not accept Katz's recommendation, they created a separate fund that provided "needy" students with

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[30] Sivertz to J.M. Lizé, OMI, Administrator, Lapointe Hall, February 6, 1963; Lizé to Sivertz, March 1, 1963, RCDMA Box 1 File 7.

[31] Katz, "Principles and Procedures Recommended for the Organization and Administration of School-Hostel Complexes in the North-West Territories."

[32] "Supplementary Instructions for the Management of Hostels Owned by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources [DIAND] and Operated Under Contract, Effective January 1, 1960, Northern Administration Branch, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources"; 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," November 1968, RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 18.

additional resources, rather than taking money from extracurricular grants.[33] This funding included purchases of "handicraft materials, toys, games, magazine subscriptions, books, musical instruments as well as fees and expenses required to conduct boy scouts and girl guides, the rental of films and similar activities related to the development of children outside of school hours."[34]

Uunjit Grollier Hall supervisor Antonio Bisson claimed that sports comprised a major part of residential school life and Katz reported that at Grollier and Stringer Halls, there was "a multiplicity of activities" for both junior and senior residents.[35] A hockey team was established during the 1960s at Grollier Hall; Senior Boys practiced on the residential school's three outdoor rinks and played in territorial tournaments, earning the opportunity to travel across the North.[36]

[33] Payments were limited to one dollar a week for students or forty dollars per year, for students who had no other source of money, which DNANR estimated to be approximately twenty percent of the student population. Correspondence, F.A.G. Carter, Director, NAB to Max Ruyant, OMI, Administrator, Grollier Hall, October 8, 1965, RCDMA Unmarked Box File Inuvik-Grollier Hall.
[34] "Supplementary Instructions for the Management of Hostels Owned by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources and Operated Under Contract, Effective January 1, 1960," NAB, RCDMA McCuaig Files Box 6 of 11 File 22.
[35] Antonio Bisson, Supervisor, Grollier Hall, DOE, "The Life in Our Hostel," 1965-66, Northwest Territories Archives (NWTA) DOE fonds, G-1995-004, acc. no. 8-23; NCTR, "Grollier Hall Student Residence (Inuvik, NWT) Residence/School Narrative," 21.
[36] Bisson, "The Life in Our Hostel"; D.W. Simpson, Acting Chief, Education Division, NAB to Ruyant, June 21, 1966, RCDMA RC YK Unmarked Box File Inuvik-Grollier Hall; Paul Scrivener, "Hockey, Skiing Head Inuvik's Winter Sports Program," *The Globe and Mail* (April 15, 1971), 41.

Figure 40. An outdoor skating rink at Stringer Hall in Inuuvik, c. 1960s.[37] *On this particular day, students are playing broomball. Government housing in Inuuvik's west end can be seen on the right. In the background, Mount Baldie is depicted, where TEST athletes ran drills up and down the mountain side. On the other side of Stringer Hall (far left of photo, not shown), groomed ski trails zig-zagged through the wooded countryside.*

For those who did not engage with the Territorial Experimental Ski Training (TEST) Program during the late 1960s and 1970s, other sports were equally as important to students' wellbeing. More than 250 youngsters were in the TEST program and many more in hockey, basketball, broomball, basketball, and wrestling.[38] Former Stringer Hall resident of the early 1960s and Inuvialuk man Jeffrey Amos recalled "fond memories" of playing badminton, soccer, and volleyball, pasttimes he now enjoys with his grandchildren.[39] It was volleyball that brought Amos to the biannual Arctic Winter Games, but he noted that the pleasure of it all was more important than being competitive or successful. He explained that activities at Stringer Hall were always about

[37] Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives P7538-60.
[38] Scrivener, "Hockey, Skiing Head Inuvik's Winter Sports Program."
[39] Jeffrey Amos, interviewed with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 9 July 2013.

having fun and showing "team spirit and camaraderie" and that it "opened me up as far as social life goes. I was always alone."[40]

Another student recalled that team sports in Inuuvik during the early 1960s facilitated feelings of acceptance and community. She described being divided into houses called Trojans, Vikings, Romans, and Spartans:

> I was a Viking. We'd all go in the corner. We'd have to run maybe or shoot a basket or do something like that. Each color would have to do that to see who would win. I enjoyed that. That's a fun memory for me because now I belong to a group. I was accepted in this team because I had this color on. That's why. I never thought why but it's such a fun memory for me.[41]

Inuvialuk woman Mariah Arey Storr remembers that being Team Captain and the subsequent winning of trophies during her stay at Grollier Hall helped her cope with the harsh rules of residential school living: "I was a real athlete. I was a captain for many teams. My last year there, I had three trophies. It was really good."[42]

Cross-county skiing, however, proved to be a favourite among residential school students. In 1954, Reverend Father Jean Mouchet, an Oblate Priest from France, arrived in the Van Tat Gwich'in community of T echik[43] from his work among Łingít families in the Telegraph Creek, British Columbia area.[44] There, Mouchet used his earnings from teaching US Air Force soldiers how to ski, to purchase the necessary equipment and

[40] Amos, interview with Fraser.
[41] Anonymous #1, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 9 July 2013.
[42] Mariah (nilìh ch'uu Arey) Storr, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 22 July 2013).
[43] T echik is the Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk word for Old Crow. See DIAND, the Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation, and the Government of the Yukon, *Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation Self-Government Agreement* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1993).
[44] Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 8-9. Telegraph Creek sits on unceded the Tahltan Nation.

establish a ski program for youth in T echik.[45] By 1958, the team began training and was an overnight success, winning races in western Canada and bringing attention to the small Dinjii Zhuh community. Mouchat believed it was the children's Indigeneity that made them successful. Although cloaked in racialized language, he explained that "There is not much difference, to an Eskimo or Indian, between snowshoes and skis, between long hikes on the tundra and the same with skis underfoot. It's natural for them. You can see their eyes light up when they first put skis on."[46] For skiers, their cultural backgrounds were assets to the sport based on their physical endurance and experience with arctic conditions. Outdoor cross-country skiing was considered a "natural and satisfying" activity for them.[47]

This group of youngsters attracted the attention of Uunjit scientists and psychologists, who had tested fitness levels among Iñupiat peoples in Alaska. They found that fitness levels among Van Tat Gwitchin exceeded top Uunjit athletes in North America and were comparable to elite Scandinavian cross-country skiers.[48] After watching these children undertake mountain drills, Dr. William L'Heureux of the National Fitness Council proclaimed, "No whites could ever do this well, I'm sure. These are the products of a harsh, hostile environment – tough, strong, durable now!"[49] L'Heureux was likely genuinely surprised, since, as Coleman argues, the ski industry

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[45] Bob Gage, "Feedback: Ski Project Fitness Aid," *The Drum* 2, 39 (October 19, 1967), 3; "Profile of the Week: Bjorger Pettersen and His Skiers," *News of the North* XXVII, 13 (March 27, 1969); Pettersen, *The Story of TEST Program*, 65; Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 13.
[46] "Arctic Women Skiers Praised," *The Globe and Mail* (January 13, 1966), 25.
[47] Pettersen, *Guts and Glory*, 3; Ginny Hill Wood, "Father Mouchet's Remarkable Inuvik Skiers," *Alaska Sportsman* (June 1969), in Pettersen, *The Story of TEST Program*, 103.
[48] Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 14.
[49] Dr. William L'Heureux, National Fitness Council, Personal Diary, August 5, 1967, qtd. in Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 17.

during the 1960s was "usually 'white.'"[50] Using stereotypical assumptions about Indigenous peoples, Mouchet and L'Heureux embedded Dinjii Zhuh bodies into racialized discourses that characterized these athletes as formidable and rugged, derived from their 'savage' nature or, more accurately, their profound ability to cope with grueling environments.

By the early 1960s, Jacques Van Pelt, the NWT's Coordinator of Recreation, had heard about the success in T echik and sought to establish a similar program in Inuuvik with the goal of keeping Indigenous youth active and busy.[51] In 1966, Van Pelt invited Mouchet to run a ski clinic for residential school youth, in partnership with Norwegian-born coach and Canadian National Ski Team athlete, Bjorsen Pettersen. The clinic was a success and plans for a local ski program were forged. DNANR officials were keen to become involved, citing the Department's interest in delivering programs in areas where "problems with native youngsters were the greatest."[52] For the federal government, such extracurricular programs were valued because of their assimilative trajectories and the perceived "problems with native youngsters," which suggests that Indigenous children in Nanhkak Thak resisted conforming to expectations.[53] Seeking to eliminate these "problem" cases, Van Pelt, Mouchet, Research Laboratory[54] Director Richard

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[50] Coleman, "The Unbearable Whiteness of Skiing," 584.
[51] Paul Scrivener, "Lack of Funds Leaves Inuvik Ski Program in Danger," *The Globe and Mail* (February 3, 1971), 26; "TEST Program in Need: Helps Native Skiers," *The Montreal Gazette* (October 14, 1970), 17; "Telegram Congratulates Firths," *The Inuvik Drum* 15, 5 (Thursday, February 21, 1980), 1.
[52] R.G. Glassford, H.A. Scott, T.D. Orlick, E.T. Bennington, and D.L. Adams, *Territorial Experimental Ski Training Program – Research Results* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1973), 2.
[53] TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Inuit and Northern Experience*.
[54] Under the supervision of DIAND Minister Arthur Laing, Richard Hill opened the Research Laboratory in Inuuvik in 1964. Staffed by eight full-time scientists and sixteen temporary researchers, it was established viewed as they "key to speeding up northern development." Fittingly, it was constructed across the street from Sir Alexander Mackenzie School (SAMS) and Grollier and Stringer Halls, where researchers could

"Dick" Hill,[55] and SAMS teacher Dave Sutherland crafted a vision with Indigenous youth at its centre. The Territorial Experimental Training Program, or TEST, was born.

Focusing their attention on funding related to Canada's Centennial celebrations in 1967, TEST's organizers won an annual grant of $25,000 through the Canadian Fitness Council (CFC).[56] The CFC was clear, however, that the program was a "psycho-sociological project" and must be designed to nurture traits in Indigenous children that assisted with the "much larger, more difficult problems of adaptation to social and political change."[57] Recognizing the assimilative value of TEST's objectives, Northwest Territories (NWT) Commissioner Stuart also provided annual funding of $5000.[58] The project was "worthy of (government) support so long as it contributes to knowledge of the very complex solution of what might be termed the development of youthful Indian and Eskimo leadership."[59] That the CFC, the NWT Council, and the Uunjit team of ski leaders agreed to this "psycho-sociological" project demonstrates that even by the mid 1960s, both government officials and private citizens continued to be anxious about the state of progress and "racial uplift"[60] of Indigenous children in Nanhkak Thak.

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observe Indigenous children as they attended colonial schooling. This structure, on the same site, is now the Aurora Research Institute. Bruce MacDonald, "Inuvik Laboratory Key to the North," *The Globe and Mail* (February 1, 1964), A2.

[55] Hill was a long-time resident and eventually Mayor of Inuvik. See Dick Hill, *Inuvik: A History, 1958-2008. The Planning and Growth of an Arctic Community* (Victoria, BC: Trafford, 2008).

[56] Andy Turnbull, "Survival Is Their Best Teacher," Unknown Newspaper, Undated, *The Story of TEST Program* (Prince George, BC: Beekman Printing Ltd., 1969), 69; Scrivener, "Lack of Funds Leaves Inuvik Ski Program in Danger.".

[57] L'Heureux qtd. in Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 17.

[58] Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 18.

[59] Glassford, et. al., *Territorial Experimental Ski Training Program*, 2.

[60] Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning," 25.

TEST tryouts were open to all school children in Inuuvik, but Grollier and Stringer Hall students were selected as the primary targets.[61] Tryouts began as a footrace on a warm fall day in late September 1967 that routed up a steep hill and around Hidden Lake. Several Indigenous children from various communities were immediately selected for the program, including Roger Allen, Roseanne Allen, Harold Cook, David Cook, John Turo, Fred Kelly (later nicknamed "The Express"), Lorraine Bullock, Paul Andrew, and Rex Cockney.[62] One local newspaper asserted that the team "had nothing against white skiers, white skiers just have not been able to make the team."[63] Uunjit students in Inuuvik were the minority and discourses of 'Other-ing' framed Indigenous children as simultaneously wonting intellectually and racially superior in their physical capabilities. As excitement about TEST grew, nearly two hundred children were admitted to the program and skiers were divided into Squads.

Figure 41. Dinjii Zhuh twins and skiing sensations Shirley and Sharon Firth are pictured here with TEST Coach Bjorsen Pettersen. Pettersen is wearing a shirt with the NWT Coat of Arms, proud of the accomplishments of the "A Squad." The NWT Coat of Arms linked

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[61] Dan Proudfoot, "How the Kids From Inuvik Became the Toast of Scandinavia," *Star Weekly: The Canadian Magazine* (March 15, 1969), *The Story of TEST Program* (Prince George, BC: Beekman Printing Ltd., 1969), 85.
[62] Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 26-27
[63] "Profile of the Week: Bjorger Pettersen and His Skiers," *News of the North* XXVII, 13 (March 27, 1969), *The Story of TEST Program* (Prince George, BC: Beekman Printing Ltd., 1969), 65.

so closely to successful athletes in Nanhkak Thak demonstrates that the territorial government was also invested in sport for Indigenous youngsters. Shirley and Sharon are pictured here likely during a rare moment when they were not in training gear. Undated, circa early 1970s. Title: "Shirley & Sharon Firth with Coach – Inuvik."[64]

Historians J.R. Miller and Janice Forsyth have respectively argued that in sports and athletics at Canadian residential schools, girls and boys were treated differently, based on gendered assumptions about the perceived nature of the sexes.[65] Forsyth finds that in central Canada, "the boys were encouraged to be vigorous and competitive, while the girls were generally provided with opportunities to engage in unstructured, less physically demanding activities," which reinforced male privilege.[66] Residential school staff believed that boys required an outlet for their innate physicality while girls were content to engage in quiet indoor activities.[67] TEST stood in stark contrast to these gendered practices. Although there had been strong gendered aspects of day schooling and institutionalization in Nanhkak Thak, skiers in this program were given more freedom, particularly as their success grew.

The A Squad's first ski meet was that fall in Anchorage, Alaska, where the team collected eleven of a possible fifteen medals, challenging American Champion Barbara Britch. This competition foreshadowed the many years of success to come. The talent and commitment of these children were remarkable, although success came at a high price. Pettersen noted the "sacrifices of giving up other sports, smoking and staying up late hours – the determination and the training in extreme cold weather – the training

[64] NWTA Dept. of Public Works and Services fonds, acc. no. G-1995-001, item no. 1189.
[65] Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 226.
[66] Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning," 1.
[67] Forsyth argues this in the context of Indian Residential Schools. Various examples of Uunjit young women excelling at rigorous sport include Barbara Ann Scott (figure skating), Marilyn Bell (long distance swimming), and Nancy Greene (apline skiing).

at 6:30 every morning and the fifteen hard races we raced in order to prepare ourselves for the tour."[68]

Left: Figure 42. The A Squad poses for a group photo, while wearing their professional travel attire. Undated, circa 1970s. Personal photo collection of Sharon Anne Firth.

These youngsters began their morning with forty-five minutes of gym exercise and cardiovascular training, a full day of class at Samuel Hearne Secondary School, ninety minutes of skiing in the evening, and weight training at the military base two to three times per week.[69] Furthermore, skiers altered their diets on race days; milk, for instance, was prohibited since it was too hard to digest.[70]

All training was done on cross-country skis, second-hand wooden planks that Mouchet secured from the US Army, but once children had completed their 200-

[68] Pettersen, *The Story of TEST Program*, 37.
[69] Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 27.
[70] Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 41.

kilometer circuit, they strapped on racing skis for fun.[71] Winter in Inuuvik arrived in late September and early October and as the mercury dipped and days shortened, training intensified, often under moonlit skies; it was common practice to train in -45°C weather.[72] For children on the A Squad, cold toes were the least of their worries. At least one skier, Fred Kelly, was hospitalized for severely frozen and frostbitten hands and another skied "so fast and hard that he needed help to get into the ski lodge after."[73] Other environmental conditions, like oxygen deprivation when skiing in the mountains near Bozeman, Montana, demonstrate the hardship these children endured.[74] Although these children were superior athletes, their rigorous schedules reflected the extent of work thought necessary to reshape and discipline them into worthy objects for reform. Their display of vit'aih throughout their training was incredible; indeed, the training that they received from their parents on the land helped a great deal to mitigate the challenges of elite training in the North.

In 1968, just one year after the program was launched, TEST skiers enjoyed significant success. A Squad members, including fifteen Indigenous residential school children, had competed in forty-five meets, collectively skied nearly 30,000 kilometers, and were nominated by the Canadian Ski Association for the National Junior Team.[75] Local media claimed: "Inuvik has a group of junior athletes of National and probably International caliber," and the A Squad was "the most promising junior team in the

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[71] Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 28.
[72] Pettersen, "Tundra Skiing," *The Drum* 3, 3 (January 18, 1968), 9; Pettersen, *The Story of TEST Program*, 5-6; Manning, 29.
[73] Pettersen, "Tundra Skiing" (January 18, 1968); Pettersen, "Sports," *The Drum* 3, 7 (February 15, 1968), 9; Pettersen, *The Story of TEST Program*, 5-6.
[74] "Sports: Inuvik Skiers Gain International Recognition," *The Drum* 3, 2 (March 21, 1968), 3.
[75] Pettersen, *The Story of TEST Program*, 35; Manning, 33.

Nation."[76] Pettersen, himself, declared that his team had "done more promoting for cross country skiing in Canada than has ever been done before."[77] This team of young men and women became a source of tremendous pride for Indigenous northerners. Elders praised the A Squad's skill in and commitment to this Nordic sport, with one declaring, "These young skiers have restored a sense of pride to our people."[78]

Scholars Janelle Joseph, Simon Darnell, and Yuka Nakamura argue that we should understand sport and recreation "as sites where race, racism, and racial hierarchies are constructed and maintained, yet simultaneously obscured and normalized."[79] Although it was clear that TEST children loved the program and flourished on skis, there were troubling and persistent racial undertones that were intertwined into TEST's mandates. TEST's purpose was to "unlock the human potential of the Indian, Eskimo and Metis people of the North" and inspire "Eskimo and Indian youngsters to improve scholastic efforts through participation in competitive sports." [80] At the same time, the founders of TEST were not entirely convinced that such a feat could be accomplished:

> many native youths lacked the pride and motivation necessary to succeed in the contemporary southern culture with its high stress upon individual achievement and competition. The question as to how the native youth might be provided an

[76] "Tundra Skiing," *The Drum* 2, 46 (December 7, 1967), 7; "Tundra Skiing," *The Drum* 2, 47 (December 14, 1967), 10; "Tundra Skiing," *The Drum* 2, 48 (December 21, 1967), 4;" Short Shots," *Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph* (May 10, 1969), 8; "TEST Skiers Dominate Nordic Events," *The Montreal Gazette* (February 15, 1969), 27; Chris Allen, "Ottawa Club Wins Relay Title," *The Montreal Gazette* (January 5, 1970), 17; "TEST Program in Need: Helps Native Skiers," *The Montreal Gazette* (October 14, 1970), 17.
[77] Pettersen, *The Story of TEST Program,* 7.
[78] Pettersen also acknowledged this and wrote: "I have heard old Northerners tell that they only pride the Indian and Eskimo have left is their skiers." Pettersen, *The Story of TEST Program*, 7; Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 33.
[79] Janelle Joseph, Simon Darnell, and Yuka Nakamura, "Introduction: The Intractability of Race in Canadian Sport," in *Race and Sport in Canada: Intersecting Inequalities*, Joseph, Darnell, and Nakamura, eds. (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 2012), 2.
[80] "Short Shots," *Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph* (May 10, 1969), 8; "TEST Program in Need: Helps Native Skiers," *The Montreal Gazette* (October 14, 1970), 17.

> experimental background to better enable them to cope in the encroaching southern cultural system was a key question in the structure of the experiment.[81]

Although these children proved their ability to win races, TEST's larger goal was to motivate them to accomplish "higher general achievements as students and citizens."[82] Making them good citizens and assimilating them into the Canadian nation state was a crucial aspect of TEST training.

Pettersen, for his part, came to the North with entrenched stereotypical ideas about Indigenous peoples and first displayed little confidence in his athletes. He suggested that because they were less culturally 'advanced,' they were therefore less suited to the sport. He thought they were "naturally competing on some very discouraging grounds, being picked out of a primitive arctic settlement and dropped into a mechanized white man's society – a society with many centuries of culture and development behind it. How can they compete with success?"[83] After the first season, however, Pettersen's attitude shifted once he witnessed the talent and ability of the children. He was proud of his contribution to northern 'progress' and "racial uplift,"[84] noting that the skiers' "race can be developed far beyond drifting Indians and smiling Eskimos."[85] He went on to write: "surely this type of determination someday must bring great glory to this nation and especially to the natives of Canada's far north."[86]

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[81] Glassford, et. al., *Territorial Experimental Ski Training Program*, 3.
[82] Pettersen, 3; Glassford, et. al., *Territorial Experimental Ski Training Program*, 3.
[83] Pettersen, "Skiing a Recreation or Way of Northern Life?" *The Drum* 3, 16 (May 9, 1968), 19; Pettersen, "Inuvik Skiing is More Than a Recreation," *The Drum* 3, 17 (June 6, 1968), 9.
[84] Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning," 25.
[85] Pettersen, *The Story of TEST Program*, 7.
[86] Pettersen, "Tundra Skiing," (January 18, 1968), 9.

Although the accolades were well deserved during TEST's inaugural year, the A Squad was just warming up. Dinjii Zhuh skier Shirley Firth recalled summer training in 1968 and the grueling task of running drills through the spongy muskeg and dense clouds of mosquitoes in Nanhkak Thak bush and on Inuuvik's Suicide Hill:

> It was like running on a mattress. We'd thrash through the tangle of berry bushes, scrub alder and willow, stumble on boulders buried in the bush, slither down ditches. We learned early on to rivet our attention on what was ahead and we developed a dancer's balance on our feet.[87]

But this experience of running through the bush was not new for Shirley. Given her upbringing in the Akłarvik area and her work on her family's trapline, her parents Fanny Rose and Stephen had already prepared her for this hard work. Her innate connection to our Dinjii Zhuh ancestors and nakhwinan meant that Shirley embodied t'aih. She did not have to work for t'aih, but vit'aih was harder; through her dedication, drive, and desire, Shirley emerged from the berry bushes and ditches stronger than when she started.

That August, the A Squad flew to T echik for a 'motivational' camp. K'asho Got'ınę[88] skier Harold Cook[89] documented their schedule in his diary, which included upwards of six hours per day dedicated to fitness.[90] These children used this opportunity to be somewhat independent and autonomous, despite the rigorous schedule, before they returned to residential school life in Inuuvik for the upcoming school year. Cook

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[87] Manning, 35.

[88] Dinjii Zhuh call people from Rádeyîlîkóé (Fort Good Hope) Chiidaii Zheh Gwich'in. Literal translation: chiidaii = rock/stone; daii = at the opening (outside); zheh = house; gwich'in = people). Gwich'in Language Centre and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, *Teetł'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee', Gwich'in Language Dictionary (Fort McPherson and Tsiigehtchic dialects), 5th Ed.* (Teetł'it Zheh & Tsiigehtchic: Gwich'in Language Centre and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, March 2005), 97.

[89] Cook excelled in sports and later emerged on the semi-pro hockey scene. "The Decade in Review, 1972-1973," *The Inuvik Drum* 15, 4 (Friday, February 15, 1980), 9.

[90] Harold Cook Diary, August 1968, qtd. in Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 36.

noted in his diary that he and his teammates "felt free and were in fact free. The training was tough and hard."[91]

Young Inuuvik skiers then exploded onto the international athletics scene. In 1969, Dinjii Zhuh teenager Shirley Firth emerged as the top skier of the year nationally and was known as the "Queen of the North."[92] The Town of Inuuvik hosted the second annual Top of the World Ski Championships and TEST skiers competed in thirty-three events.[93] For the next three years, the A Squad increased its training regimes, which included spending more time in Alberta to benefit from the longer days and a more temperate climate.[94] In 1970, after a taste of international competition,[95] the A Squad aspired to attend the 1972 Winter Olympics. The group trained on Montana Mountain, just outside of Carcross, Yukon. Living in tents, these hardy Indigenous youngsters awoke each morning to run thirty-two kilometers and log 400 sit-ups, 400 pushups, and 400 back flexes.[96] After warming up, they skied to the ice flats.

In 1971, the CSA announced Pettersen as the Olympic Team's head coach, and of the eight athletes competing in the 1972 Olympics in Sapporo, Japan, five were Nanhkak Thak kids: Fred "The Express" Kelly, Roger Allen, Sharon Firth, Shirley Firth, and Roseanne Allen. This was particularly noteworthy since this was the youngest team in

[91] Cook Diary, qtd. in Manning, Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 36.
[92] The 1968-69 team this ski season consisted of Anita Allen (Akłarvik), Roseanne Allen ("Nanny," Akłarvik), Sharon Firth (Inuuvik), Shirley Firth ("The Queen of the North," Inuuvik), Roger Allen ("Ciga Gronningen," Akłarvik), Herbert Bullock ("The New One," Inuuvik), David Cook (Fort Good Hope), Fred Kelly ("The Kelly Express," Fort Good Hope), Ernie Lennie (Fort Norman), William Linklater ("The Link), and Jarl Omholt Jensen (Olso, Norway). Pettersen, *The Story of TEST Program*, 19.
[93] Pettersen, *The Story of TEST Program*, 19.
[94] Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 46.
[95] These skiers made the Canadian National Ski Team and competed in the European Junior Championships in Austria and the World Championships in Czechoslovakia. Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 46.
[96] Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 51.

history to compete in Olympic cross-country skiing and Roseanne Allen, along with the Firth twins, were the first women to represent Canada in Nordic skiing at this level. Although the team did not medal in Japan, Allen exclaimed that "it felt like gold to me."[97] In Sally Manning's book, *Guts and Glory*, these northern prodigies reflected on the experience of being in Japan, which included receiving daily Japanese gifts, "a token of civility in an unsettled world."[98] But for these teenagers, their Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit cultures were central to their experience. Allen reflected that, "Funnily enough, I played a string game with some of the Japanese children that was exactly the same as the one we played as kids back home in Aklavik."[99]

Meanwhile, the development of the Arctic Winter Games (AWG) was underway, which eventually allowed students the opportunity to reaffirm their identities as Indigenous northerners. The idea for the AWG was conceived when Cal Miller, financial advisor to the Yukon team, witnessed southern teams outplay nearly all those from the North at the Canada Winter Games in Quebec City in 1967.[100] Miller wanted to create a unique venue for northern youngsters and quickly gained support from NWT Commissioner Stuart Hodgson, Yukon Commissioner James Smith, Governor of Alaska Walter Hickel, and DIAND Minister Arthur Laing. Two years later, in 1969, Hodgson, Smith, and Hickel formed the Arctic Winter Games Corporation. The

> main objective of the Games was to provide northern athletes with the opportunity improve their skills against athletes of similar background and ability

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[97] Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 60.
[98] Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 60.
[99] Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 60.
[100] John Hopwood and Wes McAleer, *Arctic Winter Games: Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, 1970* (Yellowknife, NWT: Arctic Winter Games Corporation, 1970).

> to foster friendship and understanding among all people of the arctic through sport and cultural activities.[101]

The first AWG was held in Sǫǫ̀mbak'   in 1970[102] and athletes from all over the circumpolar region travelled there, from Denedeh, Inuit Nunangat, Yukon, and Alaska.[103] It celebrated European sports, such as badminton, curling, gymnastics, figure skating, etc.[104] There was no Indigenous component to the program, with the exception of a cultural demonstration by Inuit participants.[105] Eleven Inuit games were added to the AWG in 1974: one-foot high kick, two-foot high kick, Alaskan high kick, kneel jump, airplane, one-hand reach, head pull, knuckle hop, sledge jump, triple jump, and the arm pull. But it took another sixteen years for organizers to add any other Indigenous sports; by 1990, athletes could compete in "Dene Games."[106] These consisted of five games: hand game, snow snake, stick pull, pole push, and the finger pull.

Anthropologist Audrey Gilles thoughtfully analyzed the participation of women and girls in the AWG in relation to menstrual practices and sport,[107] while historian Michael Heine similarly considered how Indigenous northerners expressed "their own inherent 'meaningfulness' and cultural significance, even when they are playing in the

[101] Department of Culture and Communications, *Northwest Territories Team: 1986 Arctic Winter Games, Whitehorse, Yukon* (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1986), 3.
[102] Louis Cauz, "Arctic Games Open Today: Igloo 'Times man's' Dream," *The Globe and Mail* (March 9, 1970), 19.
[103] In subsequent years, athletes from Nunavik, Kalaakkit Nunaat, Norway, and Russia have competed in the Arctic Winter Games.
[104] Audrey R. Giles, "Women's and Girls' Participation in Dene Games in the Northwest Territories," in *Aboriginal Peoples & Sport in Canada*, 147.
[105] Michael Heine, "Performance Indicators: Aboriginal Games at the Arctic Winter Games," in *Aboriginal Peoples & Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Issues*, Janice Forsyth and Audrey R. Giles, eds. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 166.
[106] Heine, "Performance Indicators," 166-167.
[107] Giles, "Women's and Girls' Participation in Dene Games in the Northwest Territories," 145-159.

organizational context of a sports competition."[108] Unarguably, Indigenous peoples displayed an incredible amount of strength at the AWG, drawing upon their own unique cultural teachings related to t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii.

The AWG were wildly popular, but the statistics do not tell us how many students from Grollier or Stringer Halls competed in these events. Indeed, the games have never been held in Inuuvik or even the greater Nanhkak Thak area.[109] Hindering student travel was the fact that the Arctic Winter Games Corporation failed to offer travel grants or compensate athletes; indeed, "the travel costs to regional competition were paid by the communities and the athletes themselves – a considerable contribution since most communities are accessible only by air and in some regions the distances travelled were over five hundred miles."[110] For many residential school students, some of whom resided at Inuuvik's residential schools as "social development placements," travel to the AWG would have been out of the question; air travel costs were prohibitive. The closest games to Inuuvik were in Whitehorse in 1972, which was over 850 air kilometers away. Without a highway linking Inuuvik[111] to any of the AWG venues during the 1970s, it would have been tremendously difficult for Grollier and Stringer Hall students to attend.[112]

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[108] Heine, "Performance Indicators," 160-181.
[109] A list of locations of where the AWG have held from 1970-79: Sǫ̀ǫmbak'   (1970), Whitehorse (1972), Anchorage (1974), Schefferville (1976), Xátł'odehchee/Pine Point (1978).
[110] Department of Information, *We're Together Again* (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1980), 8.
[111] The Dempster Highway, which now links Inuuvik to southern Canada, was not officially opened until 1979. Its construction was inspired by expanding oil and gas exploration in the North and the road follows the old dog sled route from Teetł'it Zheh to Whitehorse. It was named after North-West Mounted Police Corporal William Dempster.
[112] When comparing the available registration records from Grollier and Stringer Halls during the 1970s with the AWG publications, I was unable to identify any Inuuvik hostel students who competed in the games. This is based on my expertise of family names in the region and knowledge of children who were

Rather, it was more likely that Grollier and Stringer Hall students witnessed and participated in the Northern Games (NG). In 1970, celebrations were underway in Inuuvik for the territory's centennial year and the entire weekend was consumed by Indigenous sports. Inuvialuit collaborators Edward Lennie and Nellie Cournoyea co-founded the NG and these games quickly expanded to become an annual event spanning dozens of communities. The first formal NG event kicked off in Inuvik in 1971. The games' main objective was to

> promote and preserve the traditional games and cultural activities of the Indian and Inuit people of northern Canada. The games have been held each summer in a selected northern community and involve athletics, dancing, crafts, traditional skill competitions, and social activity.[113]

Unlike Uunjit games driven by European conceptions of individualism and competitiveness, "which abide by fixed rules and the participants play to win in a limited space or time, Northern Games are tests of individual strength, endurance, skill and patience, perquisites of hunting and living in a harsh environment."[114]

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institutionalized in Inuuvik. Ruyant and Coady, "Grollier Hall Student Residence Quarterly Return," June 1975, September 1975, December 1975, and April 1976; Leonard Holman, Administrator, Stringer Hall and Coady, "Stringer Hall Student Residence Quarterly Return," June 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, acc. no. 9-12 and NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 9-13. Hopwood and McAleer; *1972 Arctic Winter Games, Souvenir Ed.* (Whitehorse, Yukon [YT]: Yukon Publicity Ltd., 1972); *Arctic Winter Games, 1976* (Whitehorse, YT: sn, 1976); Debbie Hanna, *For Those Who Were There* (Yellowknife, NWT: Department of Information, GNWT for the Sport North Federation, 1978), 21.

[113] Makale & Kyllo Planning Associates Ltd., *The Arctic Winter Games, 1978-1982: An Analysis* (Yellowknife, NWT: Arctic Winter Games Corporation, 1982), vii.

[114] Lyn Hancock, "Northern Games: Gung-Ho Glad Times," *The Globe and Mail* (May 5, 1984), T5.

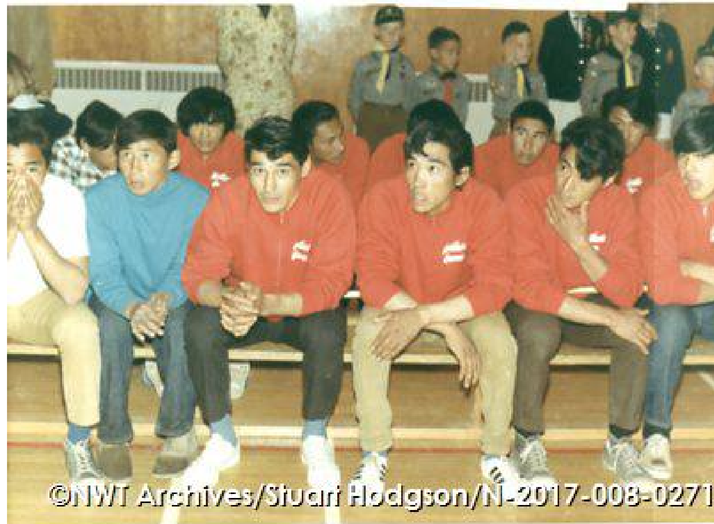

Figure 43. A group of Indigenous teenaged athletes wait patiently for their turn to demonstrate their skill and talent in Indigenous sport at the local high school, SHSS. This was an exciting celebration for them; not only was it the NWT's centennial, but Queen Elizabeth, Prince Philip, Prince Charles, Princess Anne, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, and DIAND Minister Jean Chrétien.[115] *Younger boys are photographed wearing their Boy Scouting attire are seen in the background. Archival Caption: [Royal Visit during the Centennial, July 1970, team of Northern Games athletes seated on benches, Cub Scouts stand behind.]*[116]

The NG attracted over 275 participants and 1800 spectators from twelve northern communities;[117] Nanhkak Thak visitors arrived via boat, on the Eetąįįląįį, while others travelled to Inuuvik by plane, with Iñupiat dancers coming all the way from Nuvuk and Inuit competitors from Kugaaruk over 2600 kilometers away.[118] Opened by

[115] It is possible that on this trip, Jean and Aline Chrétien left Inuuvik with their 18-month-old adopted son, Michel. Michel was born to Anne Kendi in 1969 and placed in a local receiving home. Given Chrétien's role as DIAND Minister and the turbulent reception of the *White Paper* just a year earlier, the optics of the adoption had the potential to be disastrous for the family. Although Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit custom adoption was still being practiced in Nanhkak Thak, Uunjit social workers were increasingly wielding their power over young Indigenous children. Brad Evenson, "Torn Between Two Cultures: The Saga of the Prime Minister's Son," *The Spectator* (April 18, 1998), D1.
[116] NWTA, Stuart M. Hodgson fonds, acc. no. N-2017-008, item no. 271.
[117] The Northern Games Committee subsidized the travel of many participants and had a budget of $14,000 to do so (over $92,000 in today's currently with an inflation rate of 557.65%).
[118] Nuvuk is also known as Point Barrow, Alaska. The community of Kugaaruk, Nunavut was historically known as Pelly Bay. "Point Barrow Dances. Northern Games, Inuvik, 1971," Photograph, NWTA, Tom Alfoldi fonds, acc. no. N-2012-006, ite, no. 0097; "Second Annual Northern Games Rated 'Fantastic.'"

Nanhkak Thak drummers and dancers in Inuuvik, the NG included Dinjii Zhuh and Inuvialuit sports, such as arm, finger, mouth, and foot pulls, knuckle hops, knee jumps, one- and two-foot high kicks, head and back pushes, high blanket toss, bush skills races, tug of war, wrestling, spear throwing, the eagle carry, and “Good Women” contests.

Above Left: Image 44. An Inuvialuk woman from Paulatuuq[119] and a woman likely from Nanhkak Thak (based on her mother hubbard attire) compete in a seal-skinning contest in front of community spectators. The winner of this contest, Naomi Atatahak of ᕐᑯᕐᓗᖅᑐᖅ[120] had been skinning seals since she was 13 years old and “attributed her win to her use of a board to lay the seal skin on while scraping the hide clear of blubber with her sharp ulu knife after skinning.”[121] Note the canvas tent in the background. The classroom windows of SAMS are also discernable; this was the first NG event in Inuuvik in 1971, located directly in front of the elementary day school, SAMS, and on the main

[119] The English spelling of Paulatuuq is Paulatuk and means “place of coal” in Inuvialuktun. See The Inuvialuit Regional Corporation [IRC], GNWT, and DIAND, *Inuvialuit Final Agreement* (Ottawa: DIAND, 1984).
[120] The community of Qurluqtuq, Nunavut is officially known as Kugluktuk. It means “the place of moving water” in Inuktitut.
[121] “Second Annual Northern Games Rated ‘Fantastic,’” *The Drum* 6, 30 (July 29, 1971), 1.

road, Mackenzie Road. Archival Caption: "Seal skinning. Northern Games, Inuvik. 1971."[122]

Above Right: Image 45. A young boy completes high kick at the AWG in 1979 in Inuuvik. Observant children surround him as he attempts to draw on all of his strength to win the event. Archival caption: "[A young boy attempts the Alaskan High Kick while a man holds the target on a string and stick. Several other children are lined up behind him. On a stage in front of Sir Alexander Mackenzie in Inuvik during the 1979 Northern Games.]"[123]

Edward Lennie explained that the games were designed to "promote more understanding between northern peoples."[124] As such, the NG were held in the square in front of Sir Alexander Mackenzie School and overlooking Inuuvik's main roadway and were designed for all to see. Drawing on the strength of their ancestors when exercising their right to engage in important cultural activities during a particularly oppressive time in the North, Indigenous northerners displayed remarkable use of t'aih at sporting events. Indeed, Rádeyîlîkóé Chief Charley Barnaby who travelled to Inuuvik from the Sahtú area was pleased that "drum dancing is 'coming back strong.'"[125]

Although the games were held in July, Indigenous children and some Grollier and Stringer Hall students participated in the NG. During summers, residential school children whose parents resided locally were released back into their care. Some continued their institutionalization at Grollier and Stringer Halls if they were orphaned, did not have extended family who could act as their guardian,[126] or were serving a juvenile delinquent sentence at the residential schools through the Department of Social

[122] NWTA, Tom Alfondi fonds, acc. no. N-2001-006, item no. 0025.
[123] NWTA, James Jerome fonds, acc. no. N-1987-017, item no. 2895.
[124] "Second Annual Northern Games Rated 'Fantastic,'" *The Drum* 6, 30 (July 29, 1971), 1, 4.
[125] "Second Annual Northern Games Rated 'Fantastic.'"
[126] DIAND, "Supplementary Instructions for Grollier and Stringer Halls, November 1968," NWTA, DOE Fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-25.

Development Corrections Services.[127] Additionally, Grollier and Stringer Hall children, particularly from the neighbouring communities of Tsiigehtshik, Teetł'it Zheh, Akłarvik, and Tuktuyaaqtuuq, returned back to Inuuvik for the NG with their parents, as a special trip. For instance, Tsiigehtshik Chief and Gwichyà Gwich'in Chief Hyacinthe Andre travelled to Inuuvik with his wife and children (some of whom normally resided at Grollier Hall) to demonstrate Dinjii Zhuh dancing. It was of particular importance for young Indigenous children, particularly those who resided at northern residential schools for 10 months or more per year, to see these events as a reminder of how they continued to embody t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii.

Image 46. Two young boys watch the first annual Northern Games in Inuuvik in 1971. Archival Caption: Spectators [2 boys]. Northern Games, Inuvik."[128]

[127] It was more common for young offenders to be sentenced to Akaitcho Hall in Sǫǫ̀mbak' , but they were sometimes sent to Inuuvik's residential schools to carry out their sentence.
[128] NWT Archives, Tom Alfoldi fonds, acc. no. N-2012-006, item no. 0149.

Image 47. Indigenous children are dressed in Indigenous attire and are performing a dance, as their families, friends, and communities watch encouragingly. The presence of the federal Indian Day School, SAMS, looms large in the background as do the flying Canadian flags. Archival caption: [Children dance on an outdoor stage in front of Sir Alexander Mackenzie School in Inuvik during the 1979 Northern Games. A crowd watches.][129]

During their summer breaks, residential school students had other opportunities to learn about Indigenous sports too. A week after the first NG in Inuuvik in 1971, a contingent of residential school students travelled to Fairbanks, Alaska for the 11th Annual Eskimo Olympics.[130] Tommy Chicksi, William Day, Buck Dick, Mickey Gordon, Roy Ipana, Charlie Kasook, Tommy Smith, and Glen and Pat Tingmiak travelled with the Delta Drummers and Dancers, Nellie Cournoyea, a representative of the NG Committee, and a CBC reporter. Additionally, Alestine Andre of Grollier Hall accompanied the group to represent Inuuvik at the Miss Eskimo Olympics Queen contest, despite her Dinjii Zhuh

[129] NWT Archives, James Jerome fonds, acc. no. N-1987-017, item no. 3533.
[130] "Eskimo Olympics," *The Drum* 6, 31 (August 5, 1971), 1-2.

identity.[131] These youngsters were immensely successful at the Olympics, winning titles in the single high kick, knuckle hop contest, stick bend, ear pulling, men's blanket toss, and double high kick.[132]

Above Left: Image 48. "Abel Tingmiak demonstrates the blanket toss at Reindeer Station [Vadzaih Degaii Zheh] in this archive photo. Tingmiak won the Minister's Culture Circle Award in the Elder category for his contributions as a teacher and ambassador of Inuvialuit culture and traditions."[133]

Above Right: Image 49. Years after the photo on the left, Inuvialuk Elder "Abel Tingmiak demonstrates [indoor] blanket toss at Samuel Hearne Secondary School in Inuuvik in 2009."[134]

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[131] "Eskimo Olympics," 1.

[132] "Eskimo Olympics," 1.There were no archival or newspaper photos available of Indigenous youngsters engaged in Blanket Toss.

[133] NNSL, "Award Winning Inuvialuit Ambassador: Abel Tingmiak Recognized for Teaching Inuvialuit Culture," September 3, 2011, www.nnsl.com.

[134] IRC, *Taimani: At That Time, Inuvialuit Timeline Visual Guidelines*, eds. Charles Arnold et. al. (Inuvik, NWT: IRC, 2011).

Sport and skiing in particular offered Indigenous children several advantages. First, youngsters reconnected with and strengthened their Indigenous identities. Skiing and competing in Indigenous sporting events, like the NG, empowered children in ways that were once unimaginable at earlier Indian Residential Schools. It fostered personal growth and development, a teaching that children previously learned from their families before institutionalization. Residential school student Roseanne Allen recalled that after joining the Test Program, she noticed that

> There was an attitude among so many of my friends that only white people were smart. I never really applied myself at school. I just assumed I couldn't do the work. When I got away from that environment, I started seeing myself, and the world, in a different light. I knew I understood the work. And if I understood myself, that meant I could really do it. I wasn't so dumb after all.[135]

Allen's experiences at Inuuvik's day schools and hostels taught her that as an Indigenous child, she was not capable or did not have the intellect to be successful in her goals. Skier David Cook explained that, "We are going to prove that the whites aren't the only persons in the world. The Indians can do something too, you know."[136] Having internalized colonial discourses that framed Indigenous peoples as incompetent, Cook was determined to demonstrate that he too was worthy of accolades. Sharon Firth shared that her skiing goals allowed her to escape various harmful patterns that were so common in Inuvik and an anonymous student agreed, remarking that skiing allowed him

[135] Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 38-39.
[136] "Profile of the Week: Bjorger Pettersen and His Skiers," *News of the North* XXVII, 13 (March 27, 1969).

to address his "drinking habits, and I was doing well in school. What kept me on my toes was taking part in athletic events. It helped me a lot."[137]

Both residential school and TEST staff noticed the changes in the children. One Grollier Hall supervisor remarked that "before joining the [TEST] program, many of the Indian and Eskimo children were uninterested and unmotivated in life. Now they have become self confident and constructive."[138] Grollier Hall administrator Oblate Father Max Ruyant boasted that

> Thanks to the vision of men such as Fathers Mouchet and Ruyant, O.M.I., Grollier Hall can now take pride in having been the cradle of cross-country skiing in Inuvik. From the very beginning, we supported the programme morally as well as financially. It proved to be a good investment; in return we got our finest students.[139]

Ruyant was quick to credit Mouchet and Ruyant for the success of the students, but it was t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii along with an immense amount of training that allowed not only the A Squad to succeed, but also all residential school children involved in the TEST program. Coach Pettersen noted changes in his athletes too:

> It was interesting to watch how the participants in TEST have changed during the past years. Youngsters that were too shy to take their eyes off the floor in [the] schoolroom have become teenagers that are bubbling over with ideas and confidence. They are much more willing to work than what is normal for the northern youngster.[140]

As demonstrated in Chapter Five, school curricula and residential schooling policies were designed to oppress Indigenous children. But church and government staff were

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[137] Interview with Carney, Researcher, March 1987, RCDMA McCarthy and Carney Files Box 2 of 4; TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2, 1939 to 2000*, 477.
[138] Scrivener, "Lack of Funds Leaves Inuvik Ski Program in Danger."
[139] Cross-Country Ski," *1970-1971, Grollier Hall* [Yearbook], 18.
[140] Pettersen, *The Story of TEST Program*, 7.

quick to take credit for the happy children, especially given the intense criticism and scrutiny about the institutionalization of students during the 1960s and 1970s.

Second, outdoor sports gave children a welcomed break from life at Grollier and Stringer Halls. Amos explains that sports had a "huge impact on a lot of us and played an important part in the hostel part of life. It kind of took away the humdrum of living at the residence."[141] Former Teetł'it Gwich'in student Robert Alexie Junior[142] agreed that it was important to keep busy at Stringer Hall and sports filled a major void in student life.[143] Skiers, particularly those on the A Squad, exchanged one form of daily routines and regiment for another but were afforded other luxuries. TEST training was usually scheduled for Sundays, thereby relieving Grollier and Stringer Hall students from Sunday mass.[144] Inuvialuk teenager Roger Allen's training schedule not only excused him from residential school life, but also provided him with an opportunity to strengthen kinships. After school one Friday afternoon during the fall of 1970, Allen skied the sixty kilometers through the Delta from Inuuvik to Akłarvik and arrived at his grandmother's house in the wee hours of Saturday morning, ready for a hug and a warm beverage.[145] That teenagers thrived upon leaving the institution, even temporarily, is not surprising.

Third, sport united rather than divided students. While residential school policies sought to dismantle familial relationships among Indigenous families, skiing brought kin together and created new family-type relationships. Divisive residential schooling

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[141] Amos, Interview with Fraser.
[142] Robert Alexie Jr. became a brilliant Dinjii Zhuh novelist. For a small sample, see *Porcupines and China Dolls* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Press, 2009) and *The Pale Indian* (Toronto: Penguin, 2005).
[143] Robert Alexie Jr., personal e-mail correspondence to Fraser, July 24, 2013.
[144] TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2, 1939 to 2000*, 477.
[145] Manning, *Guts and Glory*, 53.

policies segregated children; recall that students were separated first by religion (Roman Catholic vs. Anglican), then by European constructions of gender (girls vs. boys), and finally by age (Junior vs. Senior). Being together, as a team, eroded restrictions on relationships and gave children the freedom to talk and interact with estranged family members. For Inuvialuit siblings Roger and Roseanne Allen,[146] skiing afforded them the opportunity to reconnect and strengthen their relationship since for the majority of the time at both the day and residential schools, they were separated by colonial policies that were designed to dismantle Indigenous kin networks. Other sports, such as junior men's and women's mixed curling, provided older students with rare opportunities to mingle together outside of school.[147]

Fourth, sport and recreation nurtured guut'àii, or collective strength, among the Indigenous residential school body. New partnerships were formed, old ones revived, and a new sense of camaraderie eroded Euro-Canadian constructions of individualism and competitiveness that day school teachers and administrators attempted to instill. Engaging in team sports encouraged camaraderie and team spirit that was rare among institutionalized youngsters. The slogan of TEST skiers was: "IF YOU CAN'T HACK IT, DON'T JOIN IT."[148]

As detailed in previous chapters, residential school living was oppressive and often abusive. Cross-country skiing physically removed Indigenous students from

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[146] Roger and Roseanne Allen have an interesting past that speaks to local Indigenous customs of adoption. Dinjii Zhuh parents Rosalie and Alvie Laroque adopted Roger and Roseanne, despite their Inuvialuit roots. Familial relationships and responsibilities were fluid in Nanhkak Thak and guided by Indigenous laws and customs.
[147] Margaret Nazon, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Tsiigehtshik, Nanhkak Thak, 30 July 2013; Hanna, *For Those Who Were There*, 21.
[148] Manning, *Guts to Glory*, 36.

institutional living, sometimes for months at a time, especially when the team went on month-long tours.[149] For K'asho Got'įnę student and Grollier Hall (or "Sing Sing,"[150] as he called it) resident Harold Cook, time away from the residential school possibly saved his life. From 1962 to 1969, he was repeatedly sexually abused by a Grollier Hall supervisor. Cook explains that he often soiled his sheets at night as he waited for his abuser to remove him from his bed.[151] He recalls, "Those nights he didn't choose us, I'd fall asleep and pee the bed."[152] He found some reprieve, however, by joining the Territorial Experimental Ski Team. Reflecting on his years at Grollier Hall, Cook said that, "I skied to get away from the residence" and "imagined the abuser being the one ahead of me and I took all of my aggression out on the skis."[153] Skiing for Cook was cathartic and healing, since it "gave me the strength to bounce back after abuse…it taught me that I could achieve a goal if it was a realistic one and I worked really hard toward it."[154] Skiing entitled him to a different kind of freedom: freedom from secrecy, trepidation, and abuse.

Finally, through sport, tenacious and determined youngsters developed goals of their own and exemplified the strongest form of vit'aih, or personal strength. Travel

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[149] Pettersen, *The Story of TEST Program*, 9.
[150] Glenn Taylor, "Grollier Victims Form Support Group," *Northern News Services*, December 19, 1997; David Thurton, "Aklavik, N.W.T., Students Get Visit From Skilled Cross-Country Skiers, Trio, Including Competitive Skier Sharon Firth, Touts Benefits of Hard-Driving Sport," *CBC News*, April 16, 2016.
[151] Bob Weber, "Harold Cook wanted justice but he didn't want it from court. A victim of sexual abuse at a native residential school, Cook chose to seek compensation from the federal government and Catholic Church through a national pilot project offering an alternative to civil lawsuits," *Canadian Press NewsWire* (December 28, 2000).
[152] Ed Struzik, "Native children entered new world in church-run schools," *Edmonton Journal* (May 12, 2002), A1.
[153] Glenn Taylor, "Grollier Victims Form Support Group," *Northern News Services*, December 19, 1997; David Thurton, "Aklavik, N.W.T., Students Get Visit From Skilled Cross-Country Skiers, Trio, Including Competitive Skier Sharon Firth, Touts Benefits of Hard-Driving Sport," *CBC News*, April 16, 2016.
[154] TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2, 1939 to 2000,* 477.

became a regular activity for A Squad skiers. For Sharon Firth, like so many other Nanhkak Thak kids, this was a dream come true. She recalls daydreaming in school as a young child, wondering about the other side of the world and what lay beyond her home community of Inuuvik.[155] During the 1968 to 1969 ski season, the A Squad travelled to Scandinavia for athletic conditioning and to compete in the Swedish Bergsjo Loppet, where Fred "The Express" Kelly won the Junior Boys seven and a half kilometer race by ninety seconds.[156] Upon their international success, celebrity-like fame soon became a part of life for these Indigenous youngsters. The group was "surrounded for autographs at every event, and promoters credited them with attracting extra-large crowds."[157] Cook exclaimed that, "We were treated like rock stars wherever we went!"[158] A Squad children were expected to keep up on their studies while travelling and to the "amazement" of their families, they were keeping up in school.[159]

At Grollier and Stringer Halls, sports were embedded in assimilative discourses that sought to discipline, reform, and reshape the bodies of Indigenous youngsters in Inuvik between the years of 1959 and 1979. It was one way to further facilitate their entry into the 'modern' Canadian nation state, but it was also used to thwart local Indigenous criticism around institutionalization and stifle the resistance of children to residential school life. For their part, Indigenous children themselves consistently and

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[155] Manning, *Guts to Glory*, 35.
[156] Manning, *Guts to Glory*, 40.
[157] Proudfoot, "How the Kids From Inuvik Became the Toast of Scandinavia," 85.
[158] Manning, 41.
[159] "Profile of the Week: Bjorger Pettersen and His Skiers," *News of the North* XXVII, 13 (March 27, 1969); Pettersen, *The Story of TEST Program*, 65. Inuuvik's primary and secondary teachers prepared months of material for them, which was not uncommon for teenage elite athletes. Proudfoot, "How the Kids From Inuvik Became the Toast of Scandinavia," 85.

successfully encapsulated t’aih, vit’aih, and guut’àii that allowed them to be successful, despite the carcerality of life at Grollier and Stringer Halls. Historian Eric Anderson found that Navajo athletes used colonial sports “in an attempt to beat white culture at their own game, effectively assimilating to these sports while simultaneously resisting them.”[160] The efforts and achievements of northern Indigenous children who participated in TEST align with Anderson’s argument. Despite the goal of “racial uplift” that cross-country skiing provided, Indigenous children willingly participated and excelled in these activities. Youth assessed their lives at Grollier and Stringer Halls and made thoughtful decisions about how they wanted to spend their leisure time; some of these decisions were influenced by traumatic situations and a concern for their physical safety, as Harold Cook’s experiences demonstrate.

As previous chapters have demonstrated, there were a plethora of methods that residential school children used to signify their ability to strategically manipulate power relations in their favour. Northern residential school students confronted hierarchies of power in new and exciting ways that challenged the integrity of the expanding Canadian nation state, underscoring the complicated and powerful tensions of residential school living and the emotional turmoil of childhood. In the next chapter, I further my argument that residential school students in Inuvik between the years of 1959 and 1979 displayed complex personhoods by examining how Indigenous parents, families, and leaders continued to resist against government and church polices and regulations well into the 1980s.

[160] Eric Anderson, “Using the Master’s Tools: Resisting Colonization through Colonial Sports,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, 2 (March 2006), 248.

Vachandh Nak'aoh Zhàk Dhityin[1]: Dinjii Zhuh Guudeezhuh Niint'àih[2]. "These are our children and they are very precious to us."[3] Prominent Indigenous Voices Question the System, 1969 to 1982

In 1975, K'asho Got'įnę leader Stephen Kakfwi stood before Thomas Berger, a Canadian judge and former politician. The Berger Inquiry had arrived in Rádeyîlîkóé and Kakfwi was eager to speak at this public hearing, which sought to gauge local sentiment about the future of resource development.[4] The construction of the proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, a contentious and highly publicized project, was discussed in thirty-five northern communities across Denendeh and Inuit Nunangat.[5] Kakfwi, dressed in a plaid shirt and blue jeans and with his long hair tethered in a ponytail, gathered strength by turning his gaze to the audience which was filled with relatives, friends, and supporters.

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[1] Nine. Literal translation: vanchadh = thumb; nak'aoh = one side; zhàk = down; dhityin = it is there. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Gwich'in Language Centre (GLC) and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), *Teetł'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee', Gwich'in Language Dictionary (Fort McPherson and Tsiigehtchic dialects), 5th Ed.* (Teetł'it Zheh & Tsiigehtchic, Northwest Territories [NWT]: Gwich'in Language Centre and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, March 2005), 168.

[2] Literal translation: "Strong Indigenous voices." Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Agnes Mitchell, Lisa André, and Crystal Gail Fraser.

[3] XXXX XXXX, Vice-Chairperson, Rankin Inlet Community Education Committee to Brian W. Lewis, Director, Department of Education (DOE), Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT), "Re: XXXX XXXX," December 7, 1978, Northwest Territories Archives (NWTA), DOE Fonds, accession number G-1995-004, item number 3-3.

[4] Thomas R. Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, 1974-1977, Berger Commissioner Reports and Community Transcripts,* ed. Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (MVPI) (Yellowknife, NWT: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development [DIAND], 2004).

[5] Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland*, vii.

Figure 50. Stephen Kakfwi speaks at the 1978 Dene National Assembly in Délinę. Kakfwi was an advocate for Indigenous rights in the North and had a long career in northern politics. After a failed run as leader of the Dene Nation, Kakfwi defeated George Erasmus in 1983 and became President. Four years later, Kakfwi was elected as a Member of the Legislative Assembly for the Sahtú. In 2003, Kakfwi became Premier of the NWT and currently holds the longest record of holding sixteen years in the Cabinet of the NWT. Archival Caption: "Deline 04-78 – Dene National Assembly – Man – Stephen Kakfwi.[6]

People spilled into the community hall from the foyer, stretching their necks over the crowd to see who was speaking. Kakfwi, a former residential school student of Grollier, Akaitcho, and Breynat Halls,[7] articulated what many northerners had been carefully weighing. Although the Berger Inquiry's main task was to gauge local sentiment about the proposed pipeline project, Indigenous northerners recognized the opportunity to be heard by the federal government about other issues while they testified; thus, the topic of education was routinely discussed. Government day and residential schools were responsible for an emerging

[6] Northwest Territories Archives (NWTA), Rene Fumoleau fonds, acc. no. N-1995-002, item no. 0505.
[7] Akaitcho Hall (Sǫǫ̀mbak'è, 1958 to 1994), Grollier Hall (Inuuvik, 1959-1996), and Breynat Hall (Thebacha, 1958-1988).

> […] gap between the young and the old. The elders had much difficulty in relating to the young. Many of the young lost their language, their values and views, which they had learned from their elders. What the elders realized was that what was happening to their young in school was not exactly what they wanted. The government was literally stealing young people from their families. They saw that if the situation remained unchanged, they as a people, would be destroyed in a relatively short time.[8]

As a K'asho Got'ı̨nę, Kakfwi drew upon ancestral, personal, and collective strength when making this statement about the ill effects of schooling in Denendeh, as he had experienced and observed. He was not drawing upon the Dinjii Zhuh concepts of t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii, but his actions demonstrate that Kakfwi was drawing upon the energy of the room and channeled the strength of his K'asho Got'ı̨nę family and supporters.

Kakfwi understood that Indigenous northerners requested and welcomed government schooling, wanting their children educated in Uunjit Nanhkak subjects; some genuinely believed that the federal and territorial governments would consider their opinions about what constituted a balanced education. Kakfwi belonged to a large and influential cohort of young and energetic students who had experienced the system first hand, since the opening of Inuuvik's facilities in 1959. Offering pointed critiques on issues they felt important, these Indigenous northerners continually challenged government activities and schooling policies.

As Dąą[9] demonstrated, the activism of Indigenous peoples to change the schooling system was unprecedented during the 1960s. After bearing witness to the scathing criticism that its federal partners faced during that long decade, Department of

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[8] Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland*, vii.
[9] Four, Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 98.

Education (DOE) bureaucrats promised to prioritize local involvement and consultation in matters related to schooling. The 'modern' northern residential schooling system had been established for over a decade and grown substantially, but these structures began to crumble during the 1970s. Despite official rhetoric from officials at both the territorial government's DOE and the Northwest Territories (NWT) Council, they remained committed to schooling policies that displaced Indigenous peoples from their lands, cultures, and languages. As such, the people of Nanhkak Thak continued to hold their government to account.

This chapter begins in 1969, a momentous time, when the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) devolved powers over schooling in Denendeh, Nanhkak Thak included, to the new DOE.[10] Devolution in the sector of education was, in part, routine in transferring provincial responsibilities. Decisions over schooling now rested with territorial administrators in Sǫǫ̀mbak'è and, in theory, were no longer made from distant Adawe. This foundational change reinvigorated Indigenous northerners, who were already long-time advocates for their children, to once again pressure the government for more widespread access to day schooling, better residential school conditions, more appropriate curricula, and generally a schooling system that better served them, as Indigenous peoples.

Policies about schooling teetered on this precipice of change, but DOE employees proved that although they were willing to listen to Indigenous demands for

[10] Inuit Nunangat would not receive powers over education until the following year, in 1970. Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR), *Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1965-1966* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1966), 19; Bob Simpson, interview with Crystal Gail Fraser, Inuuvik, Nanhkak Thak, 12 July 2013.

reform, they had little incentive to follow through with substantive changes. The DOE's entrenched dogma around schooling was inherited from its federal predecessor; practices and policies remained tenuous, assimilative, and contradictory.[11] Educational Studies scholar Heather McGregor contended that when the DOE assumed control of schooling, there was a vast reworking of priorities and policies, with new visions for curricula, optimism about emerging leadership, and the belief that schools should include multicultural frameworks.[12] But, as McGregor noted, there was very little integration of Indigenous knowledge, resulting in a system that continued to be "alienating and dislocating."[13]

As education historian Mary Van Meenan argued,

> The territorial government's assumption of administrative control over education in 1969-70 did little to alter the course set by the federal government. New ideas and approaches were proposed but the same officials who had worked within the old system resisted substantive changes that would have made the system responsive […] The core of the problem was that neither the federal nor territorial governments understood the peoples they were trying to educate.

The NWT Commissioner, by tradition, always held the role of Deputy Minister of the federal department responsible for northern governance. Although power over schooling now rested with the DOE, the Commissioner remained the top bureaucrat. Former DIAND policies, as Van Meenan argues, continued to guide the DOE approaches. This was a complex and multilayered system; decisions about schooling were not always made in consultation with invested parties. I suggest that this story is more complex

[11] N.C. Bhattacharya, "Education in the Northwest Territories," *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research* 19, 3 (September 1973), 243.
[12] Heather McGregor, *Inuit: Education and Schools in the Eastern Arctic* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 85.
[13] McGregor, *Inuit*, 86.

than simply continued Indigenous oppression and state dominance. As we will see, parents, community members, and leaders responded to the issues they were most passionate about and mobilized for change in unprecedented ways.

The 1970s was a decisive and explosive decade, characterized by unparalleled criticism by not only Nanhkak Thak students and parents, but those all over the North including those from Inuit Nunangat. Although Indigenous northerners had long vocalized their concerns over schooling, Kakfwi's generation of Indian Residential School graduates harnessed their own insights and articulated new and forceful debates around schooling. Until this point, the federal and territorial government officials dominated the schooling scene. It became clear to DOE management, however, that they had very few choices but to respond to increased turmoil and hostility among both students and parents, as well as emerging political groups, such as the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories (IBNWT). Only structural change at the territorial level would quell persistent criticism. This chapter ends in 1982 when the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) appointed a Special Committee on Education that subsequently published *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories*.[14] Indigenous peoples, since at least the signing of Treaty 11 in 1921,[15] had been lobbying for a change in schooling in Nanhkak Thak and nearly sixty years later, their efforts resulted in this important report and produced subsequent changes to schooling policies.

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[14] Legislative Assembly, Special Committee on Education, GNWT, *Learning: Tradition & Change in the Northwest Territories* (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1982).
[15] *Treaty No. 11 (June 27, 1921) and Adhesion (July 17, 1922) with Reports, etc.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1957).

In the Gahtr'iheedandaii Geenjit,[16] I noted that Indigenous Education scholar Eve Tuck encourages us to consider that "even when communities are broken and conquered, they are so much more than that."[17] As discussed in the previous chapters, although Indigenous children were subjected to oppressive residential schooling policies well into the third quarter of the twentieth century, these institutionalized students still had a degree of control over their lives. But the desire among territorial government employees to maintain the "power to punish"[18] continued until at least 1982. This chapter brings us back full circle to Dąą,[19] where I highlighted the importance of Indigenous parents in seeking a better life for their children. They repeatedly fought back against the "regime of truth"[20] that the GNWT so consistently attempted to impose. But this is not simply a history of carcerality, for Tuck's work allows us to understand the "complexity, contradiction, and self-determination of lived lives."[21] This final chapter argues that despite the violence and trauma that residential schooling policies and staff imposed on Indigenous youngsters, Indigenous parents, caregivers, and communities continued to mobilize Indigenous forms of strength: t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii.

[16] Ihłak. Gahtr'iheedandaii Geenjit: "Well after all, they're trying to assimilate us to be white Canadians." Indigenous Children at Inuuvik's Grollier and Stringer Halls, 1959 to 1996. Pages 1-52.

[17] Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 79, 3 (Fall 2009), 416.

[18] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 89.

[19] Dąą. Adachoo Kat Chit G lii' Kwàh: "Listen! It's louder now. From here, from there. Indian voices, Métis voices, demanding attention, demanding equality!"[19] Indigenous Northerners Respond to Schooling Issues, 1959 to 1969.

[20] David Garland, *Punishment and Modern Society: A Study in Social Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 4.

[21] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 416, 422.

Before moving onto the crux of this chapter, it is important to consider the historical context about public schooling debates at the national level and the role of the federal government. The *White Paper*[22] introduced by Pierre Elliott Trudeau's new government received widespread criticism from Indigenous peoples and it generally highlighted the misinformed opinion that education had improved for Indigenous peoples during the twentieth century. Proposed policy changes included abolishing the *Indian Act of 1876,*[23] dissolving the DIAND, eliminating Indian Status, and transferring federal responsibilities around Indigenous matters to provincial governments. Nehiyaw[24] leader Harold Cardinal, in *The Unjust Society*,[25] proclaimed that the policy was "a thinly disguised program of extermination through assimilation."[26] The National Indian Brotherhood called for the federal government to relinquish control over education and allow Indigenous peoples autonomy in decisions about their children's education.[27] Increased Indigenous control characterized schooling policies all over Canada and the North, too, was part of this broader, national movement.[28]

Indigenous voices became louder in the North. On October 3, 1969, sixteen chiefs met in Thebacha and identified the need for an independent organization that

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[22] DIAND, *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy* (Ottawa: DIAND, 1969).
[23] Government of Canada, *Indian Act, 1876 and its amendments (1880, 1894, 1920, 1927, and 1951).* Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1951.
[24] Nehiyaw means a Cree person Nēhiyawēwin.
[25] Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1969).
[26] Jean Barman, Yvonne Hébert, and Don McCaskill, "The Legacy of the Past: An Overview," in *Indian Education in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986), 15.
[27] National Indian Brotherhood (NIB), *Indian Control of Indian Education: Policy Paper Presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs and northern Development* (Ottawa: NIB, 1972); Assembly of First Nations (AFN), *Breaking the Silence: An Interpretive Study of Residential School Impact and Healing as Illustrated by the Stories of First Nation Individuals* (Ottawa: AFN, 1994), 18.
[28] Ann Vick-Westgate, *Nunavik: Inuit-Controlled Education in Arctic Quebec* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2002), 10.

would better serve regional interests. The Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories (IBNWT) was born and consisted of an all-male leadership. This was problematic as many northern Indigenous nations were historically matrilineal and women were often at the centre of important decision-making strategies. Nevertheless, the IBNWT juggled many important tasks, acting as a collective voice on issues including education, land conflicts, and the rejection of state intervention into Indigenous affairs. Moving forward with purpose, the IBNWT was an essential tool in helping Indigenous northerners further their interests on a number of issues and it also provided a strong voice for issues on schooling. Specifically, the group rejected the proposal that the DIAND devolve its powers to the territorial government, since *Treaty No. 8* and *Treaty No. 11*[29] were agreements between Indigenous peoples and the Crown, not the territorial government. As the IBNWT gained momentum, an increasing number of Indigenous youth, such as Stephen Kakfwi, became politicized and injected new levels of energy and passion into Indigenous politics. Dene man Herb Norwegian captured the sentiment of Indigenous political growth in 1969: "I felt like I was in a field of dandelions sprouting all over the country."[30]

DOE management, cognizant of resistance from Indigenous northerners, was concerned with the "image"[31] of the large residential schools and assured the public of its desire to conform to local Indigenous needs. In 1970, just one year after the

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[29] *Treaty No. 8, Made June 21, 1899 and Adhesions Reports, etc.* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966); *Treaty No. 11 (June 27, 1921) and Adhesion (July 17, 1922) with Reports, etc.*

[30] Jasmine Budak, "The Birth of a Nation," *Up Here Magazine* (Sept 9 2005).

[31] Colin Wasacase, Supervisor, Student Residences, DOE, "Minutes, Superintendents' Conference, October 6-10, 1970," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-6; Norman J. Macpherson, Superintendent, DOE to Rod C. McKenzie, Administrator, Ukkivik Student Residence, October 27, 1971, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-24.

territorial government assumed control over schooling in the Western Arctic, IBNWT President Roy Daniels spoke at a DOE Superintendents' and Administrators' Conference and shared the experience of one Indigenous student who attended Inuuvik's day schools and resided at one of Inuuvik's residential schools. Daniels explained that although the student

> had 'made it' according to the standards of the Department of Education, she had completely divorced herself from her own people. She no longer could speak the language nor understand it. She lost her way of life; she no longer could tolerate the kinds of foods her parents ate or the conditions they lived in. She lost contact with all her relatives and there was no longer the close relationship. She no longer was fully accepted by her parents because of her new found attitudes and loss of language. She was now regarded as only a visitor since she had lost contact with the people.[32]

Indigenous northerners had suffered the consequences of residential schooling policies for nearly a century, but these devastating narratives had not emerged into public discourses until 1970, despite Indigenous peoples having long discussed them.

While All Saints and Immaculate Conception Indian Residential Schools in Akłarvik had allowed for a degree of accommodation for Indigenous practices, the program in Inuuvik had been an intensive effort to eradicate nearly all forms of Indigeneity. Daniels recommended changes, including that local advisory boards be consulted, that more Indigenous peoples be trained in management and other positions of power, and that more emphasis be placed on northern Indigenous histories and cultures.[33] The DOE was forced to change its approach to Indigenous-state relations. By

[32] Wasacase, "Superintendents and Administrators Conference, October 20 – 22, 1970," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-6. There are endless accounts of similar sentiments. See: Roy Fabian and Abe Ruben testimonies, Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland*, 92.
[33] Wasacase, "Superintendents and Administrators Conference, October 20 – 22, 1970.".

allowing Indigenous parents more influence over questions related to schooling, and acquiescing to local demands for new day schools, small locally-operated boarding facilities, and grade extensions, the territorial government concurrently presented itself as sensitive to local Indigenous concerns and continued with its nation-building agenda to bring Euro-Canadian schooling to geographically-distant Indigenous communities in the NWT.

In 1969, the DOE discussed the establishment of local councils in communities, which would encourage valuable "two-way communication and would build the kind of local interest and support for education which has been sadly lacking throughout the North."[34] Dinjii Zhuh, Métis, and Inuvialuit parents had been pushing for more involvement in Nanhkak Thak schooling policies and local councils presented a method to increase their participation in and knowledge of government residential and day schooling. Inuuvik's infrastructure was already established, but this intensive construction program was extended to Sambaa K'e, Tthenáágó, Łutselk'e, Sǫǫ̀mbak'è, , ᕿᑭᖅᑕᕐᔪᐊᖅ, ᑲᖏᖅᑐᒑᐱᒃ, ᐸᖕᓂᖅᑑᖅ, ᑰᔾᔪᐊᖅ, Xátł'odehchee, Thebacha, Tulít'a, ᓴᓪᓕᖅ, and ᑭᙵᐃᑦ.[35]

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[34] Gillie, Director to Principals, Teachers of One Room Schools, and Superintendents, DOE, December 5, 1969, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 3-7.
[35] DOE, "Newsletter," November 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-14. Sambaa K'e, the "place of trout," was formerly known as Trout Lake. Tthenáágó, "strong rock," is also called Nahanni Butte. Łutselk'e, "the place of the Łutsel (fish)," is locaed on the east arm of Tinde'e in Denendeh and was formerly known as Snowdrift. ᕿᑭᖅᑕᕐᔪᐊᖅ is also called Qikiqtarjuaq and, until 1998, was called Broughton Island. ᑲᖏᖅᑐᒑᐱᒃ or Kanngiqtugaapik in Nunavut means "nice little inlet" and is officially known as Clyde River. ᑰᔾᔪᐊᖅ, or Kuujjuaq in Nunavik was historically known Fort Chimo. Chimo is a mispronunciation of saimuuq, "let's shake hands" in Inuktitut. ᐸᖕᓂᖅᑑᖅ is also called Pangniqtuuq or Pangnirtung. ᓴᓪᓕᖅ is Inuktitut for Salliq meaning "large flat islands in front of the mainland." Kinngait, also known as Cape Dorset, means "high mountain" and used to be known as Coral Harbour. ᑭᙵᐃᑦ, also called Kinngait (historically, Cape Dorset) is located in Nunavut.

One of the first changes in policy for the DOE was to revise residential school admission policies. The Department now sought children who

> require a period of adjustment to urban living through living in a residence with peers who share his culture that is, a student who requires a gradual orientation to urban living before he can manage in a private boarding home or in the community; no suitable private boarding home is available in the area in which the appropriate school is located.[36]

Although the DOE did not state outright that the destruction of Indigenous cultures continued to be a purpose of residential schooling programs, the desire to 'urbanize' children was another step in assimilative processes that further removed Indigenous people from their lands, cultures, and languages. With an increasing number of schools and residential facilities and expanded admission requirements, student enrollments were at an all-time high. During the 1970-71 school year, 10,197 students were registered at schools in the NWT, which was an increase of more than ten percent.[37] The number of students reached its peak in 1972; there were seven large and nine small residential schools, housing roughly 1,600 children.[38] The DOE expected this to double by 1980.[39]

As a way to further satisfy its critics and attract more students, the DOE announced that it was willing to "facilitate the habits of people"[40] by revisiting the September-to-June school calendar to offer some flexibility that would allow Indigenous

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[36] DOE, "Admission Requirements," undated (c. late 1960s), NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1999-051, item no. 1-3; DOE, "Proposed Admissions for Student Residences of the Northwest Territories," June 28, 1971, Roman Catholic Diocese of Mackenzie-Fort Smith Archives (RCDMA) Unnumbered Box #1.
[37] "Minutes, Superintendents' Conference."
[38] "Proposed Admissions Policy for Student Residences of the Northwest Territories."
[39] "Minutes, Superintendents' Conference."
[40] Paul M. Robinson, DOE, Minutes, "Staff Conference – January 28-29-30," 1970, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-6.

students to both accompany their parents onto the land during important harvesting seasons and obtain a balanced and consistent Euro-Canadian schooling experience. The 'traditional' southern school-year calendar dictating that students be present from September to June was highly impractical for northerners, given that significant socio-economic activities occurred in April (ratting), May (geese hunts), June (whaling), August-September (fishing), and October (vàdzaih hunting).

Just a year later, the DOE hired a new Uunjit Curriculum Director, Paul Robinson. Robinson stated that in the Department's attempt to understand local "value systems," it was important to "remove prejudicial characteristics from the curriculum."[41] Although not familiar with the unique challenges of northern schooling, he aimed to develop new curricula guidelines for all children whether they lived in urban areas, such as Inuuvik, or smaller surrounding communities, such as Akłarvik, Tsiigehtshik, and Teetł'it Zheh.[42] Robinson was focused on the "unique characteristics of the North,"[43] but he acknowledged the need to cater to both Uunjit and Indigenous parents.

One of Robinson's first stated goals was to implement a course on Indigenous peoples, Treaties, and the *Indian Act* at the local day school in Inuuvik, Sir Alexander Mackenzie School (SAMS), an idea originally submitted by Akłarvik's Curriculum Committee two years earlier in 1968. But Robinson failed to implement this particular initiative, and instead produced a selection of readers: *The Dogrib Reader* Series, *The Arctic Reader* Series, the *On the Land* Series, the *Chipewyan* Series, and *The People of*

[41] Robinson, "Staff Conference."
[42] Robinson to Superintendents, October 16, 1970, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-6.
[43] Robinson to Teachers, undated (c. 1970), NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 19-9; R. Bawtinhimer, Principal, Kugluktuk School, "The Revised School Day," *Arcturus* 1, 4 (Yellowknife, NWT: Curriculum Division, DOE, March 1971), 14, 17.

the Northwest Territories.[44] *The Arctic Reader* Series, from the beginning, was criticized as "a slight modification of the typical 'Dick and Jane' readers."[45] Parents also expressed discontent with the other readers. Although 'progress' was claimed, few additional cultural materials were included and Superintendents were expected to find sources from "other areas,"[46] if they decided to include Indigenous knowledge in classrooms at all.

By 1972, Nanhkak Thak parents had grown increasingly frustrated by the lack of change. Although a record number of Indigenous children attended local day schools and were institutionalized at Grollier and Stringer Halls, DOE management had not honoured its promise of creating and supporting a local school board. Inuuvik parents took to the airwaves and broadcast a series on the town's radio station, which publicized local grievances and generated new interest in how the Department was handling reforms.[47] A year later, exasperated Nanhkak Thak parents established their own local Education Advisory Board (EAB), which included representation from parents, town councilors, and teachers. The EAB sought to improve communication between day schools, residential schools, and parents and to provide "a spokesman for the community in advising the principal and staff of the local educational needs."[48] The local

[44] Robinson to Joe A. Coady and Norman J. Macpherson, Superintendents, DOE January 13, 1970; Robinson to Macpherson, February 26, 1970, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, 19-9; Programme Development Division, DOE, *Learning Materials* (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1973), 17-18, 64-65; Curriculum Division "DogRib Project," *Arcturus* 1, 3 (Yellowknife: DOE, January 1971), 4-5.
[45] Fred Carnew, Curriculum Consultant, Programme Development Division, DOE, "Editorial," *Artucus* 3, 1 (September 1973), 13.
[46] "Senior Staff Notes: Department of Education Staff Seminar, September 13-6, 1974," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-13.
[47] "Education Information Radio Program on CHAK," *The Drum* 7, 42 (November 9, 1972), 3.
[48] "Inuvik Town Council: Education," *The Drum* 5, 7 (March 4, 1970), 7; Minutes, "Sir John Franklin Parents' Committee," April 1, 1976, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-18.

newspaper in Inuuvik, *The Drum*, praised the Inuuvik EAB for "doing a good job of providing some communication between School and home."[49]

Taking the direction of local leadership during the early 1970s, staff at SAMS sought to foster better communications between "the Hostel and the people in the settlements."[50] That fall, the DOE produced a film that tried to educate Indigenous parents in small communities about life at Grollier Hall, Samuel Hearne Secondary School (SHSS), and Inuuvik. DOE officials claimed that "there is no question the tape will give everyone a clearer idea of what the school and student residence is all about and will stimulate questions after it is shown."[51]

Most resources for parents, such as the film discussed above, were aimed at those who lived in Denendeh. Parents and policy makers in Inuit Nunangat, on the other hand, seemed to have less sway over territorial decisions. Education staff in the Keewatin region "recommended that staff from schools visit hostels and bring first hand information back to communities."[52] They also suggested that a residential school representative travel to arctic communities in an effort to educate Indigenous parents on the wellbeing of their children at residential schools. NWT Commissioner Stuart Hodgson stated that

[49] "School Attendance Discussed," *The Drum* 9, 21 (May 23, 1974), 2. Capitalized "S" for school appears in original quotation.
[50] SAMS, "Principal's Conference," October 14, 1974, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-19.
[51] Dave Button, Counsellor, Samuel Hearne Secondary School (SHSS) to Joe A. Coady, Superintendent, DOE, "Video Production Completed April, 1976 on Grollier Hall, Samuel Hearne Secondary School and Town of Inuvik," June 16, 1976; Warren C. Rongve, Chief Superintendent, DOE to Harry J. Mayne, Supervisor, Student Services & Special Projects, DOE, June 18, 1976; Rongve to Coady, "Video Production Completed on Grollier Hall, Samuel Hearne Secondary, and Town of Inuvik," September 14, 1976, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-2000-014, item, no. 1-5.
[52] Minutes, "Keewatin Education Conference, Principals' Sessions, November 16 to 19, 1974," DOE, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G1995-004, item no. 2-12.

> when the students are in residence and come from far off places, the parents must rely on contact with government representatives. We have had considerable experience (some not too satisfactory) when parents have questioned whether the Government and/or the Department of Education have been able to cope with the many problems encountered by students from outside communities.[53]

There is no evidence of DOE management acting on these suggestions.

Director Paul Robinson's team at the Curriculum Division had become particularly savvy at responding to local discontent. In 1972, it published an "experimental edition" of new elementary curricula guidelines and produced a new mandate that "Northern education must reflect the needs and aspirations of all children," while reminding parents that "there is no hierarchy of cultures to suggest that the non-native cultures are more important and therefore automatically deserving of greater emphasis."[54]

Inuuvik was part of a larger trend of northern communities taking the initiative in the face of DOE failures to honour local requests. Rather than forming a committee, families at Gamètì,[55] for example, appointed parents to two-week shifts to work alongside teachers and then report back to the community.[56] In doing so, the community created a new level of oversight with Tłı̨chǫ people entering the schools to monitor teachers and their practices. As a result, the community demanded the

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[53] Stuart Milton Hodgson, Commissioner, NWT Council (CNWT) to Gordon R. Carter, Secretary-Treasurer, Yellowknife School District No. 1, September 5, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-18.

[54] Curriculum Division, DOE*, Elementary Education in the N.W.T.: A Handbook for Curriculum Development* (Yellowknife: GNWT, 1972), i, 3.

[55] Gamètì, "rabbit-net lake," was formerly known as Rae Lakes. See *Treaty No. 11*; Dogrib Treaty 11 Council, GNWT, and DIAND, *Tłı̨chǫ Agreement among the Tłı̨chǫ First Nation & the Government of the Northwest Territories & the Government of Canada* (Ottawa: DIAND, 2002).

[56] "Principal's Monthly Report," Rae Lake Territorial School, DOE, October 5, 1973, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-10.

resignation of a teaching assistant.[57] Other communities engaged in intense discussions about their role in schooling and what characterized proper consultation.[58] At one of these meetings in ᐸᖕᓂᖅᑑᖅ,[59] Inuk William Tagoona wrote

> You get to wonder how the Inuit can endure all these difficulties and still go on. It is satisfying to see all our people fighting for their cause, which they have every right to do. I realized that Inuit weren't going to be shoved around. They are getting their forces together for unity is strength.[60]

By collaborating with neighbouring nations, Indigenous northerners were becoming more successful in their repeated attempts to extend their influence. This demonstrates an incredible amount of guut'àii, or communal strength. As Dinjii Zhuh Anjòo Bertha Francis explains, this amounts to "they make one mind." Indeed, Indigenous northerners in Denendeh and Inuit Nunangat were uniting in their attempt to advocate for lasting and meaningful change for their children.

In response to the DOE's general ambivalence about anything related to schooling, Indigenous parents found allies by strategically tapping into their networks within the government ranks. Territorial education employees, such as Mike O'Brien, had served as important voices in conversations about reform, and staff at the DOE's Curriculum office also offered their support. Even in its official capacity, the Department began to acknowledge that deep, systemic change was needed if government schooling was going to be successful. By 1972, the territorial curriculum newsletter, *Arcturus*, stated that "provision must be made for participation by native peoples in all aspects of

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[57] Rae Lake Territorial School, "Monthly Principals' Report to Assistant Superintendent of Education," February 16, 1974, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-10.
[58] INAC, "I.T.C. Conference in Pangnirtung," *Inuktitut* (Winter 1972), 5.
[59] Pangniqtuuq (Pangnirtung), Nunavut.
[60] William Tagoona, "I.T.C. Conference in Pangnirtung," *Inuktitut* (Winter 1972), 6.

the educational system in the N.W.T.," including the authority over and financial control of schooling.[61]

A year later in 1973, Superintendent William Devitt, upon inspecting the day school at Gamètì, remarked that classrooms "did not reflect [local] values, customs etc. of the people. It was too much of a whiteman's school. The presence of a white teacher in the classroom only serves to hasten these forces contributing to a process of cultural genocide."[62] Although the territorial government had assumed the task of strengthening the Canadian nation state in the North, structural cracks were becoming obvious to DOE employees. While officials became progressively louder in their criticism of the Department, their concerns simply echoed what Indigenous northerners had been arguing for decades.

In 1972, the territorial government ordered the DOE to establish a commission to review all facets of territorial schooling.[63] DOE management, however, chose not to act on this order, arguing that Education Director Bernard C. Gillie had recently undertaken a "very detailed in-house study"[64] and that, in any event, the DOE would soon be under new management; former DIAND Education Superintendent Norman J. Macpherson had been as appointed as Gillie's successor. The result of Gillie's review was the publication of *Survey of Education*, purportedly drafted to "reflect the stated

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[61] DOE, "Junior High Curriculum Conference," *Arctucus* 2, 5 (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, May 1973), 2.
[62] "Principal's Monthly Report," Rae Lake Territorial School.
[63] Thomas H. Butters, Member, CNWT to John H. Parker, Deputy Commissioner, CNWT, September 14, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-1.
[64] Butters to Parker, September 14, 1972.

wishes of the northern population served by the Territorial Department of Education."[65] Supporters regarded the *Survey of Education* as a bold move and a model for change which would produce "significant difference" since "no governing jurisdiction has had the political courage to tamper with the basic structure of school."[66] The *Survey* also provided limited insights into schooling policies under the federal government, with Gillie writing that DIAND's objectives were "varied" and "contradictory"; management "struggled mightily with the tremendous difficulties presented by efforts to meet these needs."[67]

Intended to signify a departure from federal approaches, the report's recommendations somewhat reflected this. Program development around "Intercultural Education" stated that students would learn about northern Indigenous cultures and their relationship to the state, that the teaching of Indigenous languages in day schools was a priority, and that the system would officially acknowledge a special appreciation for students' heritage.[68] But, Gillie also devoted an entire section to residential schools, indicating the Department's desire to continue institutionalizing Indigenous youth rather than extending local schooling facilities in smaller communities.[69] This point was

[65] Butters to Parker, September 14, 1972; DOE, *Survey of Education: Northwest Territories* (Yellowknife: GNWT, 1972).
[66] A. Richard King, Faculty of Education, University of Victoria, "The Northwest Territories May Lead the Nation," Unpublished paper (June 2, 1972), NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-1.
[67] DOE, *Survey of Education*, 1.
[68] DOE, *Survey of Education*, 12-14.
[69] DOE, *Survey of Education*, 67-73.

unsurprising, given that the DOE had recently proposed the construction of new residential schools in at least two communities.[70]

Gillie later called the *Survey of Education* "sound only for [a] programme having its base in a belief that gradually the Dene people will be absorbed into the dominant Canadian culture and their identity as a distinct segment of the nation will disappear."[71] His assessment underscores that the territorial government still accepted the idea of the expansion of the Canadian nation state into Nanhkak Thak through schooling. Through its policies, the DOE continued to pursue assimilation in hopes of extinguishing Indigenous cultures and creating modern Canadian citizens.

Critics quickly chimed in. NWT Council Member Thomas H. Butters doubted that the *Survey* would "receive either wide readership or general consideration."[72] When the *Survey* was in the draft stage, Butters accused the DOE of making "no widespread effort" to undertake local consultations and stated that the report simply outlined the opinions of DOE staff.[73] Teacher Brian Lewis feared that NWT Council Members "no longer have a strong stomach for the sweeping changes" that they once promoted.[74] The Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC) and the Roman

[70] Devitt, Assistant Director, DOE to Walker, Assistant Superintendent, DOE, "Re: Hostel in Coppermine," October 23, 1972; Devitt, Assistant Director to Hodgson, "Commissioner's Tour of the Central Arctic – Hostel in Coppermine – Page 12, Number 9," October 23, 1972; Devitt, Assistant Director to Walker, Assistant Superintendent, October 23, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 4-2.
[71] Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland*, 93.
[72] Butters to Parker, September 14, 1972.
[73] Butters to Parker, September 14, 1972
[74] Lewis, Resident, Thebacha to Bryan Pearson, NWT Council, October 19, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-1.

Catholic Church also expressed their unhappiness that the DOE failed to consider programs around the teaching of religion in schools.[75]

NWT Commissioner Stuart Hodgson, therefore, during the NWT Council's forty-seventh Session, appointed a Special Committee to analyze the *Survey of Education*, examine its 233 recommendations, and fulfill a longstanding request from Council that a board or commission be established to better understand northern education.[76] Comprised of NWT Council Members Lena Pedersen, Dr. Louis-Edmond Hamelin, Bryan Pearson, and James Rabesca,[77] the Committee was also to redefine the main objectives of northern schooling to better reflect the wishes of northerners.[78] The product was the *Report of the Special Committee of the Council of the Northwest Territories to the Study "Survey on Education – Northwest Territories."*[79]

Special Committee members disagreed with several of the fundamental principles of the *Survey*, indicating that the territorial government was divided in its aim

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[75] Paul Piché, Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI), Bishop of Mackenzie-Fort Smith, Dioceses of Mackenzie-Fort Smith to Macpherson, Director, DOE, July 13, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-1.
[76] CNWT, *Report to the Special Committee of the Northwest Territories to Study the "Survey of Education – Northwest Territories,"* (Yellowknife: GNWT, 1973), iii.
[77] Lena Pedersen emigrated to Canada in 1959 from Greenland. Her career in the North included working for the West Baffin Eskimo Cooperative, Inuktitut language programs for CBC, and housing. Pedersen was the first woman, but also the first Inuit woman to be elected to the NWT Council in 1970 and represented the Central Arctic District. Her term ended in 1975. Dr. Louis-Edmond Hamelin was a non-Indigenous geographer and academic, originally from Québec. Bryan Pearson emigrated to Canada from England and worked on various DEW Line sites. Person was elected in the 1970s NWT General Election and won the electoral district of Eastern Arctic. He later represented the Baffin South district and was elected as the first mayor of ᐃᖃᓗᐃᑦ (Iqaluit). There was no information available on James Rabesca. Hodgson to Director, DOE, November 6, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-1; McGregor, *Inuit*, 93.
[78] DOE, *Survey of Education*, 4.
[79] Council of the NWT (CNWT), *Report of the Special Committee of the Council of the Northwest Territories to Study the "Survey of Education – Northwest Territories."*

for schooling reform. In particular, it did not approve of residential schools. The report stated that

> when parents must leave a settlement to earn their living on the land, they should be encouraged to take their children with them wherever possible. This should be considered part of the child's education…It is far more beneficial for children to go with their parents than to stay in school to be taught by white teachers.[80]

The Special Committee also recommended that, at the very least, grade nine should be available in all communities, with choices about secondary or vocational schooling left to students and their families.[81] It also strongly disagreed

> with the major emphasis placed on teaching the English language. The mother tongue of the native people must be retained and English should not be the first priority, especially during a child's first few years of school. The emphasis must be on his own language during this period. After a solid background in this mother tongue is developed, English can be given more emphasis.[82]

The last point launched a discussion on the importance of language curricula in northern schools. The Committee made several recommendations to increase Indigenous success rates: the establishment of local parent committees, the implementation of northern curricula, and the inclusion of Indigenous-language resources.[83]

In an effort to strengthen legislation around schooling and address deep-seated, persistent problems, top bureaucrats began crafting a new *Education Ordinance* in 1973,

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[80] Hodgson to Director, DOE, November 6, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-1; CNWT, *Report of the Special Committee of the Council of the Northwest Territories to Study the "Survey of Education – Northwest Territories"* (Yellowknife: GNWT, 1973), 17.
[81] CNWT, *Report of the Special Committee of the Council of the Northwest Territories to Study the "Survey of Education – Northwest Territories,"* 6.
[82] CNWT, *Report of the Special Committee of the Council of the Northwest Territories to Study the "Survey of Education – Northwest Territories*," 8.
[83] Catherine A. McGregor, "Creating Able Human Beings: Social Studies Curriculum in the Northwest Territories and Nunavut, 1969 to Present," *Historical Studies in Education, Special Issue: Education North of 60* 27, 1 (Spring 2015), 61.

which proposed once again to significantly "move in the direction of local control of education and the recognition of the multi ethnic, multi lingual environment, essentially promising to bring greater local control to local interests, curriculum development, and language instruction."[84] The NWT Council posited that ample time was needed for adequate consultation and review, but DOE Director Norman Macpherson rejected the claim, explaining that the Department had a tight deadline and community consultation lay outside of its scope.[85] NWT Council Member Butters was critical of Macpherson's position and remarked on the Ordinance's importance. It was designed to give northerners a "much greater degree of control over the education process than has been the case in the past" and sought to recognize that schooling

> has a great impact on peoples' lives and such impact could not occur without the knowledge of the community and the approval of the community. And so to do this, this new legislation will put in the hands of the community a much greater control of the system than is presently the case.[86]

But the DOE continued to engage in problematic practices.

At a teachers' workshop, for instance, Uunjit education employees attempted to instruct Uunjit teachers on "how to teach native things to native people," rather than train and hire Indigenous people as teachers.[87] Bitterness towards the DOE increased at the local level. The Inuit Tapirisat and IBNWT pressed Commissioner Hodgson on a

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[84] During the same time, the neighbouring territory of the Yukon was undergoing similar changes with the passing of a long awaited Schools Ordinance. "Education Ordinance Draft Circulation," *The Drum* 10, 32 (August 15, 1974), 1; "Education Ordinance Proposed for Yukon," *The Drum* 9, 16 (April 18, 1974), 12.
[85] Conference Notes, Rongve, "Senior Staff Notes, Senior Staff Seminar, September 13 – 16, 1974," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-13; Minutes, ᐃᒡᓗᓕᒃ (Iglulik) "Education Committee Meeting," May 17, 1978, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no G-1995-004, item no. 2-23.
[86] DIAND, "About Northern Education," *Inuktitut* (Spring 1976), 10.
[87] Agenda, DOE, "Life Skills Workshop: April 4 & 5, Yellowknife Inn," c. 1973, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 16-2.

number of issues until Hodgson promised that the DOE and NWT Council would take their concerns into account when drafting the new *Education Ordinance*.[88]

In Nanhkak Thak, the Inuuvik EAB refused to wait for territorial legislation and independently devised a strategy to improve local educational programs.[89] Working in conjunction with the local Education Superintendent Ron Thody, parents and community members drafted various proposals ranging from attendance policy to student discipline to the teaching of local Indigenous languages, Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk and Inuvialuktun.[90] Here, we see the strength and autonomy of Nanhkak Thak Indigenous parents asserting their beliefs in a way that was unprecedented in other northern regions and during different time periods.[91] Using all forms of Dinjii Zhuh strength – t'aih, vit'aih, and guu'tàii – they drew on the strength of their ancestors who had role-modelled activism to them (outlined in Tyek[92]), channeled their personal strength in engaging with the colonial schooling system (not always an easy feat considering many of them were Indian Residential School survivors themselves), and mobilized guu'tàii of the broader community.

Since the establishment of the first government day school in Tuktuyaaqtuuq in 1947, government officials had sought to extend Euro-Canadian educational structures in the North. Despite all these efforts, the system began to collapse, not only in Inuuvik,

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[88] Hodgson to Carter, September 5, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-18.
[89] "Education Committee Seeks Answers," *The Drum* 9, 19 (May 9, 1974), 12.
[90] "Education Committee Seeks Answers."
[91] These expressions of political sovereignty demonstrate acts of resistance to state power, according to Foucault's theories. Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-1978,* ed. Michael Senellart and trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Picador, 2004), 195.
[92] Three. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), GLC and GSCI, *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjik Gwi'dinehtl'ee,'* 246.

but in the North more generally. In 1973, numerous complaints from Indigenous parents and education staff prompted an internal investigation led by DOE's Chief of Academic Programs, Jim Blewett.[93] He reported that there were irresolvable differences among staff and accounts of "disturbed and unsettled"[94] supervisors. Blewett recommended that residential school staff meet more frequently for better communications. Widespread criticism of the management of Stringer Hall erupted locally. "Disquieting reports" and rumours highlighted various "difficulties" and "explosive subject matter"[95] and Nanhkak Thak communities discussed the implications.[96]

As a result, in 1975, MSCC Bishop John Sperry wrote to the now retired Reverend Leonard Holman, longtime administrator for both All Saints Indian Residential School in Akłarvik and Stringer Hall in Inuuvik, and explained the need for "a long hard look at our whole Ministry in the Delta these days."[97] Moving forward, the MSCC distanced itself from any involvement with Inuuvik's residential schools and, in an abrupt move, MSCC officials declined the opportunity to renew their contract to continue managing Stringer

[93] Jim F. Blewett, Chief, Academic Programs, DOE to Macpherson, "Visit to Stringer Hall – 5/12/74," December 6, 1974, ACCGSA M96-07 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 11.
[94] John Sperry, Bishop, Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC) to Macpherson, November 12, 1974; Young to DOE, "Brief Regarding Stringer Hall," December 3, 1974; Blewett to Macpherson, "Visit to Stringer Hall – 5/12/74," December 6, 1974, ACCGSA M96-07 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 11.
[95] Sperry to George A. Young, Church of the Ascension (Inuuvik), November 6, 1974; Macpherson to Sperry, November 18, 1974; Sperry to Macpherson, December 11, 1974; Macpherson to Sperry, December 23, 1974; Sperry to Holman, Administrator, January 28, 1975, ACCGSA M96-07 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 11.
[96] R. K. Bell, Principal, Moose Kerr School, Akłarvik, "Inuvik Region Principal's Monthly Report to Superintendent of Education," May 28, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-14.
[97] Sperry to Young, November 6, 1974; Sperry to Macpherson, Director, November 12, 1974, Macpherson to Sperry, November 18, 1974; Young to DOE, "Brief Regarding Stringer Hall," December 3, 1974; Blewett to Macpherson, "Visit to Stringer Hall – 5/12/74," December 6, 1974, Sperry to Holman, January 28, 1975; Sperry to Macpherson, January 29, 1975, ACCGSA M96-07 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 11.

Hall.[98] Sperry concluded that "our days of involvement there are drawing to a close."[99] DOE officials were in a "tizzy" and forced into a "spot where someone had to make a decision"[100] about the future of the Stringer Hall. The closure of a key residential school that serviced Denendeh and Inuit Nunangat was devastating to the DOE's overall goal of assimilation.[101]

In 1976, the Deputy Commissioner of the NWT Council, DOE officials, and members of the Teetł'it Zheh Settlement Council negotiated a deal for the Teetł'it Zheh Settlement Council to assume management of Fleming Hall.[102] Despite this, the building remained slotted for demolition and local Dinjii Zhuh families would either need to permanently move to town, find private boarding, or send their children to Grollier Hall in Inuuvik.[103] Although the earlier closure of Stringer Hall had been a positive development for families, Fleming Hall was the only Indigenous-supported student residence in Nanhkak Thak that allowed Dinjii Zhuh families to continue with harvesting

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[98] Sperry to Macpherson, January 29, 1975.
[99] Sperry to Young, December 17, 1974, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 11.
[100] Emphasis included in primary source. Holman, Administrator to Sperry, March 11, 1975, ACCGSA M96-07 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 11.
[101] Stringer Hall's blistering inspection led to Teetł'it Gwich'in and Métis parents keeping their children out of the Teetł'it Zheh student residence, Fleming Hall, and the MSCC contemplated terminating that management agreement. Dinjii Zhuh, Métis, and Inuvialuit families were unshakable in their desire to keep the DOE accountable. Blewett found that Fleming Hall administrator David Danks lacked the necessary leadership skills; allowed students to consume alcohol; and ignored attendance regulations so that few students attended local day school classes. Hodgson to Cook, Bishop, December 10, 1973, ACCGSA M96-07 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 5; Young to Sperry, October 26, 1974; Sperry to Macpherson, November 12, 1974; Young to Sperry, November 26, 1974; Young to DOE, "Brief Regarding Stringer Hall," December 3, 1974; Young to Sperry, December 5, 1974; Sperry to Norman J. Macpherson, Director, DOE, January 29, 1975, ACCGSA M96-7 SS 3-3 Box 110 File 11.
[102] Cook to David Danks, Administrator, Fleming Hall, April 29, 1974, Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives (ACCGSA) M96-07 Sub Series (SS) 3-3 Box 110 File 5; "School Days," *The Drum* 9, 32 (August 15, 1974), 11.
[103] There were private homes that accommodate students all over the North. Gillie, Director to Chief, Education Division, DIAND, "Hostel Quarterly Returns, Maintenance of Children in Private Homes," May 21, 1969, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 8-22; "Fleming Hall To Be Scrapped," *The Drum* 6, 10 (February 13, 1976); "Hostel Closes," *The Drum* (June 17, 1976).

lifestyles. All students in Nanhkak Thak were now institutionalized at the notorious Grollier Hall in Inuuvik.

All of this was troubling, but DOE management blamed Nanhkak Thak parents, explaining that "people in settlements often fail to understand Community Education Programs and distrust new ideas."[104] Given their history of interacting with church and state agents about schooling, this was a fair assessment. The DOE failed to acknowledge the real problems behind the system: state-imposed programs of assimilation and genocide; and the consequences of removing children from their families, lands, cultures, and traditional upbringings.

Although territorial staff were not willing to publicly admit the system's failures, an Education Superintendent wrote in a private memo that the "strain of 'institutional' living has now reached the point where [students] become very disenchanted for rather obvious reasons…[Many have] reached the 'saturation' point for hostel life and residence living."[105] NWT Council Member Thomas Butters, however, had changed his mind and argued that

> I don't think you can blame the education system for what appears to be a separation of parents and children […] generally the problems have not been of one culture attempting to force its ideas and conceptions on another but the educators attempting to be helpful and in doing so creating an unhappy situation."[106]

Families continued to work around, rather than within the schooling system, and were successful in doing so because of the weak on-the-ground administrative network

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[104] Minutes, DOE, "Keewatin Education Conference."
[105] Walker to R.L. Simons, Chief, Continuing and Special Education, DOE, "Request for Special Consideration," December 4, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no, 9-17.
[106] INAC, "About Northern Education," *Inuktitut* (Spring 1976), 11.

and the territorial government's inability to impose severe consequences. The threat of losing children to bush life alarmed education officials, since they had worked long and hard to implement a system that dismantled Indigenous families and institutionalized children. Indigenous children at other day schools were requesting on-the-land courses. In Łutselk'e, there was a request for a snare-trapping course to satisfy students' demands.[107] Responding, the DOE encouraged families to seek private boarding for their children and offered to pay five dollars per day for foster homes while parents travelled.[108] The system to assimilate Indigenous children was at risk.

The mid-to-late 1970s was characterized by a sharp increase in community education committees, such as the groundbreaking parents' committee in Inuuvik.[109] Nanhkak Thak parents continued to voice grievances on behalf of their children, and concerns about schooling dominated almost all public meetings.[110] They were apprehensive that "their children were not learning the basics required for an acceptable standard of literacy and numeracy."[111] Committee meetings recorded upwards of fifty people in attendance, a remarkable turnout for a town of 3,000.[112] At the same time, other Denendeh and Inuit Nunangat communities were increasingly petitioning the DOE for what they felt was best for their children. Thebacha, for

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[107] John K. McNamee, Principal, "Snowdrift School November Report," November 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-10.

[108] Calculations in 1974 suggested that it would cost parents ten dollars per day to board their children. "Report From Ft. McPherson Settlement Council," *The Drum* 9, 33 (August 22, 1974), 9.

[109] DIAND, "About Northern Education," *Inuktitut* (Spring 1976), 10.

[110] This was so pronounced, that one meeting secretary thought it worthy to note that it was a "refreshing change to attend a meeting where the quality of classroom instruction in the north was not criticized." DOE, "Report on International Women's Year Conference, Yellowknife, January 20, 1975," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-7.

[111] "Education '74," *Inuvik Drum* 9, 41 (October 3, 1974).

[112] Minutes, "Inuvik Education Advisory Committee General Public Meeting," October 23, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 12-8.

example, protested inadequate schooling facilities and easily collected over 1,000 signatures. Commissioner Hodgson finally sought advice from DIAND Minister Jean Chrétien to manage the crisis.[113]

Local officials became frustrated with the problems, noting that "it appears once again that the Territorial Government has not lived up to its commitments"; that "policy statements coming from Yellowknife are contradictory and confusing"; and that "there seems to be a haphazard approach."[114] Furthermore, District Superintendents failed to make their monthly visits to communities, an obligation that was very important for government-Indigenous relations.[115] Education Superintendent Larry D. Gilberg additionally noted that DOE management in Sǫǫ̀mbak'è failed to respond to important correspondence that affected the management of schools in Nanhkak Thak and other districts.[116]

The public hearings of the Berger Inquiry in 1975 and 1976 were viewed by DOE Curriculum Director Paul Robinson as "the last opportunity to offer Dene and Inuit an alternative in terms of the influence and control they have the right to expect over their lives generally, and the education of their children, in particular."[117] Commissioned by the federal government, the inquiry investigated the potential ramifications of the

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[113] Hodgson to Jean Chrétien, Minister, DIAND, October 20, 1972; Hodgson to R.A. Creary, Regional Director, GNWT, October 20, 1972; H.B. Robinson, Deputy Minister, DIAND to Hodgson, December 1, 1972, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-25.
[114] Minutes, DOE, "Keewatin Education Conference"; Gilberg, "Monthly Report of the Superintendent of Education, Keewatin Region, November 1974," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-12.
[115] Gilberg wondered if his Assistant Superintendent could not travel due to a medical condition (suggesting hemorrhoids as a possible cause). Minutes, DOE, "Keewatin Education Conference."
[116] Gilberg, "Monthly Report of the Superintendent of Education, Keewatin Region, December 1974," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-12.
[117] Paul Robinson, Head, Curriculum Division, DOE, "Education in the Northwest Territories: Presented to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, 1976," 2, www.capekrusenstern.org.

construction of a pipeline in the Mackenzie Valley. Public hearings provided critical spaces for parents and community members alike to unite through guut'àii and share ideas about how their relationships, economies, and lifestyles would be drastically altered should the pipeline be approved.

Dinjii Zhuh, Métis, and Inuvialuit families continued to teach their children on-the-land skills and shared knowledge with them about potential resource exploitation that would affect Nanhkak Thak pedagogies and practices. It is important to include the testimonies of people from many communities, since children from all over the North were institutionalized in Inuuvik. Akłarvik Principal Bell reported that in 1975, "the community is very involved in preparing for the Berger Hearings and school students have been involved as much as possible."[118] In Whatì,[119] Tłı̨chǫ leader Isadore Zoe proclaimed,

> Education departments, such as the big high people in education departments, will not let us Dene people control our own education in our own community. In the past all our children have learned in school is cutting up the papers and looking at the movies. And we would like to have control of this education in Lac La Marte in order to show them what is best for them. We would like them being taught in two ways, from our generation like which the White people have learned in school and also in the Dene ways of life."[120]

Gwichyà Gwich'in parent Nap Norbert of Tsiigehtshik publicly called the system in Inuuvik "a rotten education system," underscoring something that many had long suspected: "The young people are caught in between two cultures, their ancestors' way

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[118] Bell, "Inuvik Region Principal's Monthly Report to Superintendent of Education," March 27, 1975, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-14.
[119] This Tłı̨chǫ community, "Marten Lakes," was historically known as Lac La Marte. See *Treaty No. 11*; Dogrib Treaty 11 Council, GNWT, and DIAND, *Tłı̨chǫ Agreement among the Tłı̨chǫ First Nation & the Government of the Northwest Territories & the Government of Canada*.
[120] Isadore Zoe, "Lac La Marte, N.W.T., August 12, 1976, Proceedings at Community Hearing, Vol. 73," in *Transcripts of Public Hearings*, 8198.

of life or technical ways of a white man. Which way they do go?"[121] Chief Frank T'Seleie of Rádeyîlîkóé said that Canada "has chosen instead to torture us slowly, to take our children from us and teach them foreign ways and tell us that you are teaching them to be civilized. Sometimes now, we hardly know our own children."[122] Former Grollier Hall student Paul Andrew recalled that upon his arrival in Inuuvik,

> Our way of life, our culture, our language, our form of identification, they were not there. Everything was southern orientated. The meals, the language, sports, social life, any form of activities was all southern orientated… And the proud way that we used to live, the proud way that we have existed without the white man's technology for time immemorial, that was being eliminated […] at that time [it] was not too obvious that the whole Territorial Government programs were set up so that the native culture, the native identity and the native language would be eliminated. And it was quite obvious, like I said, that the whole government program was set up so that this type of thing was eliminated.[123]

These testimonies not only highlighted the profound inadequacies of the education system, but also the intentions behind its design. They led Berger to conclude, "The native people of the North claim the right to educate their children. This claim flows from their deeply felt need to teach their children values, languages, and history."[124]

The Berger Inquiry hearings came amidst turmoil within the DOE itself. An unnamed NWT Council Member accused the Department of being "'bloody short-sighted, criminally stupid and totally unresponsive to the wishes of the people.'"[125]

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[121] "Arctic Red River, N.W.T., March 13, 1976, Proceedings at Community Hearing, Vol. 47," in *Transcripts of Public Hearings*, 4575.
[122] Frank T'Seleie, "Statement to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, Fort Good Hope, August 5, 1975," in *Dene Nation: The Colony Within*, ed. Mel Watkins (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 17.
[123] Paul Andrew, "Brackett Lake, N.W.T., June 26, 1975, Proceedings at Community Hearing, Volume 10," in *Transcripts of Public Hearings*, 869.
[124] Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland*, 181.
[125] Macpherson, *Toward a Multi-Cultural, Multi-Lingual Education System in the Northwest Territories* (Saskatoon: Indian and Northern Education Program, University of Saskatchewan, 1975), 3.

Former DOE Director Bernard Gillie publicly spoke on some of the Department's challenges, including

> its utter remoteness from the people, the dizzying procession of new plans, improved programmes, innovations, and deviations, but each was whisked off the northern stage to make room for a new pancea. None was ever provided with the time to prove or disprove itself as an educational investment.[126]

DOE Director Macpherson admitted that it was "not practical to have a single set of priorities for all schools in the NWT."[127]

DOE management was aware that Indigenous criticism over schooling was growing significantly and that families were determined to re-unite their families. Butters stated that: "I know it is the fervent wish of every parent to have their children educated in their home community," but admitted that "I don't think we will see high schools in the small communities in the Arctic, I think we are going to see people having to travel to other communities to complete their education."[128] Indigenous parents from smaller communities had no choice but to continue to send their children to Grollier Hall while they patiently waited for promises to be fulfilled.

[126] Gillie, DOE, Berger Inquiry.
[127] Notes, DOE, "Superintendents' Conference, Yellowknife, September 8-12, 1975," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-13.
[128] DIAND, "About Northern Education," *Inuktitut* (Spring 1976), 8-9.

Figure 51. Indigenous peoples were extremely observant and outspoken about the issues they felt important and as the image above demonstrates, they increasingly questioned the intentions of the territorial government. By comparing their situation to apartheid, Indigenous people in the North recognized and pointed to the systemic racism and segregation that they faced as a result of a society that was managed by an uunjit majority. Untitled, December 1978. Archival Caption: "Latham Island – 12-78 Christmas – Poster."[129]

By 1977, amid numerous media reports, public discussions, and internal DOE reports about the problems surrounding schooling, DOE staff themselves questioned the "quality and relevance of the current education system."[130] Curriculum Division Head, Robinson called schooling a "two-pronged attack" on Indigenous northerners and

> from its inception, the southern-oriented education system has been characterized by administrative structures, policies and programmes which have placed native peoples today in an untenable position. Three generations of students have experienced a type of formal education designed to eradicate their lifestyles and their cultural identities. Concurrently, the education system

[129] NWTA Rene Fumoleau fonds, acc. no. N-1998-051, item no. 1317.
[130] Report, Frederick I. Carnew, Chief, Education and Evaluation Division, DOE, "A New Direction For Education in the Northwest Territories," December 13, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-4.

has attempted to bring about the assimilation of Dene and Inuit into the middle class, urbanized southern society.[131]

Policy changes in that year indicated a dramatic shift in approaches. The first *Education Ordinance* for the North ordered the creation of local education authorities, which offered local flexibility and freedom after nearly two decades of Uunjit control over schooling.[132] Newly-sanctioned Community Education Committees, consisting of locally-elected members, now had the power to reform curricula, create new mandates, and hire non-professional instructors for Indigenous language instruction and cultural training.[133] They were expected to work with regional superintendents and local principals and meetings had to be transparent and public.[134] Although Inuuvik had already established its EAB, territorial-approved bodies offered new avenues for reform. Commissioner Hodgson asserted that the NWT Council had "placed considerable emphasis on decentralization of decision-making" within territorial structures, giving greater authority to local communities and education boards through the "spirit" of the new Ordinance.[135]

Yet the DOE remained insensitive to local needs. It failed, for example, to have the *Ordinance* translated into the various northern Indigenous languages when it was published in 1977 and it was feared that it would not be understood or even accepted

[131] Robinson, "Education in the Northwest Territories.
[132] GNWT, *An Ordinance Respecting Education in the Northwest Territories* (Yellowknife: Council of the Northwest Territories, 1977).
[133] GNWT*, An Ordinance Respecting Education in the Northwest Territories*, 15-16; McGregor, "Creating Able Human Beings," 61.
[134] GNWT, *An Ordinance Respecting Education in the Northwest Territories*, 13-14.
[135] Hodgson to Sheila D. Stangier, Secretary, Parent's Advisory Group, Sir John Franklin High School (SJFHS), Sǫǫ̀mbak'è, July 15, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-19.

by communities.[136] Furthermore, community organizers noted that the DOE "is saying that there is no money available for the development of Advisory Boards but at the same time the Education Ordinance is designed to have local control of Education through the development of School Boards in each community." This highlighted another systemic concern: the need for adequate funding.[137] DOE Superintendent R.J. Walker understood the reasons for community discontent and he did not believe that local education committees had the ability to tackle the "present government 'super-structure,'" asserting that he was "not convinced in [his] own mind that it [the DOE] serves all concerned in the most effective and efficient manner."[138]

Local education organizations complained about the drafting of the *Ordinance* itself.[139] An ᐃᒡᓗᓕᒃ[140] resident stated that they "did not think that there had been adequate consultation."[141] David Aglukark, President of the Kivalluq Inuit Association, noted that parents or communities did not have

> any input and didn't have a chance to talk about it, until after the Ordinance was passed by the Territorial Councils. The E.A.B. are the ones that should have a say about this because they live in Communities and know what is going on in their Settlements.[142]

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[136] Minutes, DOE, "Keewatin Education Conference."
[137] Celina Issakiark, Manager/Consultant, Eskimo Point Education Advisory Board to Hodgson, August 10, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-19.
[138] Walker, Superintendent, "Yellowknife Area Education Office and Superintendency Position Paper," January 17, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-5.
[139] Michael Pembroke, Principal, Inuujaq School, DOE to Superintendent, "Principal's Monthly Report," April 1975 and November 1976, NWTA G-1995-004, 10-15; Ronald A. Thody, Principal, SHSS, "Inuvik Region Principal's Monthly Report to Superintendent of Education," February 2, 1977; Anthony J. Stewart, Principal, Moose Kerr School, Akłarvik, "Inuvik Region Principal's Monthly Report to Superintendent of Education," October 31, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-14.
[140] ᐃᒡᓗᓕᒃ, or Iglulik also means "there is a house here." The Government of Nunavut (GN) officially spells it Igloolik.
[141] Minutes, ᐊᕐᕕᐊᑦ (Eskimo Point) "Education Advisory Board – Regular Meeting," March 2, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-19.
[142] Minutes, ᐊᕐᕕᐊᑦ "Education Advisory Board – Regular Meeting," March 2, 1977.

The new Ordinance demonstrated that the DOE was still invested in colonial agendas around power over schooling.[143] Superintendents decided that schools should continue to employ Attendance Officers, for instance, and that other "methods to deal with non-attenders" needed to be implemented.[144] But the message delivered locally was much different, with DOE administrators claiming that "we are trying to change this so that [students off hunting with parents] could be marked present but no conclusion has been reached yet."[145]

The following year, DOE Director Brian Lewis recognized that his team had "gone through a ten year period when severe doubts have been expressed about the worth of education, especially for northern people."[146] Before his appointment, Lewis had been one of the critics who questioned the ability of the government to make the sweeping changes that were so desperately needed. Other DOE officials remained hesitant, demonstrating that they were not invested in the system and, as such, were generally non-responsive to community concerns, as local EABs had been complaining for years. ᑎᑭᕋᕐᔪᐊᖅ,[147] for instance, wrote the DOE in 1977 alleging that their Regional

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[143] *Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1894), Library and Archives Canada (LAC) RG10 Vol. 6032 File 150-40A Pt. 1; Hodgson to Mrs. Marion J. Webb, April 18, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-19.

[144] DOE, "Minutes, Superintendents' Meeting," May 2 to 3, 1978; Gerald Mulders, Assistant Director, DOE to Regional Superintendents of Education; Superintendent of Education; Division Chiefs; Superintendent, Vocational and Higher Education, "Senior Education Staff Seminar, Late September 1978," June 22, 1978, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no., 2-13; DOE, "Minutes, Regional Superintendents' Seminar," February 22 to 23, 1979, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-14.

[145] Minutes, ᖃᒪᓂᑦᑐᐊᖅ (Qamani'tuaq; Baker Lake), "Education Advisory Board Meeting," September 2, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-20.

[146] DOE, "Newsletter," May 1978, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-14.

[147] This community is also known as Tikirarjuaq, meaning "long point." The GN recognizes it as Whale Cove.

Superintendent, Gary Black, missed several community meetings due to his "apparent lack of interest."[148]

One outcome of the *Ordinance* was it afforded communities the flexibility to determine their own school calendars according to their cultural needs. DOE management announced that it was softening its approach to mandatory attendance and that Indigenous students should

> have the opportunity to adapt to the white man's way of life but without losing their traditional way of life, their own language, and their cultural heritage; to create good leaders and good citizens; and to restore to the native people their pride and dignity, their self-respect, their confidence, and to dispel their feeling of inferiority to the white man and to maintain the foregoing.[149]

A year later in 1977, DOE staff outlined five possible scenarios for community school calendars, appearing to be progressive in its policies. In reality, Indigenous parents across the North had been brokering agreements with teachers and principals for decades that allowed them to travel with their children on the land, regardless of the school calendar and attendance policies.[150]

The same year, the DOE organized "Education Week" to provide a much-needed opportunity for community involvement in education, despite school administrators being less than enthused.[151] Under the theme of "A Time For Being Involved," parents were informed about roles and responsibilities, expectations, and tasks of local advisory

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[148] Minutes, "Whale Cove Education Committee," November 29, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-27.
[149] Mayne, Executive Assistance to the Director, DOE to Lewis, Director, "Report on the Goals and Objectives for the 'Department of Education,'" June 3, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-1.
[150] Pembroke to Superintendent, DOE, "Principal's Monthly Report – Months of May – June 1977," June 8, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-15.
[151] Stanley Korchuk, Principal, SJFHS, "Staff Meeting," April 11, 1978, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 10-9.

boards.[152] The purpose was to discuss in "a general way, the contemporary educational needs of northerners and the relevance of current educational programs in the N.W.T."[153] The DOE asked invited guests to share "major points that he or she wishes to make about the educational system in the North. These main points should reflect positive aspects, negative aspects, and above all constructive and concrete recommendations for improvement."[154]

Although DOE management had demonstrated some willingness to implement changes, policies continued to be inflexible. Parents in ᐊᕐᕕᐊᑦ[155] said:

> Government says to the people you need to tell us what you want and we will help you. Now Eskimo Point needs help from the Gov't to get Grade 10 and the Gov't turns around and says NO! The E.A.B. doesn't believe the Gov't know what they are suppost [*sic*] to do to help people.[156]

The DOE provided a hardline answer to Arviat's requests for Grade Ten classes by stating that the community's current Grade Nine programming was insufficient, thus undermining its credibility and the skill of local teachers to instruct Grade 10.[157] SHSS Principal in Inuuvik complained that the DOE refused to take into account that "many of our pupils would prefer to take this training closer to home."[158] Moreover, despite the

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[152] Lewis, Director to Superintendents of Education, "Re: Education Week," March 23, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-14.
[153] Gilberg to Area Superintendents of Education, DOE, "Education Seminar – August 1977," July 19, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-13.
[154] Although this was a forum for discussion, Education Superintendent Larry Gilberg suggested that DOE management coach the Indigenous delegates and "tell them what to say." Gilberg, "Education Seminar – August 1977," July 19, 1977, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-13.
[155] This Nunavut community, "place of the bowhead whale," is officially known as Arviat. Historically, it has also been called Eskimo Point, Tikirajualaaq ("a little long point") and Ittaliurvik ("a place where the people make tents").
[156] Minutes, "Eskimo Point Education Advisory Board Meeting, May 24, 1977," NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-19.
[157] Minutes, "Eskimo Point Education Advisory Board Meeting, May 24, 1977."
[158] SHSS to DOE, undated (c. 1978), NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G-1995-004, item no. 2-18.

calls for local and extended schooling in all northern communities, Grollier and Akaitcho Halls remained open, school calendars unchanged, and attendance policies rigid.

By the late 1970s, former Directors of Education and Curriculum, Gillie and Robinson, respectively, contended that very little had changed. The system was still based on the assimilation of Indigenous people into Uunjit society and non-Indigenous peoples remained decisionmakers, although the GNWT refuted these statements.[159] Yet officials working on Indigenous language curricula agreed with the complaints. Chief of Linguistic Programs Division Mick Mallon revealed that it would likely be several years before northerners saw any kind of cohesive, structured Indigenous language program in schools.[160] And it was not until 1980 that the DOE allowed local education authorities to determine the school year according to local Indigenous cultural customs.[161]

Local control over education, however, continued to be a widely debated topic.[162] A key turning point came in 1982 when the GNWT created the Special Committee on Education (SCE). Responsible for addressing public concerns about schooling, this Committee consisted of Members of the Legislative Assembly Bruce McLaughlin, Tagak Curley, Nellie Cournoyea, Dennis Patterson, Robert Sayine, and Consultant Jack Loughton.[163] Working with special advisors, the SCE analyzed all aspects

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[159] Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland*, 92.
[160] DOE, "Newsletter, Department of Education," May 1978 and September 1978, NWTA DOE fonds, acc. no. G1995-004, item no. 2-14 (19).
[161] "Local Say in School Terms," *The Inuvik Drum* 15, 20 (July 10, 1980), 6.
[162] "Local Control Over Education," *The Drum* 17, 11 (March 18, 1982), 8.
[163] McLaughlin was the MLA for Pine Point, Curley for Keewatin South, Cournoyea for the Western Arctic, Patterson, who was also the Minister of Education and MLA for Frobisher Bay, and Sayine for Great Slave East. "Education Committee Seeking Public Feedback," *The Inuvik Drum* 17, 17 (April 29, 1982), 7; Recommendations of Special Committee on Education," *The Inuvik Drum* 17, 18 (May 6, 1982), 5.

of educational policy in the NWT during its two-year term.[164] Holding forty-three public hearings in thirty-four northern communities and hearing the testimonies of over 1500 people, they found "widespread frustration, dissatisfaction and disappointment with a system fundamentally assimilationist."[165] The result was the publication of *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories,*[166] which reported that the northern school system had "not served the majority of its citizens well" and blamed the federal government for its policies of austerity that ultimately failed schools and residences in the North.[167]

There were forty-nine recommendations coming out of this report, including the creation of divisional school boards with community representatives, curricula reform, more intensive teacher training, special services, and adult education.[168] The primary goal was that "local Education Authorities should determine the language to be used in the classrooms and that funds should be made available to the Divisional Boards to develop native language programs in all subjects," granting parents the right to choose the language of instruction for their child.[169] Furthermore, the SCE recommended that

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[164] The committee appointed Don Simpson of the University of Western Ontario and Jerry McNeil, Director of the Northern and Native Education Program at Memorial University to assist. Unknown Author, "Education Advisors Named," *The Inuvik Drum* 15, 29 (September 11, 1980), 6, 8.
[165] "Recommendations of Special Committee on Education," *The Drum* 17, 18 (May 6, 1982), 5; Susan Chisholm, "Assimilation and Oppression: The Northern Experience, Education and the Aboriginal Adolescent," *Education Canada* 34, 4 (1994), 31.
[166] Legislative Assembly, Special Committee on Education, GNWT*: Tradition & Change in the Northwest Territories* (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1982).
[167] "Committee Lambasts NWT Education System," *Northline* 1, 4 (1981), RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12.
[168] Legislative Assembly, *Learning*, 7; "Local Control Over Education," *The Drum* 17, 11 (March 18, 1982), 8; "Recommendations of Special Committee on Education," *The Drum* 17, 18 (May 6, 1982), 5; CNWT, *Ninth Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories* (Yellowknife, NWT: Northwest Territories Information, 1983), 37.
[169] "Local Control Over Education," *The Drum* 17, 11 (March 18, 1982), 8.

> the divisional boards shall run workshops to explain and demonstrate language programs to the communities and teaching staff; local education authorities shall consider making the local Native language one of the school's working languages; funds shall be made available to the divisional boards to develop Native-language programs in all subjects; two pilot projects shall develop teaching materials and techniques for at least one Dene and one Inuit dialect.[170]

For parents in Denendeh and Inuit Nunangat, this enormous success was the result of their persistent efforts of petitioning, criticizing, and holding various levels of government to account.

The report reinforced other initiatives to protect northern Indigenous cultures and languages. The Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE) launched a program for the preservation and revitalization of Inuvialuktun in 1982, as part of a three-year and $3 million commitment by the GNWT to the "development of all native languages in the N.W.T."[171] COPE President Peter Green explained that the organization was "pleased that the Government's Executive Committee has recognized the value of a strong Inuvialuktun language in the Western Arctic."[172] The following year, the Legislative Assembly passed Bill 3-83(2) to create a new decentralized system, which meant that elected school boards could now unilaterally decide what their children learned in school.[173] Indigenous northerners, time and time again, proved that if they wanted lasting change, they had to initiate it through Indigenous concepts of strength and persistence.

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[170] "Recommendations of Special Committee on Education," *The Drum* 17, 18 (May 6, 1982), 5.
[171] Larry Osgood, Communications Officer, COPE, "COPE Offended by Editorial," *The Inuvik Drum* 17, 26 (July 1, 1982), 2.
[172] "300,000 $ For Language," *The Drum* 17, 24 (June 17, 1982), 1.
[173] Education, Culture and Employment, GNWT, *Strength From Language and Culture: The Evolution of Teaching and Learning in the Northwest Territories* (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1999), 4.

Though the GNWT was in a position to provide key financial resources to language and cultural programs, it failed to deliver substance. Communities once again were critical and, as a result, the GNWT asked the public to comment through their respective Members of the Legislative Assembly.[174] One editorial letter stated:

> All problem-solving changes merely create new problems, which in turn monopolize the time and energy of educators and administrators to the point where students find themselves in an increasingly monopolized, sealed, depersonalized environment. This situation becomes much worse due to the absence of any planning for change and above all by the absence of any overall strategy for change.[175]

As late as 1984, many northern communities still lacked secondary grades and children continued to leave their families to complete their education. One grade 10 student from ᐸᖕᓂᖅᑑᖅ,[176] Madeline Komoartok, expressed frustration that she was unable to learn from her mother because she was away at school:

> That's what I hate about going away to school, away from family relatives and friends. Some qallunaaq [people of European descent; white people] feel the same way, but I think we Inuit are much closer because we have to depend upon one another. We are used to sharing and we are taught how it is done. I wish we had a high school in Pangnirtung. We only have school up to grade 10 there. Maybe someday we will have one. Then we would not have to leave our families.[177]

There was still no substantive change in the school policies of the GNWT, and Indigenous northerners were aware that assimilation still appeared to be the goal.

This chapter, the final in this dissertation, has argued that Indigenous people in Nanhkak Thak, and the North more broadly, were passionately informed about, and

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[174] "Education Committee Seeking Public Feedback," *The Drum* 17, 17 (April 29, 1982), 7.
[175] J.J. Veselisin, "Comments on Education," *The Drum* 17, 22 (June 3, 1982), 2.
[176] Pangniqtuuq; Pangnirtung.
[177] Madeline Komoartok, "Conflicts: The Old and the New," *Inuktitut* 61 (Fall 1985), 41-42.

involved in, the politics of schooling during the third quarter of the twentieth century when the territorial government assumed control of education in Denendeh and Nunavut. As theorized in Gahtr'iheedandaii Geenjit of this dissertation, Indigenous northerners were presented with a unique set of circumstances that encouraged vigorous dialogue that allowed them to intervene into and even set the stage for local, territorial, and federal conversations about schooling. The creation of Inuuvik contributed to national discourses around Canadian sovereignty in the North and the role that 'benevolent' federal programs played in bringing Indigenous peoples into 'modernity.' But a much more threatening agenda was visible.

Moving Indigenous northerners into 'town,' incarcerating their children, dismantling Indigenous families, and educating people according to Euro-Canadian standards were at the heart of these programs. Beginning with the objective of making Indigenous peoples modern Canadians, governments marketed their policies as benevolent and progressive.[178] In response to this was the emergence of new conversations, led by Indigenous northerners themselves, that led to meaningful change. Their hard work over decades signaled a return of some power to the people through t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii as they related to their decisions about schooling. In seeking to demonstrate that the schooling system in the North was carceral, oppressive, and damaging, Eve Tuck reminds readers that "damage-centered research"[179] fails to

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[178] Historian Margaret Jacobs discusses the desire to make parents docile and children useful through state-imposed schooling. See: Jacobs, "Indian Boarding Schools in Comparative Perspective: The Removal of Indigenous Children in the United States and Australia, 1880-1940," in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, eds. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 224.
[179] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 413.

consider the complex personhood[180] of individual on the ground whose efforts deserve recognition and analysis. In the following Ndoo Naa'ę ,[181] I close this discussion with a brief conversation about the events between 1982 and 1996, when the notorious Grollier Hall in Inuuvik was finally closed.

[180] Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological* Imagination (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) qtd. in Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 420.
[181] Literal translation: "The end; there is no more," Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Andre, Mitchell, André, and Fraser.

Ihłogwijuutyin:[1] Ndoo Naa'ęįį.[2] Concluding Thoughts About the History of Day and Residential Schooling in Nanhkak Thak, 1959 to 1996

The year was 1988. I was sandwiched into a chartered Kenn Borek Twin Otter among thousands of pounds of supplies; if I looked through the boxes and gear the right way, I could see my aunt sitting at the rear of the plane in the only other seat. The plane lurched to the right and then the left. We had left Inuuvik knowing that we might have to turn back due to heavy summer winds. Indeed, as we followed the Nagwichoonjik to the south, I watched the small sand storms on the beaches below. But I was so excited to see my family at Dachan Choo Gęhnjik that I barely gave the weather a second thought; my younger cousins would be barreling down the sandy hill once they detected the drone of the engines and my dìdųų, Marka Andre Bullock, would be standing at the lookout, acting like the powerful matriarch that she was. Within no time, I would be fileting fish, practicing my canoeing skills, and enjoying the long summer days. Indeed, I had a glorious summer that was filled with all Dinjii Zhuh activities that I loved, once we were done with our chores first of course.

Upon returning from fish camp that summer, I suffered an enormous personal loss. At the age of eight, I began to see all the failures in our world. I wondered why events transpired as they did, what led people to make hurtful decisions, what my role was in my Dinjii Zhuh family and culture, and how to sit with trauma at a young age.

[1] Ten. Literal: ihłogwijuutyin: counted once. Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect). Gwich'in Language Centre (GLC) and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), *Teetl'it ts'at Gwichyah Ginjìk Gwi'dinehtl'ee', Gwich'in Language Dictionary (Fort McPherson and Tsiigehtchic dialects), 5th Ed.* (Teetl'it Zheh & Tsiigehtchic: Gwich'in Language Centre and the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, March 2005), 243.
[2] Literal translation: "The end; there is no more." Dinjii Zhuh Ginjìk (Gwichyà dialect), Alestine Andre, Agnes Mitchell, Lisa André, and Crystal Gail Fraser.

Figure 52. Eight-year-old Crystal proudly shows off her whitefish, ready to be dried and smoked, Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik. Image courtesy of Evelyn Debastien.

Although I look back on this moment today and clearly link it to the intergenerational trauma of residential schooling, eight-year-old me could not understand. My teachings about t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii entered a period of dormancy, but I looked at the world, for the first time, critically. I was oblivious, however, to the intense and profuse strength of Indigenous northerners historically and during my childhood.

In this dissertation, I have argued that Indigenous peoples in Nanhkak Thak and throughout the North lived and made important decisions for their families based on their knowledge of the system, but also on their aspirations for their children and the desire to see them succeed in a changing world. They faced enormous challenges as they engaged with the changing schooling system in the North: the relocation of families, institutionalization of their children, mandatory attendance policies, the

carcerality of everyday life at Indian Residential Schools, and the trauma, violence, and criminal treatment that were imposed onto Indigenous children. Throughout this process, particularly during the twenty-three year time period between 1959 and 1982, Indigenous peoples recognized that the Canadian nation state and churches, working together, were intentionally harming nakhwinan, our cultures, our families, our children, and our status as sovereign Indigenous peoples. The damage that has been done, however, is only one part of the story.

Indigenous peoples of Denendeh and Inuit Nunangat – Dinjii Zhuh, Inuvialuit, Métis, Inuit, Sahtú, Dënesų̨łį̨ne, and, Tłı̨chǫ – harnessed the strength of their ancestors and communities, while drawing upon personal concepts of resiliency. Here, I drew on the Dinjii Zhuh concepts of t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii to shed light on the complex personhoods of both parents and children during this era. These concepts highlighted the ways in which northerners questioned, resisted, changed, and conformed to the system. I have also demonstrated that Indigenous children who were institutionalized at Grollier and Stringer Halls experienced their childhoods in fluid and diverse ways.

Given the enormous amount of strength displayed by Dinjii Zhuh and other Indigenous peoples during the first half of the twentieth century, it is perhaps not surprising that northerners reacted intensely and swiftly to an emerging system. The experience they gained by dealing with the existing residential schools, particularly those in Akłarvik, provided them with valuable tools that they would later use in Inuuvik. When Grollier and Stringer Halls opened in 1959, parents resisted and sometimes outright refused to send their children to Inuuvik. There could be consequences for

these actions, but they demonstrated that the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (later, the Department of Indian Affairs and National Development) did not have a strong foot-hold in Inuuvik; state officials had not yet won over the trust of the people.

As for the children themselves, they were often taken to a far-away place that was "bristling with problems."[3] Most were subjected to invasive, demoralizing, and criminal policies that stripped away their identities and violated their humanity. Through the strategic reversibility of power, complex personhood, and Indigenous strength – in all its forms – many youngsters found ways to resist colonial policies, which included establishing life-long friendships; speaking Indigenous languages often in secret; stealing food from the residential school garden; sharing their residential school experiences with their parents; threatening to report their teacher's sexual misconduct to his wife; engaging in cross-country skiing and other sports; and countless other examples. Others, however, were not as fortunate and suffered unimaginably. For instance, the lost lives of Stringer Hall students Lawrence Elanik and Dennis Dick were tragic and preventable; they fled because of the violent nature of residential school life.

My research makes a valuable contribution to the historical literature. Student experiences at Indian Residential Schools in Nanhkak Thak (and the North more broadly) were exceptional for a number of reasons. The sheer geographic distances between residential schools, communities, and camps was staggering for some. Although Indigenous northerners share many commonalities, we are also very unique nations in

[3] Curt L. Merrill, District Administrator, NALB to Bent G. Sivertz, Director, Arctic Division, NAB, DNANR, July 20, 1959, LAC RG85 Vol. 1468 630-125-1 Pt. 1.

that we are culturally diverse, have different traditions and practices, speak different languages, and occupy different lands. The twentieth century brought great change to the North; my dìdųų Marka was outspoken about her life story of being born in 1926, when her family travelled into the mountains for winter hunting by dogteam, being institutionalized at Immaculate Conception Indian Residential School in Akłarvik, and entering into an arranged marriage only to lose her husband in an influenza epidemic eight days later. During her lifetime, she witnessed a blossoming aviation industry, the construction of Inuuvik, the establishment of a military base, the introduction of motor aluminum boats and snowmobiles, the increasing power of both the federal and territorial governments, and the opening of a liquor store and 'modern' hospital. Despite this momentous change, church and state policies to assimilate Indigenous children in Canada remained static.

Although coined as a "hostel" or "hall," Grollier and Stringer Halls had the same outcome for children as residential schools in the south. I have explained some of the outcomes of these institutions, which continue to be felt today, nationally. Although there are many academic contributions that have added new knowledge about these institutions and the system that managed them, there is still much to learn. I am interested in using theory to understand the historical record in new ways. Michel Foucault's work on carceral institutions, discipline, and imprisonment was a logical connection to residential schools.[4] The "power to punish,"[5] driven by deep-seated racial

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[4] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
[5] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 89.

understandings of Indigenous peoples, drove the Canadian nation state and Christian churches to initiate policies and programs that sought to reshape the minds and bodies of students, with the ultimate goal being full assimilation into 'modern' Canadian society. His analysis of the "strategic reversibility of power"[6] allowed me to understand how Indigenous parents and students understood the system and then carefully made calculated decisions in their pursuit for a better life. Yet Foucault was unable to provide all the answers; he did not write on residential schooling, gender, or even colonialism.

Eve Tuck's call for a moratorium damage-centered research[7] and her desire to explore the "complexity, contradiction, and self-determination of lived lives"[8] inspired me to reject tiresome arguments about the "agency" (or lack thereof) of my ancestors and relatives. Within Tuck's larger theoretical approach of desire, she incorporated sociologist Avery Gordon's work on complex personhood as "conferring the respect on others that comes from presuming that life and people's lives are simultaneously straightforward and full of enormously subtle meaning."[9] This, I thought, would add a level of detail, nuance, and emotion to a residential schooling history that I had not previously read. Yet neither Tuck nor Gordon analyzed Indian Residential Schools and thus could not explain how so many students were able to endure what Indigenous Studies scholar Sarah Hunt has called the "carcerality of everyday life."[10]

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[6] Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry* 8, 4 (Summer 1982).
[7] Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 79, 3 (Fall 2009), 420.
[8] Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," 416, 422.
[9] Gordon, qtd. in Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," 420.
[10] "Commentary by Sarah Hunt, Red Skin White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition Book Review Forum," *The AAG Review of Books* 4, 2, 113.

This research process has been an exercise in discovering who I am and understanding how colonial intergenerational trauma affects me to this day. A part of these processes brought me to Alestine Andre's fish camp, Diighe'tr'aajil, about five years ago. This is where she bestowed me with the Dinjii Zhuh name, "T'aih," which translates to ancestral strength. I came to the conclusion that if I wanted to glean a new understanding of our history, I needed to use methodological concepts that were familiar to those who are from Nanhkak Thak. The use of Dinjii Zhuh concepts of strength – t'aih, vit'aih, and guut'àii – was the perfect way to build on the work of Foucault and Tuck, while using ancient concepts that my ancestors understood so well. They add to our understanding of Indigenous motivations, strategies, desires and wishes within the context of day and residential schooling in Nanhkak Thak.

Finally, this dissertation would have been far different without the inclusion of oral histories. Ethical interviewing methodologies and the proper treatment of these histories are critical in my role as a public historian but also as an Indigenous person. The experiences and accounts of former students, teachers, and administrators deeply contributed to this research. It was their words that added significantly to our understanding of complex personhood as expressed through Dinjii Zhuh concepts of strength and resiliency. For these reasons and those mentioned above, I believe this work is an original contribution to historiography in Canada.

Indigenous northerners have been outspoken and engaged throughout the twentieth century on matters related to schooling. The widespread opening of territorial government day schools across the North during the 1970s and early 1980s undoubtedly

benefited Indigenous families, but the fact remained that hundreds of children were required to leave their families and homelands to be institutionalized at government-owned, church-operated residential schools during the 1980s and 1990s. The territorial government's Department of Education continued to deprive Indigenous students of completing their high school education; high school grades were often not offered in many northern communities and children were required to leave their families to complete their education. In 1985, one grade 10 student from ᐸᖕᓂᖅᑑᖅ,[11] Madeline Komoartok, expressed frustration that she was unable to learn her family's traditions from her mother because she was away at school:

> That's what I hate about going away to school, away from family relatives and friends. Some qallunaaq feel the same way, but I think we Inuit are much closer because we have to depend upon one another. We are used to sharing and we are taught how it is done. I wish we had a high school in Pangnirtung. We only have school up to grade 10 there. Maybe someday we will have one. Then we would not have to leave our families.[12]

There was, as there is today, a tier system in place for northern communities. Those communities considered 'remote' – which uncoincidentally had populations that were either entirely Indigenous or an Indigenous majority – were the last to receive vital services.

Indigenous children were (and are) deprived of access to basic human rights,[13] such as education and healthcare, and were required to travel to communities with higher density populations which unsurprisingly also had a higher non-Indigenous demographic. Despite all the work undertaken by Indigenous northerners over decades,

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[11] Pangniqtuuq or Pangnirtung.
[12] Madeline Komoartok, "Conflicts: The Old and the New," *Inuktitut* 61 (Fall 1985), 41-42.
[13] United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (SL: SN, 1948).

there was no substantive change in the school policies of the GNWT. Amidst a charged political climate where land negotiations were underway, Indigenous leaders continued to doubt "the ability of the present system of territorial government to represent their interests, as opposed to those of the growing white minority."[14] The Department of Education assumed management over Grollier Hall from the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in 1984, but it remained operational under territorial policies until its closure in 1996.

There were, however, several developments related to education between *Learning: Tradition and Change in the Northwest Territories*[15] and the closure of Grollier Hall in 1996. Change came incrementally to some classrooms. At Sir Alexander Mackenzie School in Inuuvik, for example, students in music class learned Inuvialuit dancing techniques after Alex Gordon, Hope Gordon, Jean Arey, Amos Paul, Kathleen Hansen, and Sarah Tingmiak revived the once-common Inuvialuit custom.[16] A six-month program called *Inuvialuit Drum Dance Expression and Interpretation Program* was piloted in Akłarvik and Tuktuyaaqtuuq. Enjoying enormous success, Health and Welfare Canada funded the project and extended it to the communities of Ulukhaktok, Inuuvik, Paulatuuq, and Ikaahak.[17]

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[14] Mathew Sanger, "Dene, Inuit Groups Involved in Bitter Language Debate," *The Citizen* (May 23, 1985), B7.

[15] Legislative Assembly, Special Committee on Education, GNWT*: Tradition & Change in the Northwest Territories* (Yellowknife, NT: GNWT, 1982).

[16] Inuvialuit Social Development Program, *Drum Dance in the Western Arctic* (Inuvik: Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 1993), 1.

[17] Inuvialuit Social Development Program, *Drum Dance in the Western Arctic*, 4

Figure 53. Inuvialuit dancers sway and bend their bodies to the sound of drums. According to the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, "accompanied by the rhythmic beat of drums, dancers use motions that act out the words of the songs – usually reenactments of great feats accomplished by previous generations. During celebrations, the blend of the drum beat and the rhythmical rise and fall of voices, punctuated with sounds of 'auu yah iah!, quickly drew men and women to the dance floor."[18]

There are several other examples of changes at day schools: on-the-land programs, Indigenous language classes, and the training of Indigenous classroom assistants and teachers. There were larger moments of hope. In consultation with communities and Elders, the territorial government's Department of Education launched a new Indigenous-inspired curriculum, *Dene Kede*, in 1993,[19] which consisted of fifty themes, such as drumming, fire, and caribou to teach the four concepts central to the Dene: the Spiritual World, the Land, the Self, and the People.[20] *Inuuqatigiit*,[21] curricula that was based on Inuit and Inuvialuit teachings, was released in 1996. These curricula were

[18] "Dance and Music," Inuvialuit Regional Corporation website, www.irc.inuvialuit.com/dance-and-music.
[19] Education Development Branch, Department of Education, Culture and Employment (ECE), Government of the Northwest Territories, *Dene Kede, Dene Zhatie, Dene Náoweré Dahk'é* (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1993).
[20] Richard Nerysoo, *Dene Kede Curriculum Launched* (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1993), 2.
[21] ECE, GNWT, *Inuuqatigiit* (Yellowknife, NWT: GNWT, 1996).

infused into all learning subjects in the pursuit of better preparing northern Indigenous students for life in the North.

There was, however, always the lingering the question of when residential school staff, teachers, missionaries, and others would be held responsible for their crimes against Indigenous children. The abuse of children was well-known within Indigenous communities; we had been dealing with the pain and aftermath of these crimes for decades, but it was not publicly discussed in non-Indigenous circles. As late as 1987, senior management at the Oblates of Mary Immaculate suspected that sexual assault allegations against their staff would emerge, which prompted them to establish various protocols should they transpire publicly.[22] Between the years of 1987 and 1991, Inuk MLA and former residential school student Piita Irniq called for a federal public inquiry into the abuse at Turquetil Hall and Joseph Bernier Federal Day School in Chesterfield Inlet.[23] His calls were ignored.

It was not until 1990 that Canada's Indian Residential Schools made national media headlines. Then Vice-Chief of Manitoba's Assembly of First Nations, Phil Fontaine, shared his story of abuse by Oblate missionaries at the Fort Alexander School in Manitoba. Although Fontaine's story quickly represented the widespread violations that occurred at residential schools, hostels, receiving homes, orphanages for Indigenous children, and Indian sanitoria, Minister of Indian Affairs Tom Sidden, taking direction from the Mulroney government, refused to investigate the matter.

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[22] J.A. Plourde, Archbishop of Ottawa, "Guidelines in Cases of Child Sexual Abuse by a Cleric," March 23, 1987, RCDMA OMI Box 5 of 12.
[23] Peter Ernerk, "Between God and the Devil," *Arctic Circle* (Spring 1993), 11.

Once allegations of sexual assault and other crimes surfaced, Provincial Superior Jacques Johnson wrote in 1991 that, "it is for all of us a great source of pain, but more so for the missionaries who worked in Indian Residential Schools, who dedicated many years of their lives,"[24] prioritizing the feelings and careers of non-Indigenous men who were missionaries over the safety of Indigenous children. The Church further suggested that victim testimony had been falsified by stating that, "we want to be sensitive to the pain expressed by several native people because of what *they* call cultural, physical and sexual abuse."[25] This lack of empathy, misunderstanding of Indigenous cultures, and disregard for Canadian settler law firmly indicates the self-interest of the Church, as well as their misguided "benevolent" efforts to Christianize Indigenous people in Canada, particularly in the North over the last three centuries. The same year, historian J.R. Miller asserted that only a minority of Indigenous people in Canada attended residential schools, with many of them completely escaping the clutches of the system.[26]

Community members in Nanhkak Thak responded to these complex problems in a number of different ways. For many, the pain of colonialism is not always visible, but it is always present. In fact, it had been a matter of debate for several decades, even before national conversations about the crimes committed at residential schools. In

[24] Correspondence, Jacques Johnson, OMI, Provincial Superior, Missionary Oblates to the Oblates of Grandin Province, "Re: Residential Schools and Allegations on Abuse," February 8, 1991, RCDMA Box 1 File 23.

[25] I have added italics for emphasis. Correspondence, Jacques Johnson, OMI, Provincial Superior, Missionary Oblates to the Oblates of Grandin Province, "Re: Residential Schools and Allegations on Abuse," February 8, 1991, RCDMA Box 1 File 23.

[26] J.R. Miller, "Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy," in *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations*, J.R. Miller, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 333.

1967, Inuvialuk woman and former Akłarvik student, Mary Carpenter, publicly critiqued the emerging school system and federal policies. She boldly asserted that

> The school system in the Northwest Territories is robbing the younger generation of a very rich and unusual culture. If we Northerners do nothing to fight to retain our cultural rights, it will be the saddest loss in history. The curriculum we are taught is the Alberta one and not basic to our environment or culture.[27]

Responding to Mary Carpenter's bold statement in 1967, Dinjii Zhuh woman and esteemed Anjòo Bertha (nilìh ch'uu Moses) Allen published a response in *The Inuvik Drum* that fiercely argued against Carpenter, defending residential schools, explaining that "no culture was robbed from us," and that "self pity and making things worse is no way to influence other Canadians."[28] But the majority of Indigenous families acknowledged the widespread harm and cultural devastation that resulted from their children being institutionalized. Gwichyà Gwich'in man Lawrence Norbert from Tsiigehtshik, who was institutionalized at Grollier Hall, spoke about the dissolution of his family life and the cultural alienation that ensued. He said, "I never got to know the culture of my parents or their way of life. Throughout the summer months, when I came home, it seems like every summer I started to feel more alienated towards my parents. I didn't know them very well."[29] If anything, this reflects the deep divide in communities surrounding discussions about residential schools. Allen might have since changed her

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[27] Mary Carpenter, "Education 1," *The Drum* 2, 22 (May 25, 1967), 2.
[28] Bertha Allen, "Education 3," *The Drum* 2, 22 (May 25, 1967), ACCGSA M2006-03 Series 3 Henry Cook Records Box 3 File 7 (17).
[29] Lawrence Norbert, Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, "Aklavik, N.W.T., April 3, 1975, Proceedings at Community Hearing, Volume 2," in *Transcripts of Public Hearings: Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry* (Ottawa: The Inquiry, 1975-1977), 73.

mind over the past fifty years, but the way we interpret the past, whether we experienced it or are analyzing it, remains fraught.

In 1994, the Assembly of First Nations published an landmark document entitled *Breaking the Silence*. There, they reported that

> The most profound form of physical wounding occurred through sexual violations. Reputed violations vary, with incidents of fondling, intercourse, ritualistic washing of genitals and rape, and in some cases instances of pregnancy and forced abortion.[30]

The abuse and crimes were widespread, pervasive, and devasting for Indigenous children and their families. Three years later, in 1997, in a profound public act of resistance, former Grollier Hall student Alvin Yallee formally filed allegations of sexual abuse to local Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers against his former supervisor, Paul Leroux, sparking an intensive investigation and the largest of its kind, nationally, that counted over 400 people interviewed from communities all over the north.[31] Police identified twenty-one Grollier Hall victims, a fraction of students who were affected, who could successfully testify at a public trial, though the number of abused students was much higher. Ironically, the investigation was delayed due to the persistence of seasonal land travel patterns, a key aspect of Indigenous lifestyles that the residential schooling system sought to eliminate.[32]

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[30] Assembly of First Nations, *Breaking the Silence: An Interpretive Study of Residential School Impact and Healing* (Ottawa: Assembly of First Nations), 51.

[31] "Abused natives reach deal with Catholic Church," *Prince George Citizen* (May 2002), 14; "Settlement reached between Grollier Hall residential school students, church," *Canadian Press NewsWire* (May 6, 2000). Alvin Yallee perished in a helicopter crash in 2008. For more on his life, see: Elise Stolte, "Crash victim overcame abuse in residential school; Alvin Yallee went on to become a leader, helped settle land claim," *Edmonton Journal* (May 2008), A3.

[32] Charlie Gillis, "Former judge at centre of sex scandal in Inuvik," *Edmonton Journal* (June 13, 1997), A3.

As a result of the allegations, four former employees were charged and convicted of sexual abuse and other crimes.[33] Former Grollier Hall supervisor and Family Court Judge Paul Leroux, the most notorious offender, was found guilty on thirty-three charges for sex offences against boys and young men.[34] In 2002, Leroux faced charges for the assault of an additional thirteen boys at the Beauval Indian Residential School in Saskatchewan during his tenure there from 1960 to 1967.[35] Although the blame should be squarely placed on the criminals themselves for these crimes, we must also consider the "culpability of the institutional bodies that created the schools and their capacity for violence."[36] Three other former federal and territorial employees, Jerzy George Maczynski, Jean Comeau, and Martin Houston, were also charged and convicted of sexual abuse and other crimes.[37] Since the late 1990s, several more individuals, such as SHSS student counselor David Button, have been charged and convicted of carnal crimes at northern hostels.[38]

[33] Jerzy George Maczynski, Jean Comeau, Paul Leroux, and Martin Houston stood trial and were eventually convicted for their crimes. Maczynski has been convicted not twice, but three times, on charges of sexual assault that occurred between the years of 1966 and 1967. Maczynski and Comeau both appeared in court in August of 1997.
[34] "Ran hostel, man facing 32 sex charges," *The Globe and Mail* (June 14, 1997), A9; Richard Gleeson, "Repeat Offender Pleads Guilty to Give Counts of Sexual Assault," *Northern News Services*, August 1, 1997.
[35] "Former residential school official facing new charges has prior convictions: Residential school official has prior record," *The Canadian Press* (September 30, 2011).
[36] Sam McKegney, *Magic Weapons: Aboriginal Writers Remaking Community After Residential School* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2007), 21.
[37] Maczynski has been convicted three times for sexual assault that occurred between the years of 1966 and 1967 at Grollier Hall. Ed Struzik, "Schools scandal: Child abuser now a Manitoba priest," *Edmonton Journal* (May 11, 2002), A1; "Former school head jailed for assaults," *Edmonton Journal* (February 7, 1998), A11; "Ex-supervisor jailed for assaulting pupils," *Edmonton Journal* (August 8, 1997), A10.
[38] The publicity of both Martin Houston and David Button's trials, respectively, prompted more victims to disclose their encounters, prompting new charges and trials for these criminals. "Another Inuvik Man Accuses David Button of Abuse," *CBC News* (March 14, 2015); "Former Inuvik Educator David Button Guilty of 1970s Sex Assault," *CBC News* (March 5, 2015); "David Button Goes on Trial in N.W.T. For Alleged '70s Assaults," *CBC News* (March 2, 2015); Andrew Raven, "Grollier Hall Supervisor Sentenced," *Northern*

By the late 1990s, Indigenous northerners in Nanhkak Thak and the Sahtú, responding to their frustration to the "extremely slow response to the Grollier Hall issue" by the territorial government, established the Grollier Hall Residential Healing Circle.[39] The Healing Circle took "the lead role in forging a Northwest Territories Residential Schools Interagency Committee composed of IRSs survivors groups, government departments and churches." Its objective was to "develop and advocate for a more coordinated response to the healing needs of former Indian Residential School students, their families and communities impacted by the Northern Indian Residential School system."[40]

In 1998, the GNWT acknowledged the trauma of residential schooling inflicted upon northerners, but offered no apology or compensation. Premier Don Morin stated: "On behalf of the Northwest Territories, I acknowledge and deeply regret the abuse of residential school students, and what it has done to their lives, to their families and to our communities." Morin implied that since residential schools in the Northwest Territories opened before the territorial government assumed power over schooling in 1969, that the burden of responsibility should lay with the federal government, further highlighting the deep and ongoing detachment between elected territorial officials and northern residents.[41] Lawrence Norbert, former Grollier Hall student and Gwichyà

News Services, (August 20, 2004); "Hung Jury in Button Trial: New Trial Expected in Inuvik Sex Case," *Northern News Services* (May 22, 2000); "Button Faces Jury," *CBC News* (May 17, 2000);

[39] Confidential E-Mail, "Speaking Notes, Grollier Hall Residential School Planning Circle to GHRS Interagency Meeting," Inuvik, January 13, 1998, obtained November 2012.

[40] Correspondence, XXXX, Grollier Hall Residential School Healing Circle, Yellowknife to Don Morin, Premier, GNWT, obtained via E-Mail from a confidential source, November 2012.

[41] "No Apology Offered to Victims of Sex Abuse at Residential Schools," *The Record*, March 6, 1998.

Gwich'in man, was disappointed and speculated that the premier received "some very weak-kneed advice."[42]

Into the 2000s, former Grollier Hall students continued to bring awareness to their experiences at Inuuvik's Roman Catholic residential school. In Sǫǫ̀mbak'è, 100 people marched in a protest entitled "Breaking the Silence" to bring awareness to abuse in Canadian residential schools.[43] Dinjii Zhuh man Eddie Kolausok explained the tainted relationship between the people and the state: "The real tragedy, the true injustice, is that the government essentially conspired with the church to eliminate our language and our culture. To me, that's simply unforgiveable."[44] In a 2008 sexual assault trial, Newfoundland lawyer Geoffrey Budden suggested that NWT Premier Joe Handley knew about the rampant sexual abuse in the North and instead of reporting these crimes to the RCMP, the territorial government allowed teachers to resign or transferred them to different communities.[45] Budden furthermore claimed to have evidence that the GNWT destroyed documentation that outlined the sexual misconduct of education employees.[46]

In 2002, twenty-eight former Grollier Hall students signed an out-of-court compensation agreement with the Roman Catholic Diocese of Mackenzie and the

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[42] "No apology offered to victims of sex abuse at residential schools," *The Record* (March 6, 1988), A4.
[43] "Yellowknife marchers protest abuse in residential schools," *Nanaimo Daily News* (June 2, 2000), A11.
[44] Charlie Gillis, "Shattered Dreams, Shattered Lives," *Edmonton Journal*, January 11, 1998.
[45] Sara Minogue, "Former NWT premier knew of abuse in schools, victims' lawyer says," *The Globe and Mail* (February 5, 2008).
[46] Sara Minogue, "Former NWT premier knew of abuse in schools, victims' lawyer says," *The Globe and Mail* (February 5, 2008).

Territorial and Federal Governments.[47] The "Grollier Hall Deal," responding to the numerous cases of sexual abuse, was a pilot project and a watershed response that was designed to provide an alternative to lengthy and costly court hearings. The federal government agreed to pay seventy percent of the agreed-upon compensation and the Roman Catholic Diocese of Mackenzie agreed to offer a local apology and provide resources for training, education, and counseling.[48] The "Grollier Hall Deal" was one of twelve national pilot projects designed to study processes around compensation, which provided an alternate model of justice rather than costly court hearings.[49] As a result, the federal government implemented the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement on September 19, 2007; it was the largest out-of-court settlement in Canadian history. The Agreement contained five defining elements: a Common Experience Payment for all eligible former students of Indian Residential Schools; an Independent Assessment Process (IAP) for claims of serious physical or sexual abuse and other wrongful acts; financial support for the Indian Residential Schools Resolution Health Support Program and an endowment to the Aboriginal Healing Foundation; commemorative activities; and the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC).

[47] The Federal Government agreed to pay 70 percent of final compensation costs. "Settlement Reached Between Grollier Hall Residential School Students, Church," *The Canadian Press*, May 6, 2002.
[48] "Settlement reached between Grollier Hall residential school students, church," *Canadian Press NewsWire* (May 6, 2000).
[49] Bob Weber, "Harold Cook wanted justice but he didn't want it from court. A victim of sexual abuse at a native residential school, Cook chose to seek compensation from the federal government and Catholic Church through a national pilot project offering an alternative to civil lawsuits," *Canadian Press NewsWire* (December 28, 2000).

The Indian Residential Schools Adjudication Secretariat oversaw all IAP claims and gave Survivors a deadline of September 19, 2012 to file a claim and give testimony at an IAP hearing, which was overseen by an adjudicator and a neutral decisionmaker. According to the IAP website, 37,922 IAP applications were received, over 20,000 hearings held, and over $2.2 billion was paid out in compensation.[50] IAP claims have, according to one source, "opened up a floodgate of new claims from people, suggesting that the number of children who were abused in Indian Residential Schools was much greater than anyone imagined."[51] Many are grateful for the work of the TRC, which launched the experiences of Indigenous peoples and crimes of Canada into the national spotlight. Nevertheless, the unfair compensation process continues to be a contentious topic for Nanhkak Thak Indigenous residents; questions linger regarding the federal government placing a timeline on filing claims and thus controlling the healing trajectory of former Indian Residential School students. Many continue to be concerned about the lack of follow-up and wellness health resources available in communities; former students often have to leave their homes and travel to Sǫǫ̀mbak'è or Amiskwaciwâskahikan to access mental health addictions treatment. Finally, and although the TRC was ultimately a positive initiative, a national inquiry into historic residential schools stifled national conversations about ongoing colonial policies in Uunjit Nanhkak that seek to oppress Indigenous families and lifestyles, with questions about land being central to ongoing political issues.

[50] Indian Residenital Schools Ajudication Secretariat, www.iap-pei.ca.
[51] Richard Wright, *The United Church Observer*, Undated.

Grollier and Stringer Hall's traumatic effect on the region continues. The first hand experiences of former residential school students and intergenerational trauma have led to other forms of violence. After disclosing crimes enacted on their minds and bodies, some victims have become "subjects of ridicule"[52] in their home communities. For northerners, acknowledging, discussing, and solving these issues have not been easy. Some deny any evidence of wrongdoing at residential schools while others have died from depression, some choosing to end their own life, on their own terms, pointing to the ongoing trauma and continued violence that Indian Residential Schools enact. The Northwest Territories has one of the highest suicide rates in Canada.[53] Former Stringer Hall student and President of the Gwich'in Tribal Council Robert Alexie Jr. ended his life on June 9, 2014, a tragic loss that was perhaps foreshadowed in his fictional book *Porcupines and China Dolls*.[54] Robert's story is far too common and suicide rates among Indigenous people in Canada are staggering, with some calling it an epidemic.[55]

The TRC has done exemplary work, but the fact remains that Indigenous peoples continue to shoulder most of the burden in the reconciliatory process. We are required to disclose, heal, and reconcile our pasts. Indigenous Studies scholar Sarah Hunt notes

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[52] Gillis, "The Ghosts of Grollier Hall."
[53] Northwest Territories Bureau of Statistics, "Death Rates by Cause, 2000-2017," www.statsnwt.ca.
[54] Robert Arthur Alexie, *Porcupines and China Dolls: A Novel* (Toronto: Stoddart, 2002). For other 'fictional' pieces, see: Eden Robinson, *Monkey Beach* (Toronto: Knopf Canada, 2000); Tomson Highway, *Kiss of the Fur Queen* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000).
[55] Anonymous #8, interviewed by Fraser (Inuvik: July 23, 2013), 4-5; Peter Vagra, "High Inuit Suicide Rates Rooted in Historical Trauma: Veteran Nunavut Researcher," *Nunatsiaq Online*, June 23, 2015, accessed June 23, 2015; Terry Reith and Briar Stewart, "Dramatic Rise in Maskwacis Suicide Rate Creates 'Critical Crisis,' *CBC News* (May 20, 2015); Sandra Contenta, "Nunavut's Youth Suicide Epidemic – 'Who is next? How do we stop this?'" *Toronto Star* (April 4, 2015); Kassina Ryder, "NWT Continues to Fight Against Suicide: Rates of People Taking Their Own Lives Higher Outside Yellowknife," *Northern News Services* (September 17, 2012); McKegney, 4; Aboriginal Healing Foundation Research Series, *Suicide Among Aboriginal People in Canada* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2007).

that "reconciliation discourse requires us to create a temporal divide between past wrongs and current colonial realities."[56] The fact remains that Indigenous children continue to leave their families and traditional lands to attend high school in different communities.

In Nanhkak Thak specifically, children from Tsiigehtshik are still forced to relocate to Inuuvik to attend East Three High School. There, they reside with extended family members or a billet is organized. As a result, Gwichyà Gwich'in parents of Tsiigehtshik – the majority of whom were institutionalized at Grollier Hall – talk about how their families continue to be fractured by local schooling policies. Apart from short visits, their children are gone for ten months a year and are deprived of important cultural teachings, such as fall hunting, winter fishing, and working with fowl and medicines in the spring. Additionally, the Gwichyà dialect of Dinjii Zhuh is not spoken or taught in Inuuvik, which further divorces children from our unique, regional Dinjii Zhuh identities.

As mentioned above, I visited Diighe'tr'aajil five years ago. This Dinjii Zhuh name translates to "where somebody lost everything" or "they took everything away from him." My great uncle Gabe Andre told a story of a Gwichyà Gwich'in and an Inuvialuit man who were gambling at this site. The Inuvialuit man won the match and took everything away from the Dinjii Zhuh man. This is where my uncle's story ends. But despite the devastating loss, this Dinjii Zhuh man continued to be perceived as remarkably wealthy. He presumably had his health, diverse on-the-land skills, a nearby

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[56] Sarah Hunt, "Commentary by Sarah Hunt, *Red Skin White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* Book Review Forum," *The AAG Review of Books* 4, 2, 113.

fishing eddy with a near-unlimited food supply, and an expansive kin network (with the spiritual, animal, and human worlds) that would ensure his wellbeing. I do not believe he lost 'everything' that day, but the idea "where somebody lost everything" could also easily be transplanted to Akłarvik's All Saints and Immaculate Conception Indian Residential Schools and Grollier and Stringer Halls in Inuvik.

Last summer, I returned to Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik, the Bullock's fish camp where Marka cut thousands of fish, raised a village of children, and spent a good deal of her life. Nothing in this world is static, including nakhwinan. It is common knowledge among locals that a new and growing sandbar was starting to block access to Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik. Indeed, this was the case last summer too. Water levels on the Nagwichoonjik were at a record low and combined with the sandbar, we had to anchor the boat approximately 500 meters from the shore and track our supplies in with a canoe. The sandbar has been a growing concern for the Bullock and Andre families and I too was apprehensive when I realized how large it had grown.

Once we had set our canvas tent and loaded our rifles and placed them on standby, we paddled into the river to set a net. I was eager to make dry fish and teach my daughter a tradition that I learned from the great matriarchs in my family. We set the net every morning and checked it twice a day for a week. We did not catch one fish. I was deeply affected by this for Marka had imprinted the importance of fish for our family; it symbolizes our reciprocal relationship with the land; the ability to feed our families and other animals in the region; the continued presence of our ancestors (for we are related to all animals); and how fishing contributes to Dinjii Zhuh sovereignty.

Figure 54. Crystal Gail Fraser and her daughter Quinn Addison Fraser look in the direction of the mountains, up the river, while at Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik in August 2018. The Nagwichoonjik flows in the background and the sandbar can be seen on the right. Photo Credit: Megan Fraser.

Coming to terms with the emptiness of it all, I thought to myself, "maybe Dachan Choo Gę̀hnjik should have been the site where my Dinjii Zhuh ancestor 'lost everything'" But then I looked down the path to the shore and recalled myself as a child scampering up and down the hill and arguing with my cousins about whose turn it was to haul water. And that old cutting table poking out of the bushes? I remembered my dìdųų sternly scolded me as I attempted to cut my very first fish when I was four years old. "Never waste " she exclaimed. And the many evenings when Julienne Andre, my dìdųų's mother, curled up on the bed she found the most comfortable, a wooden pallet, and told us stories in Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik as she smoked her sweet smelling pipe tobacco; I hung onto her every word. At ninety-six years old, Julienne always slowly faded off to sleep during what we always thought was the best part of the story, but when a small puff of smoke emerged from her pipe, we knew that the story was not over.

Thinking back to the fish. Where are the fish? Where are our ancestors? Based on guut'àii – the collective knowledge of the group – they identified an obstacle (the sandbar) and found a different path (which was not my fish net). The fish – our ancestors – had found a solution to their problem. So have we: Indigenous peoples in the North are on our way to doing the same through models of strength and resiliency. The future for Dinjii Zhuh and other Indigenous northerners is bright. "Yi'eenoodài' yeendoo gwizhit gwitèe'ah," which translates to "long ago will be in the future," is on the horizon.

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