SCRIBBLES IN THE ARCHIVES

Records of Childhood in Canadian Archives

By

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Dedication

        I dedicate this thesis to my Grammie whose *child created records* I organized after her death in June 2020. In her *child created records,* I saw her life unfold and increasingly felt closer to her and my topic.

Joan Elaine (Johnson) Lehew, [1934]

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Abstract

Researching the history of childhood in Canadian archives is a complex endeavor because the nature of childhood is historically and culturally contingent. Often researchers have to access a variety of sources to gain an understanding of how childhood was lived. This thesis examines how the voices of children in the archives are often manifested in three types of records: *child created, adult created* and *later recollection records.* These record types are the framework for this thesis. The first chapter is focused on *child created records* in the Mennonite Heritage Centre Archives. *Child created records* are records, in various mediums, that are created by a child while they are still young. The curation of *child created records* makes it so these records are recreated throughout their lifetime and often have different meanings when they at last enter an archive. Chapter two examines *adult created records* that were made by adults to document the lives of children. This chapter looks at Calgary children through the lens of the playground movement. This focuses on records collected by the City of Calgary Archives and ways in which childhood stories can be found in the nuances of *adult created records.* The last chapter of this thesis explores the need for *later recollection records* of childhood. *Later recollection records* are created when someone reflects back on the experiences of their childhood and creates a record of these stories. For this chapter I use records from the National Centre of Truth and Reconciliation regarding the history of residential school. *Later Recollections* are important ways to let various stories of childhood become visible in archives for children who were improperly or not recorded at all. This thesis also examines how *later recollections* can be manifested in the ways individuals become involved in archival descriptions. The ethical implications of how childhood is recorded is examined throughout this thesis in order to bring a greater understanding to how Canadian archives record the details of childhood.

Acknowledgements

Studying childhood in various archives has been a challenge that has led me to countless records, never-ending questions and the support of a lot of archivists, friends and family.

First of all, my research was made possible through the support provided to me by various archivists throughout my masters and internship. I am grateful for the interest of my supervisors at Library and Archives Canada and the other archivists at the various archives I researched at. Their questions and support made me excited to share my research.

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I had the pleasure of being placed in a very tiny cohort year at the University of Manitoba. Laura Elsie and Jared thank-you for being my support systems throughout the first year's course work and the many drafts of my thesis. A particular thank-you goes out to Laura Elsie for her calming reassurance. From the very start she welcomed me to Winnipeg and it was a joy growing with her as colleagues and friends.

I would like to thank my parents for the beautifully imperfect childhood that they provided me. Their patience in the face of my many video calls provided me with guidance throughout my grad school experience. I am also thankful for my five siblings who willingly learned a lot more about archiving over the last few years than they ever bargained for.

I would like to thank the Social Sciences Research Council of Canada and the University of Manitoba Tri-Council for funding my project. This funding kept food in my fridge and made my venture across the prairies to fulfill my childhood dream a reality. I know that this generosity will be something I try to embody throughout my career.

Dr. Greg Bak, thank-you for your persistence. I appreciate all of your thoughtful responses to my emails and guidance throughout the process. Our conversations and debates about childhood archives pushed me to think about archives in new ways and truly helped this thesis be what it is today.

Finally, I would like to thank fourteen-year-old me. Thank-you for having the odd dream to become an archivist. It is a dream that this *grown child* is honored to be taking it on.

<u>From Infancy</u>

<u>Introduction</u>

This research began with frustration. It was a frustration that came from history classes and reading secondary literature where academics claimed to be able to describe what childhood was like, but often cited records created by adults. I often wondered where the voices of children were in the histories I was reading. Of course, young people have always been present throughout Canadian history, but how their perspectives and lives are recorded in archives that are meant to document the histories of institutions, churches, governments or society has not really been discussed by the archivists who care for these records. My research began in a search for how and where the voices of children were being preserved and accessed. What I found was that childhood must be understood and researched in various sources that highlight the complex reality of being a child in particular times and places. Sometimes this requires looking for childhood voices in unexpected or new places as well as an understanding of how record keeping practices affect children.

In my research, I found that childhood was most often recorded in three types of records: *child created, adult created* and *later recollection records*. My thesis centers around three case studies of each of these record types. My chapters are situated around archival theories of appraisal, description, preservation and access. In that way, this thesis is not a historical examination of any particular period of childhood, but rather an archival study of record creation within different historical contexts. In my first chapter, I look at the records of the Mennonite Heritage Archives (MHA) to clarify how *child created records* exist in collections and the complex reality of their use, description and appraisal. My second chapter explores the nature of *adult created records* in relation to the City of Calgary Archives and the records of playground development. My last chapter looks at the records of the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR) and the ways in which *later recollections* can be a way of understanding childhood experiences especially in periods where children's opinions were not recorded or were silenced.

Language and Boundaries

It is important to understand the language and parameters of this research. To begin with childhood, for the purpose of this thesis, is defined as ranging from birth until eighteen years of

age. This age range was chosen to clarify various differences between records created by and about children.[1] I acknowledge that various time periods and cultures have understood childhood as including different parts of one's life. In this way, in each case study I have attempted to contextualize the records that I use. Furthermore, I acknowledge that Canada contains people from various ethnicities, racialized communities, religious belief systems, social and cultural backgrounds and other identifying communities which offer additional ways of looking at records that may challenge my understanding of how society records childhood. These challenges are something that I encourage, as I want to highlight the ever evolving and contingent nature of childhood. With this limitation in mind, I want to direct my readers to my footnotes where I have often referred to additional examples or additional resources to encourage future discussions.

I have established particular vocabulary throughout my thesis to describe types of records.[2] These terms are italicized every time they are mentioned to clarify that I am referring to the definitions I establish here and not any alternative meanings. The three types of childhood records that I have identified are: *child created, adult created* and *later recollections.*

Child created records are made by children themselves while they are still young. These types of records, as noted by historians such as Karen Sánchez-Eppler or Neil Sutherland, come with a variety of issues for their use, but generally should be seen as coming from the perspective and voice of a child (written, visual, audio or in other recorded forms).[3] These types of records

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[1] Noticeably, records from birth until age four are harder to find in archives. Children at this age are often found in unconventional records such as scribbles in otherwise *adult created records.* Younger children are also often discussed in *adult created records* (often in *adult created* photographs). Also, children with various abilities and those who do not fit into societal expectations have had different experiences which make their records harder to find in archives.

[2] *Child created records* in particular have been studied by mostly historians and not archivists. A search of *Archivaria,* the prominent Canadian archival journal, showcases that there are no studies of how to actually use *child created records,* though there are case studies of childhood records. Work completed by historians such as Kristine Alexander, Karen Sánchez-Eppler and Kaisa Vehkalahti have been helpful for my thesis. Kristine Alexander, "Can the Girl Guide Speak? The Perils and Pleasures of Looking for Children's Voices in Archival Research," *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures.* 4, no. 1 (2012); Karen Sánchez-Eppler, "In the Archives of Childhood," In *The Children's Table: Childhood Studies and the Humanities* ed. by Anna Mae Duane, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press. 2013); Karen Sánchez-Eppler, "How Studying the Old Drawings and Writings of Kids can Change our View of History," *The Conversation,* (25 January 2016), http://theconversation.com/how-studying-the-old-drawings-and-writings-of-kids-can-change-our-view-of-history-46724l; and Kaisa Vehkalahti, "Dusting the archives of childhood: child welfare records as historical sources," *History of Education,* (2016).

[3] Sánchez-Eppler discusses issues of copying and obedience in *child created records.* Sánchez- Eppler, "In the Archives of Childhood," 222 and 225.

are often difficult to find in archives, but they do exist. They appear to be more common in community or smaller archives than government or institutional archives, but they were found in almost every archive I visited.

Adult created records often result from children interacting with institutions or with others who have control over them in society.[4] These are records created by adults to talk about childhood expectations, lifestyles or the way children should behave. [5] They can also be mechanisms for recording or reporting on the lives of children. *Adult created records* are sometimes the only way of studying the many children whose perspectives were not collected.

There are also *later recollections*. These are records, in any medium, in which an adult is describing their youth after their childhood has passed. Often these types of records are reflexive and may be part of projects to capture various aspects of someone's life. The NCTR is an important case study for these types of records, as it has many records that look at childhood from the perspectives of those who lived the childhoods in question: *grown children.*

I have chosen to call the adults who create *later recollections* or reflect on their childhood at all (sometimes even by selecting, arranging or editing childhood records) *grown children.* I have created the term, *grown children*, to differentiate between how *later recollections* are reflections from adults regarding their own childhood and are not records created by adults writing about other children (which would be *adult created records*). Consequently, I also argue that all adults are *grown children* who may reflect on their youth.

Every adult was once two, three, eleven or fourteen-years old, but not all five-year-olds have the same experiences. Many children have had their childhoods taken from them by traumatic circumstances and had to grow up quickly. It is difficult to unify the experiences of children or capture it as individuals quickly grow older. In this way, the involvement of *grown children,* when possible, in the record keeping of childhood is increasingly important.

Neil Sutherland discusses the problems associated with a child's ability to conceptualize ideas Neil Sutherland, "When You Listen to the Winds of Childhood, How Much Can You Believe?" *Curriculum Inquiry* 22, no. 3 (1992), 252.

[4] Sánchez- Eppler, "In the Archives of Childhood," 215 and Elizabeth Gagen, "Too Good to Be True: Representing Children's Agency in the Archives of Playground Reform." *Historical Geography* 29 (2001), 53.

[5] Kristine Alexander, "Childhood and Colonialism in Canadian History," *History Compass.* 14, no. 9 (2016), 400.

Kristine Lehew- the *Grown Child*

    I, as a *grown child,* often reflect on how my life, including my childhood, has led me to becoming interested in studying the records of childhood. By the time I was fourteen I was obsessed with organizing my own records and those of my family. In that sense, I have always been a record keeper. As a teenager I admired archivists and read historical novels that had me interested in the stories of the people who came before me. As part of my mother's affordable entertainment for her six children, I often I visited small road side museums where I was exposed to various records at an early age. Deciding that I wanted to be an archivist as a teenager shaped how I saw the past and how I wrote this thesis. Although my archival passion often resulted in confusing conversations with peers and career counselors, it also had me thinking from an early age about the records people create, destroy and save.

    I acknowledge that I have conducted this research with life experiences that have shaped my writing. As a non-Indigenous and non-Mennonite individual I entered this research as an outsider to the many traditions and cultures that I studied. This has limited my ability to understand different notions of childhood. Furthermore, as an adult I am removed from my own experiences of childhood, but the memory of this period of my life is still clear and filled with many positive stories. I am further shaped by the privilege that I experience as a white, cis gender, heterosexual woman who grew up in a middle-class home on Treaty 7 land in suburban Calgary. My understanding of childhood is shaped by my Catholic upbringing, my education at the University of Manitoba and my archival work experiences. [6] Additionally, as I learn more about Canada's settler colonial legacy and hear the stories of Survivors of Residential Schools, I am increasingly upset by what has been done, in the name of my Catholic faith, to Indigenous cultures and individuals. My research, in particular my third chapter, was driven by a desire to be part of reconciliation and to bring forth children's stories.

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[6] At the time of writing my thesis, I have been an archival intern at multiple archives including: The Roman Catholic Diocese of Calgary, the City of Calgary Archives, the King's Own Calgary Regiment and Library and Archives Canada. As of January 2020, I have been working full time at the City of Calgary's Archives where I continue to learn about record management and archives. The stories and people, both past and present, that I have come to know in these archives have become part of my research and my methodologies. The archivists that I have worked with have shaped the way I understand access and description. The real-life practicality of archiving at various sized institutions has shaped the way I understand various childhood records. Furthermore, studying at the University of Manitoba has provided me with a historically focused archival method that uses post-modern archival theory to question and think critically about the role of archives and archivists.

Records Used and Archives Visited

This thesis is based around the study of the archival records that have been created by and about children. It also focuses on examining how archivists treat these sources. This study uses *child created records* (penmanship books, paintings, drawings and others) and *adult created records* (annual reports, speeches, newspaper clippings and others) to show how childhood is affected and recorded through institutional and personal record creation and keeping practices. As this is an archival study, I utilized the mandates and descriptions created by archives along with the policies and standards created by the Canadian archival community.[7]

The research for this thesis took place at various archives in Canada. My case studies focus on records from particular collections, but my footnotes contain information regarding similar records found at different archives. For chapter one, the main archive that I visited was the MHA in Winnipeg which is a community and religious focused archive that holds records from Mennonites across Canada. In my second chapter, I use records from the City of Calgary Archives which documents the municipality's history. Finally, after the completion of the NCTR access application, I was granted research access to the NCTR.[8] It is important to note that I did not conduct interviews for any of my chapters, as the focus of my research has been on existing collections.

Supplementary research was completed at the United Church of Canada Archives, the Calgary Roman Catholic Diocese Archives, the City of Winnipeg's Archives, the Archives of Manitoba, the University of Manitoba's Archives and Special Collections, the Glenbow Archives, and Library and Archives Canada (LAC).

Many of my research trips started with persistent questions to archivists regarding if they knew of any *child created records* in their collection. Sometimes I was greeted with knowing smiles that led me to collections that I would not have otherwise found. Other times, archivists grasped at faint memories of *child created records* that they processed and could no longer find. My interactions with various staff members changed the way I saw and worked with various

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[7] A simplified version of the main standard I used, Rules for Archival Descriptions (RAD), can be found in Jeff O'Brien, *Basic RAD,* (Saskatchewan Council for Archives and Archivists, 1997), http://scaa.usask.ca/rad/radtoc.htm. The full version of RAD is found in Canadian Committee on Archival Description, *Rules for Archival Description*, (1999-2008), http://www.cdncouncilarchives.ca/archdesrules.html.

[8] Trust was an important aspect to the research in my third chapter and so the research access process was necessary for me to use records from the NCTR. Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies,* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 98.

types of records. I also utilized a report from LAC regarding records created by and about children to find records at this archive.[9] This thesis is indebted to the guidance of many archivists both in the descriptions they created and conversations I had with them. My many interactions with archivists convinced me of the need for better archival descriptions and a greater concern for childhood records.

Background for Methodology

The work and methods of historians also influenced my study. Especially in my second chapter, I have used historical studies of children to understand how people are already using archives to learn about childhood. Karen Sánchez-Eppler explores the nature of archival materials created by children currently in archives. Her study offers important commentary on factors that affect how *child created records* were made.[10] Kristine Alexander's work, for example, is critical of the Girl Guides volunteers who threw out *child created records* in archives.[11] Alexander offers a critique on archival power as reflection of societal power. I entered my research with the acknowledgement that historians have attempted to find childhood in archives through against-the-grain research methods and this has been useful in my thesis. An American historian of the playground movement, Elizabeth Gagen, offers commentary on how children, through misbehaviour, were active in playground movements and playground records.[12] Gagen's work was significant for the development of my second chapter and for my understanding of the ways *adult created records* are used by historians to bring forth childhood stories when only *adult created records* are available.[13] I aim to highlight these existing methods while creating an archival critique of them. I show how they can be used by all users of archives, not just those with historical training.

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[9] This led me to *child created records* that were identified during an inventory project. Heather (Pitcher) Bidzinski provided access to this research which enabled my search while I was in Ottawa. Heather Pitcher, "Archives Created By and About Children: Final Report and Findings based upon research and analysis of Library and Archives Canada Collections," (Gatineau, QC: Library and Archives of Canada, 2011).

[10] She is looking at this in American archives. Sánchez-Eppler, "In the Archives of Childhood," and Sánchez-Eppler, "How Studying the Old Drawings and Writings of Kids can Change our View of History."

[11] Alexander, "Can the Girl Guide Speak?" 135-136 and 142. See also her important piece about the agency of children. Kristine Alexander, "Agency and Emotion Work." *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures.* 7. No. 2 (2015): 121.

[12] Gagen, "Too Good to Be True," 53

[13] Gagen acknowledges that she is trying to represent more of a child centred narrative of playgrounds than other historical studies. I use her methods to explore how archives are shaped in a way that makes it difficult or easy to use the historical methods of looking from children's voices. Gagen, "Too Good to Be True," 53-54.

Throughout my thesis I use resources that showcase how children have been studied by various agencies and within memory studies. In my study, I use methods from other disciplines, but much of my research is informed by record keeping theories. I also researched details regarding the historical contexts of the case studies to understand reasons why archivists may have chosen to take certain records. For my third chapter, I look at Indigenous research to understand the history of the NCTR and record keeping at Residential Schools. Notably, I did not use Indigenous methodologies, but rather I aimed to conduct decolonizing research that highlights the importance of Indigenous communities telling their stories and having control over their records. [14] This decolonizing research also aims to clarify the power imbalances between children and the adults who document them. This was done by looking at the ways former students discuss their experiences in Residential Schools and how some have created *later recollections* in various forms. In relation to this, my study utilizes a post-modern archival framework to confront mainstream histories of the ways children have lived.[15] The NCTR has done important work to record what has happened by allowing *grown child* to be involved.[16] I aimed to convey how stories of marginalized children can become more visible in archives.[17]

Social work records and the problems encountered by those trying to access records of themselves in care also affected my methods. In this way, my research is also guided by how *grown children* interact with and use these records. Studies of social work records allowed me to connect archival theories to the reality and difficulty of finding childhood records in the archives for all users. [18] Joanne Evans, Sue McKemmish, Elizabeth Daniels, and Gavan McCarthy discuss how the record keeping process of government run care facilities often leave children out of the record and in turn created records where children appear missing, hidden or the records do not tell the story *grown children* remember.[19] Jacqueline Z. Wilson and Frank Golding looked at records of children in care and compared them with contemporary adult life testimonies.[20]

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[14] Alexander, "Childhood and Colonialism in Canadian History," 397.

[15] Lisa Nathan, Elizabeth Shaffer and Maggie Castor, "Stewarding Collections of Trauma: Plurality, Responsibility, and Questions of Action," *Archivaria*, no. 80 (October 1, 2015), 90.

[16] Nathan, Shaffer and Castor, "Stewarding Collections of Trauma," 94.

[17] There is often a discussion of allowing multiple narratives to exist by understanding the history of the records. Nathan, Shaffer and Castor, "Stewarding Collections of Trauma,"95-96.

[18] Joanne Evans, Sue McKemmish, Elizabeth Daniels, and Gavan McCarthy, "Self-Determination and Archival Autonomy: Advocating Activism," *Archival Science* 15, no. 4 (December 2015): 345-356.

[19] Evans, McKemmish, Daniels, and McCarthy, "Self-Determination and Archival Autonomy," 344.

[20] Jacqueline Wilson and Z. Golding, "Latent Scrutiny: Personal Archives as Perpetual Mementos of the Official Gaze," *Archival Science* 16, no. 1 (2016): 93.

Wilson and Golding's discussion of how archives require active contribution, through supplementary information, from the people who experienced difficult childhoods was important for my third chapter.[21]

Archival Methods

This thesis draws upon post-modern archival theory which focuses on the context of record's ongoing creation and the impact of archivists on their collection. The work of Tom Nesmith was of particular importance for this study. Nesmith uses post-modern archival theory to examine the limitations of archives and the ways in which they have been shaped to create particular knowledge sets.[22] Studying how records are created and managed in archives offered insight into the ways in which children have been seemingly silenced. It appears that the answer to the lack or hidden nature of *child created records* in the archives, is in part a study of how children interact with and create records.[23] It is also a study of how adults and *grown children* understand childhood. Nesmith claims that it is important to know "the societal and intellectual contexts shaping the actions of the people and institutions who made and maintained the records."[24] Nesmith encourages archivists to study the history of records which is why I contextualized each of my record sets with details regarding how they came to the archives. For children, this has meant studying the ways in which adults and *grown children* influence and regulate children's lives and records. [25]

I also worked within a decolonizing framework. The very act of studying children in archives, which are seemingly adult institutions, is an act of bringing to light power imbalances in society. It is a process of showing how active children have been in Canadian history even when it may initially seem otherwise in archives. I particularly look at ways in which children's voices are visible in archives in ways that may not seem conventional. This framework is very

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[21] Wilson and Golding, "Latent Scrutiny," 93.

[22] Tom Nesmith, "Seeing Archives: Postmodernism and the Changing Intellectual Place of Archives," *The American Archivist* 65, no. 1 (2002): 25-27.

[23] Nesmith, "Seeing Archives," 35.

[24] Nesmith, "Seeing Archives," 35.

[25] This includes studies of family archiving practices. David S. Kirk and Abigal Sellen, "On Human Remains: Values and Practice in the Home Archiving of Cherished Objects," *ACM Transactions on Computer-Human Interaction,* Vol. 17, No. 3, Article 10, (July 2010): 10:1-10:43.

This is also done in light of standardized ethical regulations for archivists such as: Association of Canadian Archivists, "Association of Canadian Archivists Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct," (18 October 2017), https://archivists.ca/resources/Documents/Governance%20and%20Structure/aca_code_of_ethics_final_october_2017.pdf.

important in my third chapter where I study the need for *grown children* to be able to discuss their childhood. Alexander studies the way in which childhood has been impacted by the "effects of imperialism and settler colonialism."[26] Alexander takes a decolonizing lens and applies it to Indigenous children and this informed my third chapter.[27] Alexander acknowledges how the colonial practices of recording children (mostly in institutional settings) have made children, and most especially culturally marginalized children, invisible in historic literature.[28] This seemingly invisibility of Indigenous children and many more Canadian children is something that I discuss throughout my thesis. I also use this framework to look into the ethics of recording and keeping records of children who have little say in how their lives were documented.

Conclusion

The complexity of each of my chapters, conveys how the fact that childhood is complex to study in archives, is not simply a matter of archivists not valuing childhood records. In fact, many different factors have led to particular records being or not being in collections. This thesis contributes to and in a way starts an important discussion of how archivists should be appraising, describing and offering ethical access to the diverse records of childhood. It may be that records of childhood will always be mediated by adults, but understanding the context of their creations helps children become more visible in archives.

As I have looked into how children have been treated in archives, memories of running around with my five siblings throughout my childhood has hardly left my mind. It is through my study of childhood that I have been reminded of my own youth. The diaries I wrote when I was ten are precious memories for myself, but, even as someone who has wanted to be an archivist since I was fourteen, I am only now as a *grown child* seeing my own childhood scribbles as important. Studying childhood records requires questioning what one values and what can be learned through the scribbles.This thesis also will likely remind readers of their childhood, though I do acknowledge that this may not bea pleasant experience for everyone. Furthermore, my desire is that readers can examine the ways in which they are recording the children in their

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[26]Alexander, "Childhood and Colonialism in Canadian History," 397.

[27] Post-colonialism is referring to a study of Indigenous voices or stories in Canadian history that have been silenced by settler colonialism. Influential voices have had more of a say in what kind of history is studied and, in that sense, the narrative of Canadian history ignores those supressed by the louder voices. This can also be applied to children of these oppressed groups. Alexander, "Childhood and Colonialism in Canadian History," 398.

[28] Alexander, "Childhood and Colonialism in Canadian History," 398.

lives. In this way, perhaps children's perspectives canbe explored in the collections that hang on today's refrigerator doors along with the ones in acid free folders.

Chapter 1

From Fridge Magnets to Acid Free Folders

Chid created records are seemingly rare in archival collections. Many archival researchers (historians, social workers, people studying their own childhoods and others) have looked, with increasing frustration, for *child created records* only to be faced with *adult created records* that are about rather than by children. Often, despite this frustration, *child created records* are better understood as hidden and complex than nonexistent and rare. Although one could wonder in awe at these pockets of records, this does not discredit the observation that there is a limit on the number of *child created records* that can be found in many archives. One has to ask themselves how are these records making it to the archives? How are adults and families curating the records of children and ultimately the stories of children? The answer is often that archivists and researchers alike need to understand where *child created records* exist and the qualities that affect their use and discovery in order to provide access to the stories of childhood.[1]

In this chapter, I highlight how studying *child created records* allows researchers to access history from a child's point of view. There are many difficulties that come with using these records. This is because the *child created records* in archives cannot be separated from the curation process of adults or *grown children. Child created records* are, in a way, also a product of adult decisions because of the very nature of record keeping. I aim to show the ways in which *child created records* enter archives in a way that also shows archivists and researchers (historical or other) alike where they may discover children's impact in archives. Though the stories I convey in this chapter present important aspects of some children's lives, they also hide and shape others. Ultimately, *child created records* alone do not make it so childhood can be perfectly understood. Childhood must be studied with a variety of sources and within an understanding of how adults impact the records that remain.

This chapter focused on *child created records.* As a reminder, these are records created by children while they are still young and can exist in many different mediums. They sometimes do

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[1] This is something that is discovered in my research, but it was also noticed by Karen Sánchez-Eppler, though she classifies the records as entering "libraries" and only mentions archives once in the following article. Karen Sánchez-Eppler, "How Studying the Old Drawings and Writings of Kids can Change our View of History," *The Conversation,* (25 January 2016), http://theconversation.com/how-studying-the-old-drawings-and-writings-of-kids-can-change-our-view-of-history-46724l

not include text and they can be created in a variety of settings. *Child created records* also do not have to be solely created by one child themselves.

I begin my study with a definition and examination of the idea of provenance and *child created records.* This includes an examination of how *child created records* are perceived by researchers and archivists. I examine how the Mennonite Heritage Archives (MHA) is an archive inclusive to *child created records* by exploring why this community-based archive would collect records from families. This leads into my section on family archiving practices and why *child created records* are sometimes not valued. Following this section is aa discussion of why *child created records* that eventually end up in archives are difficult to discover. In the last section, I focus on a case study of the MHA. In this section, I look at four different types of *child created records*: Christmas Fraktur penmanship art; school work books; drawings or pictures; and scribbles on adult materials. As my thesis is focused on archives and recording keeping, I discuss the examples in the last section based on the themes or archival theory that they present and not their chronological order.

Provenance of Childhood

The provenance of childhood records must be researched and fully brought to light in order to understand the unique reality of particular childhoods and how *child created records* were created and entered the archives. Throughout my research I explored how adults affect this. Provenance, according to Tom Nesmith, is an interpreted understanding of a record's history.

> The provenance of a given record or body of records consists of the social and technical processes of the records' inscription, transmission, contextualization, and interpretation which account for its existence, characteristics, and continuing history.[2]

If childhood is diversely lived and experienced, the records created by children also have deep historical and personal contexts. It becomes evident that the provenance of *child created records* includes that they are often regulated, before and after entering the archive, through complex relationships with adults who control the other records of children's lives.

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[2] Tom Nesmith, "Still fuzzy, but more accurate: Some thoughts on the" ghosts" of archival theory," *Archivaria* 47 (1999): 146.

For this chapter, I reviewed select records from MHA in Winnipeg.[3] The *child created records* I studied were from family fonds and were donated as pieces of larger collections. It should be noted that, in general, many *child created records* are found in family fonds.[4] This research was done with the support of the MHA's archivist Conrad Stoesz who knew the location of *child created records* because of his familiarity with the archive's holdings.[5] The importance of the familiarity of the archivist with their collections and the discovery of *child created records* was something I found throughout my research. I was able to access many *child created records* because of the personal knowledge of reference archivists and not through searches on an archive's databases. This alone highlights the complexity of looking for *child created records* in archives and how they can become unintentionally hidden.

Ultimately, this is not a historical study of these children, but rather a study of how these records enter and exist in archives. My hope is that my case study works as an example to help researchers use and discover *child created records* in various archives. I also aim to provide important information regarding how to understand their various provenances and how dealing with records that discuss childhood, particularly *child created records,* is not the same as dealing with records from adult creators.

Rare Records?

What makes *child created records* unique? Karen Sánchez-Eppler argues that *child created records* are unique in part because they are not appreciated and because there has been a lack of value attributed to the opinions that children have. This is a very general statement, as childhood

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[3] References to collections outside of this archive are also made throughout this chapter to recognize trends of how *child created records* are treated within archives more generally.

[4] Sánchez-Eppler, "How Studying the Old Drawings and Writings of Kids can Change our View of History." An internal report that lists the records created by and about children at LAC showed many examples of records created by children in family collections. There were also examples of records that existed in school fonds and government programs or contests. For the purpose of this chapter, the focus is on families and larger trends. Heather Pitcher, "Archives Created By and About Children: Final Report and Findings based upon research and analysis of Library and Archives Canada Collections," (Gatineau, QC: Library and Archives of Canada, 2011). There are also exceptions to this in different archives that I researched. An example of such a collection is ones that are created for government competitions or letters to important individuals. For instance, the accession at LAC called, "Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future collection [graphic material] Citizens' mail/fax art show," includes mail and art submitted to Commission to be part of an exhibit. Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future collection [graphic material] Citizens' mail/fax art show. Accession 1992-354 DAP. Mikan 18502, (Gatineau, QC: Library and Archives of Canada, 1990-1991).

[5] I have made an active decision to mention Stoesz by name within the body of my chapter in order to show the importance and impact of particular archivists. To ignore him while discussing how I accessed these records would be in a way ignoring the contextual reality that *child created records* are often hidden within other collections. Conrad Stoesz, Guidance on Childhood Records, Research Consultation, (Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives, 8 February 2018)

is a period of life treated differently in different eras and cultures. This leads to an important observation that perhaps the existence of *child created records* is more about the societal value of these records, than simply archival decisions.

The limits of *child created records* to present childhood experience are affected by many factors. Kristine Alexander conveys the complexities of studying childhood. Alexander's work "Agency and Emotion Work" highlights how little say children have had in their lives and thus their records.[6] Therefore, even though it is ideal to study the history of children through *child created records*, I argue that they still present many complications which make it better to preserve and maintain diverse collections of childhood records. When researchers are using these records, they must understand that *child created records* will always provide a skewed view of childhood that may not represent diverse experiences. This makes the study of how *child created records* arrive at the archives and their use of particular importance.

Furthermore, perspectives regarding the existence of *child created records* conveys the perceived rarity of these records, rather than just the hidden nature of the records. This contributes to their use and discovery. A LAC blog regarding the exhibit "A Little History: the Hidden Stories of Children," at the Canadian Museum of History, contains key statements regarding the existence and use of child created records. The article says that the exhibit

> presents rarely seen archival documents, photographs, works of art and artifacts from the collections of both the Canadian Museum of History and Library and Archives Canada. The exhibition recounts the unique experiences of children found in archival documents. Children are rarely the authors of their own histories. Fragments of their stories lie within the materials that adults produce—from formal portraits found in family collections to documents in government and institutional records…Items created by children are often ephemeral and seldom preserved in collections. Those that have been preserved can be challenging to find as they are frequently subsumed within the broader histories and heritage of their families and communities and are rarely catalogued as being child-made.[7]

The archivist who created this posting on LAC's blog clearly defines these records as out of the ordinary and in this way, they are creating user expectations of these records. This blogpost creates a boundary for what researchers should expect from archives and in a sense children. It

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[6] Kristine Alexander, "Agency and Emotion Work," *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures.* 7. No. 2 (2015): 120-121.

[7] "A Little History: The Hidden Stories of Children—an Exhibition at the Canadian Museum of History." *Library and Archives of Canada Blog,* (28 March 2018), https://thediscoverblog.com/2018/03/28/a-little-history-the-hidden-stories-of-children-an-exhibition-at-the-canadian-museum-of-history/.

also idealizes the *records created by children* while only briefly acknowledging how important the context of creation is for these records. It is evident that more conversations around the use and preservation of child created records need to be had. There needs to be an understanding of what has led to these records being hard to discover rather than an idealization of the records.

Child created records, however, have a story that goes beyond the way archives talk about them. The records had a history before they were considered for the archives. The Mennonite children who created the records in this study may have personally valued or disregarded the records that they created. Their direct impact on the curation of the records while they were children is most often unknown, as *child created records* come to the archives long after the children were grown. Some of the custodial histories regarding these records indicate that they likely ended up in collections because of choices made by adults in the family, and not the decisions of the children themselves. The family of the child valued the records and kept them in their homes until they donated them to the archives, sometimes generations later.

Decisions that occur inside of archives are not the only decision that affect why *child created records* exist. Jordan Bass, in his study of valuation in personal digital archiving, claims that often people keep records because of "[e]motional or sentimental reasons."[8] Records are kept because they meant something to someone, but for *child created records* this does not necessarily mean that they meant something to the child themselves. Bass explores how personal information management systems support the ability of people to save items that give them a sense of identity or self.[9] In this way, Bass highlights how records have a "pre-custodial" record keeping history before they enter the archive.[10] This pre-custodial period plays an important role in the many decisions that result in *child created records* ending up in the trash or the archives. Alexander claims that "archives are reflections of existing power relations: they privilege… adult perspectives over youthful ones."[11] This means that keeping *child created records* is related to

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[8] Jordan Bass, "A PIM Perspective: Leveraging Personal Information Management Research in the Archiving of Personal Digital Records," *Archivaria* 75 (2013): 63.

[9] When looking at this Bass uses the work of David Kirk and Abigail Sellen whose work I discuss below. Bass, "A PIM Perspective," 63. David S. Kirk and Abigal Sellen, "On Human Remains: Values and Practice in the Home Archiving of Cherished Objects," *ACM Transactions on Computer-Human Interaction,* Vol. 17, No. 3, Article 10, (July 2010).

[10] Bass, "A PIM Perspective," 52.

[11] In this way Alexander claims an archive can "obscure as much as it can reveal." Kristine Alexander, "Can the Girl Guide Speak? The Perils and Pleasures of Looking for Children's Voices in Archival Research," *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures.* 4, no. 1 (2012) 132- 133.

how families and adults value these records in the pre-custodial period. It means that adults often mediate the *child created records* that are available.

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The Mennonite Heritage Archives- A Child Inclusive Mandate

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The Mennonite Heritage Archives' "About" page on their website outlines the objectives of the archive. This page says that their "program works to collect, preserve, interpret, and make accessible the history of the Mennonite people and communities."[12] Furthermore, part of their objective is to obtain family records and since this is where many *child created records* are found these documents are brought in as part of larger family acquisitions. No explicit mention of children is made in their mandate, but still *child created records* exist in the archive because their mandate includes the collection of family records from private donors. The MHA is different, from government or institutional archives where archivists and records managers may not consider *child created records* in the retention schedules and mandates. In this way, understanding family archiving is an important aspect of understanding how *child created records* enter archives.

Historical Context of Mennonite Children in Manitoba

In order to understand the *child created records* in this study, it is important to briefly consider the history of Mennonites in Manitoba at the later part of the nineteenth century. In this section I hope to establish the provenance of these records and clarify why the particular *child created records* in this chapter made it to this archive. I am not doing this to create a historical narrative.

The Mennonite faith developed out of the sixteenth century Anabaptist movement in Europe and was, very generally speaking, founded on pacifism and adult baptism.[13] Many Mennonites lived in Europe and in particular Russia until the later part of the 1870s when some families immigrated to North America. Mennonites fled Russia to escape religious and economic restrictions.[14] The Canadian government encouraged the immigration of skilled farmers, like

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[12] Mennonite Heritage Archives, "About Mennonite Heritage Archives." Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives. http://archives.mennonitechurch.ca/About.

[13] Karen Johnson-Weiner, *Train up a Child Old Order Amish & Mennonite Schools,* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), vii.

[14] Royden Loewen, "Family, Church and Market: A History of a Mennonite Community Transplanted from Russia to Canada and the United States, 1850-1930", Thesis (Ph.D.) (University of Manitoba, Spring 1990., 1990), 109 and Royden Loewen, *Village Among Nations: "Canadian" Mennonites in a Transnational World, 1916-2006, Village Among Nations,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

Mennonite families, to Manitoba in the 1870s.[15] When the Mennonites arrived, the Dominion government signed the *Privilegium* agreement with these communities which detailed that they had control over their own schools and land while remaining pacifists.[16] When Mennonite families reached North America, they attempted to recreate the family and societal structures that they had left behind.[17] My research has shown that understanding the experiences of children requires an understanding of the period in which children were living and the adult concerns and pressures placed on them.[18] These relationships impact archives, as what is valued by the family and community has the best opportunity to be saved and eventually enter archives.

Since many of these records entered the archives as part of family fonds it is important to have a basic understanding of the structure of Mennonite family life in this era. In the nineteenth century, family was one of the central aspects of Mennonite society, as it was essential to religious life and supporting the practical economic needs of community's members.[19] Family relationships were an important part of their community life and they determined the social interactions people had.[20] Furthermore, the late nineteenth century was also a period in which child mortality rates were high and families often could not afford to call doctors.[21] Family life often included the loss of parents and siblings. Additionally, families adopted children and widows often remarried.[22]. The longevity and value of records created by children are affected by this social reality. Social structure and family ties were very significant to the Mennonite way of life and defined the ways in which people lived and the value of the *child created records* created.[23] What records the family kept are connected to the ways in which the Mennonites valued their family bonds and connections to their ancestors.

Furthermore, *child created records* must also be seen within gendered experiences. In their early teens, when boys were finished school, they worked to build practical skills for a job until

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[15] Loewen, "Family, Church and Market," 109.
[16] Loewen, "Family, Church and Market," 117-118 and Dawn S. Bowen, "Resistance, Acquiescence and Accommodation: The Establishment of Public Schools in an Old Colony Mennonite Community in Canada.(Essay)," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 84, no. 4 (2010): 551.
[17] Loewen, "Family, Church and Market," 106.
[18] Often my contextual research is done through secondary sources that use *adult created records*.
[19] Marlene Epp, *Mennonite Women in Canada: A History,* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2011), 60-61.
[20] Epp, *Mennonite Women in Canada,* 61 and Loewen, "Family, Church and Market," 59.
[21] Epp, *Mennonite Women in Canada,* 87-88.
[22] Epp, *Mennonite Women in Canada,* 89.
[23] Loewen, "Family, Church and Market," 136.

they were baptized as members of the Church around twenty-one.[24] Boys in Mennonite communities were also allowed, prior to their full commitment to become members of the Church, a period to discover aspects of the modern world (such as smoking, drinking, cards), but girls often did not do this.[25] Interestingly, many, but not all, of the records that I study in this chapter, with known authors, come from boys and not girls and so the different ways children of each gender were treated should be considered when studying *child created records*.[26]

According to Marlene Epp, Mennonite family life during the end of the nineteenth century was focused on agriculture and production.[27] This focus is reflected in rural themed drawings created by Mennonite children that I have studied below.

Ultimately, this brief discussion of Mennonite history conveys the importance of adults in the lives of children. The *child created records* that have survived to be included in family fonds become a gateway to understanding new things about childhood and families. In fact, the life of these families, full of change and loss in the nineteenth century, may have encouraged families to save mementos of children, but still decisions had to be made for these records to survive. Families must have valued some of the *child created records* and this is where the unique provenance of these types of records becomes apparent.

Family Archiving

The frequency of *child created records* in family collections encouraged me to look into studies of family record keeping practices. I found that contemporary research offered important consideration for how families work with the records of their children and maybe even children generations before their own.

David S. Kirk and Abigail Sellen study the ways in which twenty-first-century families value and disregard objects in their homes. Their study, although not about Mennonite households in particular, offers theories regarding the ways in which records are curated by

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[24] Loewen, "Family, Church and Market," 62-63.

[25] Loewen, "Family, Church and Market 62 and Epp, *Mennonite Women in Canada,* 62.

[26] Gender does play a role in the records that are saved, Alexander, "Can the Girl Guide Speak?" 134. There are examples of records where this is not the case. For example, a collection of sketch books from a middle-class English family in the nineteenth century who came to Canada, The Hallen family fonds, contains many records that show various art forms of various members and children in their family. The sketchbooks showcase records from all of their children's drawing books, including their daughters. An example of this is in the "Sketchbook of Sarah Hallen, "1st Drawing Book.". Mikan 2172131 part of Hallen family sketchbooks," Mikan 2172130, R10700-401-1-E, Gatineau, QC: Library and Archives of Canada. 1824-1835.

[27] Epp, *Mennonite Women in Canada,* 62-63.

families, which is important for understanding why *child created records* do or do not end up in archives.[28] The records in the Mennonite Heritage Archives likely stayed with families for generations before reaching the archives. This is related to how, as Kirk and Sellen describe, sometimes records are kept by a family to help them define themselves as a whole, or as part of an "obligation" to the family's history.[29] The initial reasons (perhaps the child's reasons) to value *child created records* in a family home archive evolve as the records are passed down over generations and as children grow up and are removed from the original provenance of the record (as *grown children*). In this way, how a *child created record* moved from the child's hands and into an archive is connected to family life.

Kirk and Sellen argue that whether an object is kept or not is determined by the varied dynamics of the family's interactions and the ways in which they store items.[30] In the case of Mennonite families, the records studied here should be seen in light of the ways in which children were viewed in the Mennonite faith and the challenging reality of moving from Russia to Manitoba. Rural farm life in Manitoba was not easy. The records I studied in this chapter must have had important sentimental and family meanings in order to be kept by these families throughout their various moves. If they did not become fuel for the fire, they may have fueled something different: a family connection or bond.

Many of the *child created records* found in the Mennonite Heritage Archives were not saved because of the choices of the original children who created them. Rather, the family as a whole valued the records or the *grown child* decided they wanted to keep their old things. This idea can be furthered if one looks at the work of Jennifer Douglas. Douglas argues that collections are often curated and arranged prior to archival acquisition by someone other than the original record creator (a mother, sibling, someone a few generations removed or an unrelated individual) who wanted to formulate a particular image of the original creator.[31] In the case of the Mennonite families, it could be an image of the family as a whole or their faith journeys.

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[28] In this study, the researchers were toured around multiple family homes and shown the valued objects of the family (both digital and analogue). Kirk and Sellen, "On Human Remains," 10:1, 10:4 and 10:8-10:9.

[29] Kirk and Sellen, "On Human Remains," 10:2.

[30] Kirk and Sellen, "On Human Remains," 10:3.

[31] For instance, a parent can change or alter what they want to keep of their child. Douglas shows how this was done by Sylvia Plath's mother, Aurelia Plath, who added evidence of her daughter's childhood to the collections that she donated to Smith College. Aurelia Plath also added annotations and altered the arrangement of the records. This shows that childhood records are not as straight forward as perfect drawings showcasing childhood imaginations. Jennifer Douglas, "Towards More Honest Description," *American Archivist*. 79 no. 1 (2016): 35-36.

Child created records in archives reflect the values of those who curated and selected the records throughout the family's history and not simply the perspectives of the original creator. This should affect how researchers understand *child created records.* It becomes evident that the records' use and conditions evolved over the generations before they enter a formal archive. In this way, the *child created records* that end up in archival collections are probably not a comprehensive sample of the records that initially existed, but a curated sample.

    The records of children are hidden in collections in part because of the nature of family archiving, but this often also includes personal archiving. Douglas argues that to create better archival descriptions one must include information about how other interested parties arranged and saved records.[32] *Child created records* are further complicated by *grown children* themselves. Adults have new perspectives on the records they created when they were younger and this could shape and, in some ways, recreate their collections. Often this is most visible in the juvenilia of famous individuals, but I argue that it likely occurs with many *child created records.* Douglas uses the example of the Margaret Atwood fonds which contains descriptions created by Atwood when she was older to describe the collection she donated.[33] It is hard though to say if Atwood's descriptions of her records are accurate, nostalgic or critical, but she is still shaping her records and, in a sense, shaping her childhood. Curations done by *grown children* is a distinct feature of many *child created records*. If a *grown child* is editing their records, they are arguably not really the same person they were when they created them. This additional curator, the *grown child,* should always be kept in mind when one looks at *child created records* in archives.

    An example, outside of the MHA, that conveys the effects of *grown children* editing and curating *child created records*, is in the work of Margert Avison, a Canadian poet and author, who donated her records to the University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collections in 1990. This collection contains records from Avison's teenage years, but her *child created records* contain annotations which lead one to question if Avison organized and curated her collection before they were donated to the archives.[34] One of her *child created* short stories has a

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[32] Douglas, "Towards more Honest Description," 35-36.

[33] Douglas, "Towards more Honest Description," 44.

[34] There are examples within a scrapbook where marks written in pen indicate when the writing becomes her Mom's writing. This adds the further complication of if her Mom was curating the records, as well, but showcases the evolving relationship that Avison had with the records. "Up to end of High School," Margaret Avison fonds,

blue sticky note attached which contains her adult reflection on her own record. On the note it that says "[h]igh school period—very embarrassing to read after 55 yrs so –also the same old me when young."[35] This physical example of Avison's reflection is a helpful reminder of the role *grown children* play in shaping *child created records*.

Child created records are in sense a nostalgic record of one's childhood, but they still have the unique quality of being created by the hands of a child. If they survive through all of these family and personal curation processes, they are able to tell a unique story of childhood, but often the records look very different than they would when they were first made. Avison's very obvious editorial remarks led me to question how other families and *grown children* might also be doing this, although perhaps silently. In a way, someone cannot read Avison's childhood records without hearing and seeing the voice of *grown* Avison. The notion of *grown children* interacting with their records is something I return to in my third chapter, but it is important to note that existing *child created records* are not free of adult influences and so they, although providing useful insights, cannot be the perfect voice of the child that many researchers wish for.

Recording various kinds of curating practices, as part of what Douglas calls the creation of more "honest description[s]" in archives could be a way to highlight the existence of *child created records* in archives. If the complex and often unique nature of family archiving can be expressed in archival description, it adds contextual information that allows a researcher to better understand the specific *child created records* in a fonds, and how the meanings of the records is shaped by their diverse contexts. Furthermore, the practice of curation, by a family or a *grown child*, also becomes important as archivists turn their attention to the digital age where children curate their own Instagram or other social media accounts while they are still young and then throughout their life. For Mennonite children of the nineteenth century, it is important to note that the records that enter an archive are only a fraction of all the records a child made and so they often are the best (often as decided by adults) or a sample of the work of particular children. This leads to the use of *adult created* and *later recollection* records which is discussed in the next chapters, as not all children's perspectives exist in *child created records*.

MSS 64 A1990-011, box 1 file 1, (Winnipeg, MB, University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collections, 1935-1936).

[35] This was on a short story called "The Kettle." It is not dated, but the file came from 1935-1936. "Up to end of High School," Margaret Avison fonds.

Describing *Child Created Records*

Ultimately, *child created records* exist in a family fonds, though weeded, but they are still difficult to discover in archives. It is important to see how these collections have been affected by the nature of the work of archivists themselves. Douglas claims that archivists tend to have limited discussions about the impact of archivists on a collection.[36] Kristine Alexander, frustrated by her own attempts to find *child created records* in the Girl Guides Archives, claims that "the collections on which … [her] work is based have been—and continue to be –constructed, manipulated and policed."[37] Alexander argues that *child created records* are not often valued or kept in archives because of "existing power relationships."[38] C*hild created records* can be found, but the process of discovering them tends to be unconventional, and may require the help of knowledgeable archivists. The process of finding them may even showcase the power imbalances in and outside of archives. Ultimately if the *child created records* exist, they tend to be hidden sometimes unintentionally by the processing and descriptive work performed by archivists.

If *child created records* remain hidden, even from archivists; they may not receive the preservation care they need. Jan Paris claims that "[m]aterials that libraries and archives have historically undervalued are often the most valuable resources for the study of non-traditional subjects and overlooked groups."[39] Paris further argues that records of men and people in power are normally prioritized for preservation within collections. This means that child created records may have a hard time surviving in collections, as they may not be given enough attention in archival appraisal, arrangement, description and preservation.[40] The records I describe below came to the MHA because of various social and family processes, but in some cases *child created records* may become less significant once they arrive.

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[36] Douglas, "Towards more Honest Description," 40.

[37] Alexander claims that the one staff member who works for the Girl Guides Archive that she uses has "duties include managing the archival collections, regulating access to documents, and working with volunteers." This limited description of what the archivist does and what "managing" looks like lead me to want to further understand this from an archival and not historical point of view. Alexander, "Can the Girl Guide Speak?" 135.

[38] Alexander, "Can the Girl Guide Speak?" 132.

[39] Jan Paris, "Conservation and the Politics of Use and Value in Research Libraries," Presented at the Book & Paper Group Session, AIC 28th Annual Meeting, June 8-13, 2000, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, received for publication Fall 2000).

[40] This is a problem that will become increasingly apparent with the creation of more *child created* born digital records that should be captured earlier in order to be preserved. The question, which I discuss in my third chapter, is if capturing records early is an ethical practice.

I was only able to discover the *child created records* that I used in this chapter with the help of the MHA archivist: Stoesz. *Child created records* are often hidden because archivists normally do not describe archival records at the item level. This means that one *child created* drawing could be hidden in a file full of adult records. Numerous boxes can be described with one paragraph, so the individual records in files remain unknown unless someone was specifically looking for them or they were noticed during the original archival description of the records. Also, there is no element in archival descriptive standards like Rules for Archival Description (RAD) and General International Standard Archival Description (ISAD(G)) to describe the age of a record creator, so if childhood collections are available the researcher has to access them with different search words, or may miss them all together.[41] Given this situation, it appears that asking an archivist for guidance is currently the best method for finding *child created records*.

Going forward, as many archives operate online digital repositories and researchers may not directly speak with an archivist while doing their research, *child created records* may become increasingly hidden.[42] The MHA contains a variety of records from Mennonite communities across Canada. Researchers are likely unable to access children's records on their own because of limitations in descriptions and searching capabilities online. The MHA does not have all of their archival descriptions online and searchable. One can search through finding aids and RAD fonds-level descriptions through the website of the MHA.[43] Even with these descriptions, asking Stoesz was the quickest way for me to find *child created records.*

Discovering *Child Created Records*

In the following section of this paper, I look at types of child created records that I found in the MHA. More records regarding childhood likely exist in this archive, but they were not brought to my attention during my research trips. I look at: Fraktur penmanship art, school books, art work or drawings and scribbles or graffiti on otherwise adult created materials.

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[41] An archivist could choose to note this somewhere in their description, but there is no uniformed way of doing this, so the researcher will still have to rely on the fact that the archivist who described the collection would have been interested on recording children.

[42] David Thomas, "Are Things getting Better or Worse." *The Silence of the Archive.* London: Facet. (2017): 167.

[43] On this website one can search the collections of: people, organizations, congregations, special holdings, other collections, bibliographies and digital archives. This includes links to html RAD descriptions. Mennonite Heritage Archives, "Guide to Archival Holdings," (Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives), http://archives.mennonitechurch.ca/holdings.

Many of the texts I study in the following section were written in German and in a special handwriting script. I decided not to focus on the content and details of the records, as I do not have knowledge of this Low German dialect or this type of handwriting. Instead, I take an archival approach to these *child created records* by examining the histories of the records and less so the stories written on the records. In this way, my study aims to open up these documents to further research by bringing to light the nature of *child created records* in archival settings.

Fraktur Art

An important source of *child created records* can be found in the MHA's collection of Fraktur art. Fraktur is a style of German penmanship that children used in the mid nineteenth century and into the twentieth century to decorate their school work books and sometimes create gifts for their parents.[44] The Johann Wall fonds in the MHA contains examples of Fraktur penmanship. These pieces were mostly created by Johann Wall, his sister Aganetha Wall and his children Helena and Johann Wall Jr.[45] These *child created records* offer a way to understand the complexity of both obtaining and using these records. Wall was born in South Russia in 1850.[46] Interestingly, some of these records were created when Wall was still in school in Neuendorf, Russia (1856-1864).[47] This means that these *child created records* not only survived 160 years (a feat for any records let alone *child created* ones), but they also survived immigration from Russia to Manitoba in 1877.[48] The records must have been highly valued by the Wall family to be taken all the way to Manitoba. This could mean that archives and families are valuing different things.

Kirk and Sellen, in their study of family archiving, argue that families keep records in order to create a sense of kinship and connection to their past.[49] These Wall family records could have been kept over the years because they were seen as important for recording the family's history. Once in the archives they may be, as Paris argues, ignored (though sometimes

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[44] Jake Peters, *Mennonite Private Schools: In Manitoba and Saskatchewan 1874-1925,* (Steinbach, MB: Mennonite Village Museum (Canada) Inc. 1985), 15-16 and T.D. Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970 - Volume 3: A People Transformed*, (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 294.

[45] Mennonite Heritage Archives, "Johann Wall fonds Description," (Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives, 5 October 2018), http://www.mennonitechurch.ca/programs/archives/holdings/papers/Wall,%20Johann%20fonds.htm.

[46] Mennonite Heritage Archives, "Johann Wall fonds Description."

[47] There are a variety of penmanship examples in this collection which range from 1859-1864. Mennonite Heritage Archives, "Johann Wall fonds Description."

[48] This move proved extremely beneficial to Wall. He died very wealthy because of his successful saw mill at the Mennonite West Reserve in Manitoba. Mennonite Heritage Archives, "Johann Wall fonds Description."

[49] Kirk and Sellen, "On Human Remains," 10:20.

unintentionally) or treated differently because of societal perspectives of their value and the tendency of archives to focus on describing adult collections.[50] The fonds level description of this collection (which contains a variety of other records) describes how the whole collection was passed down through generations of the Wall family and were at risk of being lost when the family experienced financial difficulties in the 1930s. The collection was saved by a church deacon named Jacob Rempel who eventually donated them in the 1970s to the MHA.[51]

Alexander observes, in her work on Canadian Girl Guides, how *child created records* are treated like "archival scraps and fragments… that are not seen as important enough to mention in collection descriptions, catalogues and finding aids."[52] In turn, Sánchez-Eppler claims that childhood records simply exist because someone did not throw them out, and so she suggests that they are not part of collection goals, but they accidently end up in archives.[53] Nonetheless, *child created records* do exist and families and archives do value them. The care for these records is seen in the Wall family records. This care is also seen in the juvenilia of famous figures, as discussed above, whose *child created records* were obtained by archivists along with their adult records.[54] One could conclude that in both cases the collections exist because no one "threw them out," as Sánchez-Eppler argues, but I argue that this undermines the many other factors that play into how *child created records* are valued. Though perhaps missing in descriptions *child created records* were hardly seen as scraps by the Wall family.

How can researchers make use of these Fraktur *child created records*? The solution may be that the records' contexts should inform the way archivists describe these records and the way researchers use them. Sánchez-Eppler argues that additional contextual information has to be used to understand *child created records*.[55] This is because the records themselves do not and

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[50] Paris, "Conservation and the Politics of Use and Value in Research Libraries."

[51] This was after the collection was in the hands of the manager of the Wall estate who passed away in 1959. Mennonite Heritage Archives, "Johann Wall fonds Description."

[52] This again showcases Alexander's limited understanding of the nature of RAD and archival descriptions, as *child created records* are hard to record. Alexander, "Can the Girl Guide Speak?," 135.

[53] Karen Sánchez-Eppler, "In the Archives of Childhood," In *The Children's Table: Childhood Studies and the Humanities* ed. by Anna Mae Duane, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press. 2013), 220.

[54] Sometimes the *child created records* of famous young people are sought after and kept by archivists, but they also have to be seen as valuable by people for the years prior to them entering the archive. Douglas, "Towards more Honest Description," 44-45 and Jennifer Douglas, "The archiving "I": a closer look in the archives of writers," *Archivaria* 79 (2015): 57.

[55] Sánchez-Eppler, "How Studying the Old Drawings and Writings of Kids can Change our View of History."

cannot offer the same content as an adult record. Perhaps researchers should remember that it is not the nature of children to record their lives in the fashion that adult researchers desire.

Additionally, Fraktur art's history highlights why children were creating these records and ultimately what shapes their context. Traditionally, Fraktur art was busy work for older children and allowed them to practice this style of German handwriting in the mid through late nineteenth century.[56] Jake Peters describes the types as: decorations for penmanship, writing one's name in their Gesangbuch (hymnal) or Bible, decorations for math books, or for official Fraktur Christmas and New Years greeting cards for children's parents.[57] All of these forms of Fraktur art had different values attached to them and different reasons why the records were kept or destroyed. It is within understanding what these records meant to the children who created them and the adults who had power over them that the nature of record is discovered.

The *child created records* I studied from Wall's fonds are similar to traditional Fraktur art in which children copied well-known stories into booklets as gifts for their family members.[58] For instance, one of Wall's Fraktur art pieces is entitled "Elias Himmelfahrt" (see Images 1-3) which translates to "Elijah's Ascension."[59] It was common for New Year's Eve or Christmas Greetings that were decorated with Fraktur art to contain identical copied poems or bible stories.[60] The text of Wall's books was likely something he copied and did not author. Sánchez-Eppler argues that records created by children are often balanced between "desire or obedience."[61] This means that sometimes a child's perspective is hidden by their obedience to their teacher, guardian or another adult. The fact that these records contain copying raises a question about what can be learned from them, but I argue that it actually supports researchers in learning more about the children. Alexander asks if "obedience… [is] a form of agency? Is it a lesser form of agency?"[62] Perhaps the answer to Alexander's question is that children creating records will always be a mix of their agency and adult influences. This does not discredit the fact that the records were made by children's hands. The creativity and emotion of the child is seen in

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[56] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970,* 294.

[57] Peters, *Mennonite Private Schools: In Manitoba and Saskatchewan 1874-1925,* 16.

[58] Peters, *Mennonite Private Schools: In Manitoba and Saskatchewan 1874-1925,* 15-16.

[59] Johann Wall, "Johann Hall: 1864." Fraktur Art. Johann Wall fonds, 642:1-4,6,7-8. Penmanship and School Work Series, (Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives, 1864).

[60] Peters, *Mennonite Private Schools: In Manitoba and Saskatchewan 1874-1925,* 16.

[61] Sánchez-Eppler, "In the Archives of Childhood," 222.

[62] Alexander, "Agency and Emotion Work," 122-123.

the artwork or colouring of the lettering and not the copied words.[63] This means that *child created records* have to be approached differently than other records. They must be approached in a way that looks at the diverse context and ways in which a child participates in the process of creation.

The context of these records increases what we can know about the records. Interestingly, this style of writing became less popular over the nineteenth century, as John Cornies, a Mennonite leader, encouraged students to focus on essential studies and not this decorative style.[64] Cornies' reforms in the mid-nineteenth century changed the focus of schooling towards moral development and basic literacy while learning how to be part of the Mennonite society.[65] Also, in an emerging commercial society Canadian Mennonites slowly stopped adding as much detail to their books and instead purchased already decorated ones.[66] This means that this art represents a very particular period of change in child rearing for Mennonite children, as Wall's collection comes from after Cornies' reforms. This contextual information enhances what one can learn about the lives of these children. Creating Fraktur art and copying Bible stories was part of the reality of the Wall children's childhoods. Though the content of the writing may not offer any unique insight into the personality of the Wall children, the records do offer valuable insight into the ways in which Mennonite children followed instructions and were creative in their assigned homework.

This collection of Fraktur is very impressive and the Mennonite Heritage Archives is lucky that they were donated as part of the family's collection. These records highlight the impact that family decisions play on the preservation of *child created records*. The records also showcase how archivist have valued these records. Alexander watched Girl Guide volunteer archivists disposed of children's records as unimportant "scraps," but evidently this is not always the case.[67] In fact, I wonder if any archivist would see these beautiful nineteenth records as scraps.

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[63] Peters, *Mennonite Private Schools: In Manitoba and Saskatchewan 1874-1925,* 16.
[64] Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970,* 294 and Loewen, "Family, Church and Market 62.
[65] Loewen, "Family, Church and Market," 62.
[66] Peters, *Mennonite Private Schools: In Manitoba and Saskatchewan 1874-1925,* 16.
[67] Alexander, "Can the Girl Guide Speak? 134-136.

Image 1- Johann Wall, "Johann Hall: 1864." Johann Wall fonds. Penmanship and School Work
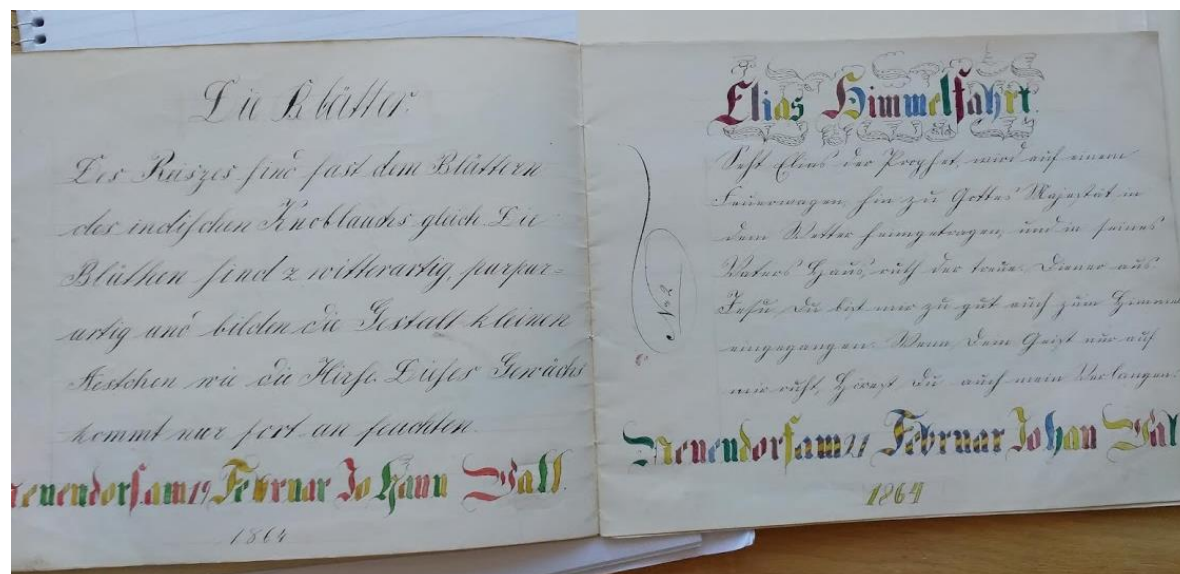Series. Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives. 1864.

Image 2- Johann Wall, "Johann Hall: 1864." Johann Wall fonds. Penmanship and School Work
Series. Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives. 1864.

Image 3- Johann Wall, "Johann Hall: 1864." Johann Wall fonds. Penmanship and School Work Series. Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives. 1863.

School Books

School work is an important source for many *child created records* The MHA has fonds that contain records from various schools. There is one fonds called the United German School of North Kildonan fond, but its description suggests that it contains only *adult created records* about school management.[68] The only school records that I accessed were from family fonds, as often the *child created records* created in school setting seem to have been taken home and cared for by the child and family themselves and not the school. A study of *child created records* that have been maintained in school archives deserves a further study.

The nature of school work though is important to study, as it leads to certain types of records being more likely to have been created and eventually kept by families. For instance, the records of younger school children are harder, if not impossible, to find. This is because younger children at the end of the nineteenth century, according to Peter T. Wiebe, wrote on slates rather

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[68] The fonds includes "minutes, correspondence, annual financial statements, lists of teachers and students, and detailed financial information." Mennonite Heritage Archives, "United German School of North Kildonan," (Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives, 3 August 2012), http://www.mennonitechurch.ca/programs/archives/holdings/organizations/UnitedGermanSchoolfonds.htm.

than note books "because it was seen as an unwarranted waste to let them use paper for their very imperfect writing."[69] The very nature of schools at this time made it impossible to capture the work of younger students. The collection of school work records in this archive represents only a particular aspect of late nineteenth century Manitoba Mennonite children. It appears that often *Child created* school *records* that showcased a child's proficiency and progress in school were saved by families as important reflections of children's growth. [70] Ultimately, order and discipline in school were an important aspect of a child's life and this could be related tos why the math homework that I discuss below were saved by the families.

Furthermore, education was an important aspect of Mennonite life near the end of the nineteenth century, as it was seen as the essential way of passing on skills and religious beliefs to children. Teachers attempted to recreate Mennonite educational experiences from Russia and often were monitored by the church.[71] Schools were made in many communities quickly after the Mennonite families arrived in Canada in the 1870s.[72] It was important for Mennonites to have control over the education of their children at this time.[73] The training of Mennonite children in the late nineteenth century was done in light of their community's set of beliefs and conduct called the *Ordnung*.[74] School work may have been seen as an important representation of their culture and life.

The nature of schooling shapes the ways records are created, today as well as in the nineteenth century. It is important to note, as Sánchez-Eppler argues, that "[w]ithin the institutional structures of school, and indeed of adult and child power imbalances more generally, and even more within institutional structures where it is inevitably adult acts and decisions that preserve child-made things, any claim of agency or assertion of desire just has to be hedged around with mediations."[75] Complications evidently exist in the use of *child created*

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[69] Peter T. Wiebe's recollections reprinted in Peters, *Mennonite Private Schools: In Manitoba and Saskatchewan 1874-1925,* 13.

[70] Sánchez- Eppler, "In the Archives of Childhood," 216.

[71] Loewen, "Family, Church and Market," 144-145.

[72] Sometimes schools were run out of someone's home or sod houses. Peters, *Mennonite Private Schools: In Manitoba and Saskatchewan 1874-1925,* 15-16 and Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970,* 10-11.

[73] John Jacob Bergen, "A Historical Study of Education in the Municipality of Rhineland," Masters Thesis, (Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba. 1959), 1 and Johnson-Weiner, *Train up a Child Old Order Amish & Mennonite Schools,* 1.

[74] Johnson-Weiner, *Train up a Child Old Order Amish & Mennonite Schools,* 3.

[75] Sánchez-Eppler, "In the Archives of Childhood,"222-223.

school *records* to study childhood and this connects to the importance of understanding the records' provenance.

Another example of school work is in the fonds of Jacob F. Ens who grew up in Winkler, Manitoba in the late 1800s and went to school in New Rhineland. His records were received in a donation from his decedents in 2018 and this record set includes many of his school work books.[76] One of these school books contains a "signature" (though the actual creator of this signature is unknown) of a "Jacob Ens" in different handwriting than the rest of the book (see Image 4). Another one of these books, Ens' mathematics booklet, contains lists of questions and Ens' attempted solutions for these questions (see Image 5 and 6).[77] A further study of this source (including a translation) could lead to an understanding of how much detail Ens was putting into his copying and if he was good at math. I am not aiming to understand the particular content of this record, but rather what this record can tell us about these kinds of records in archives.

Image 4- Jacob F. Ens Collection, "Jacob Ens in Reinland…März 12 1885." Accession 2018-041. Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives.

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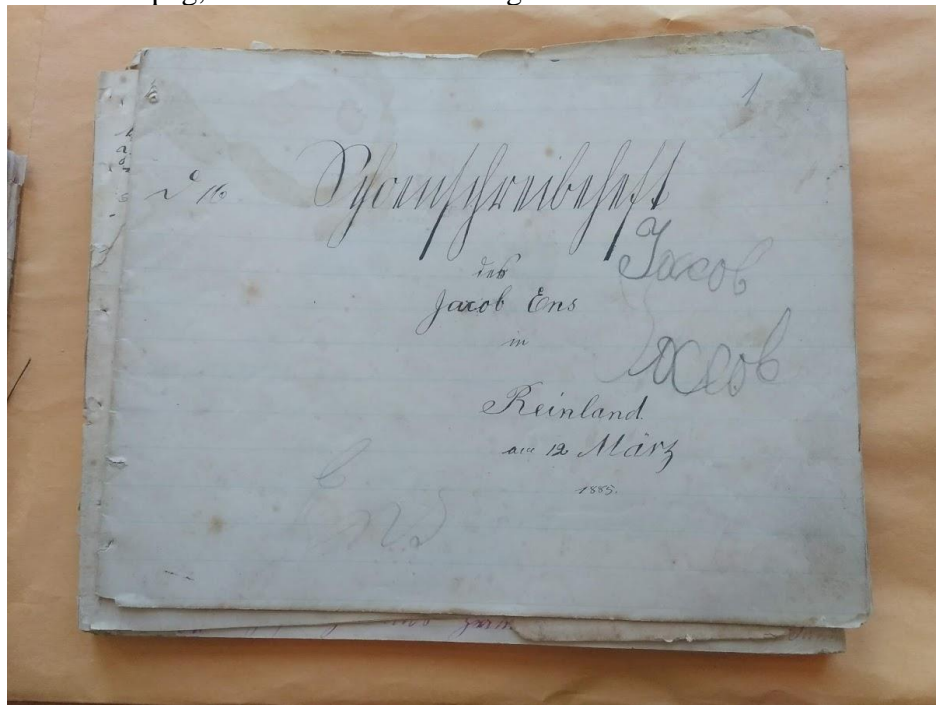
[76] Jacob F. Ens Collection, "Jacob Ens in New Reinland…18 Januar 1892." Accession 2018-041, (Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives). See Image 4.

[77] Jacob F. Ens Collection, "Jacob Ens in Reinland…12 März 1885." Accession 2018-041, (Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives). See Image 5 and 6.

Image 5- Jacob F. Ens Collection, "Jacob Ens in Reinland…12 März 1885." Accession 2018-041. Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives.
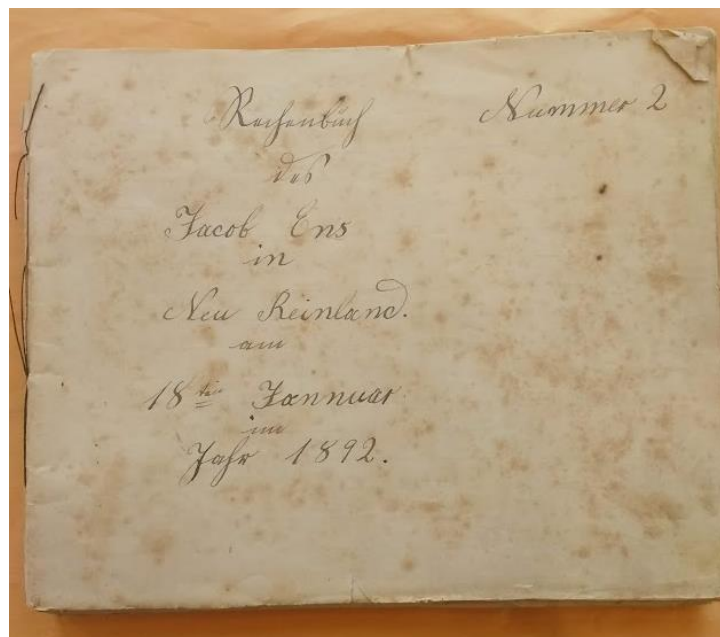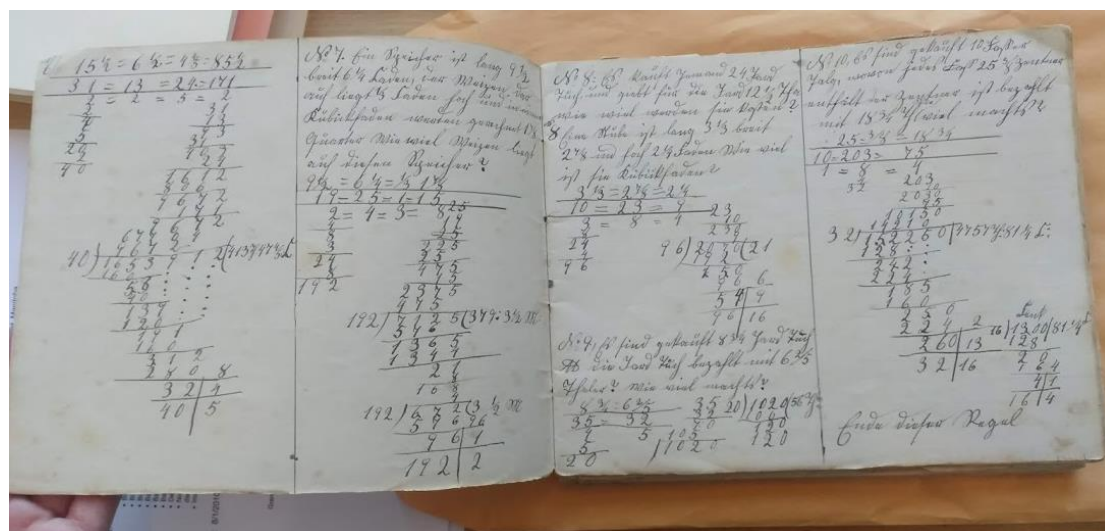

Image 6- Jacob F. Ens Collection, "Jacob Ens in Reinland…12 März 1885." Accession 2018-041. Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives. See Image 5 and 6.

Child created school work, like Ens', showcases the educational process that many western children went through.[78] Although sometimes the child is lost in the adult created process and it may appear that only lesson plans and copying remain, these penmanship and math books are

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[78] Sánchez-Eppler, "In the Archives of Childhood," 223.

still written in a child's hand. These are not the annual reports or teachers planning manuals that were clearly developed by adults to guide children. These are the letters and numbers that Ens wrote as a child. Children, by doing their math homework, are conveying part of the reality of being a Mennonite child in this period. These records say a lot about the social pressures the child was under and can help researchers understand what children's lives would be like.

With this in mind, if researchers are apprehensive about the pressures put on children and the way that affects school created documents, then maybe, as Alexander claims, they should also look for the "emotion work" of children.[79] This is also challenging to capture in the archive. Researchers cannot expect that Mennonite children created pages of writing which give personal accounts or feelings regarding their lives if that was not what was expected of them or seen as important to the adults who influenced them and decided what records of theirs were kept. The records that are left in archives exist because they were continually valued. Decisions to not discard these records had to be made over and over. Perhaps *child created records* had existed that showed more agency or freedom of expression on the child's point of view, but they did not make it to the archive, because they became fuel for the fire or were kept secretly by the children themselves. Just because I did not encounter *child created records* of "emotive work" in this archive does not mean children were silent or that the remaining records have less value.[80]

In today's digital environments, children are creating more records that convey their emotions that are stored on social media accounts or in digital devices (through Word documents, vlogs, photographs, social media postings or other forms of records). This means that in the future, there will be more areas in which *child created records* exist that showcase emotions, but they will be difficult to ethically obtain, due to questions of legal consent and personal privacy. I return to these ethical implications in my third chapter, but it is important to note that how a child conveys their voice in *child created records* related to the opportunities and expectations of the world around them and what the world around them would have valued to keep.

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[79] This focus on "emotive work" was apparently started by sociologist Arlie Russell Hochchild, but Alexander expands on this idea. Alexander, "Agency and Emotion Work," 123.

[80] I found an example of a child's diary at Library and Archives Canada that showed a child's emotions. Alexander and Charles Robertson fonds, MG 24-I193. Mikan 100805, (Ottawa, ON: Library and Archives of Canada, 1846). Found through, Heather Pitcher, "Archives Created By and About Children: Final Report and Findings based upon research and analysis of Library and Archives Canada Collections," (Gatineau, QC: Library and Archives of Canada, 2011).

The Art of Childhood

In contemporary society it may be easy to get caught up in the idea that children simply make too much art. Children today often create a large variety of art work and crafts that may pile up in a child's guardian's closets or on refrigerator doors. Perhaps the quantity has decreased the value of these records in the contemporary public's mind. This has implications for archives. Current perspectives of what these records convey can diminish the value of the childhood art in archives as well as the potential records that archives can receive in the future. Mennonite children's records contain a large variety of art work. Though in searches of contemporary perspectives of children's artwork I questioned the value of these records. In an opinion piece for *The Atlantic,* Mary Townsend offers her perspective on the passing nature of childhood art. She suggests that parents should throw away their children's art. Townsend says:

> Eventually, if you've looked at it often enough, the art becomes pitiful, emptied of meaning. It remains, at best, a sign that the child has moved on to another equally ephemeral moment of her life, already coloring on something else. … Throwing it [childhood art] away actually does everyone a favor. It completes the artistic life cycle, allowing ephemera to be just that: actually ephemeral. Childhood is like that, too—or that's how parents ought to think about it. Kids thrash about until a more recognizable self takes hold. Then they turn their attention toward preserving that developing self. The paperwork they produce along the way is mostly a means to that end.[81]

Townsend's opinion should be concerning for both archivists and historians. While reading it I was surprised by the connections that it had to the language of records managers and in particular the concept of "transitory records."[82] It also mirrors earlier attempts to see childhood as merely a stage in development and not an important period of life.[83] Townsend's view point makes it seem that children's art work can not tell a researcher anything. It brings up the question of whether archivists should be deeming childhood artwork or records as transitory. Are *child created records* really just evidence of the passing phase of childhood that should be thrown out by families before they would even reach the archives?

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[81] Mary Townsend, "Throw Your Children's Art Away: Childhood is short-lived. It's okay if kids' drawings are, too: An Object Lesson," *The Atlantic,* (16 September 2018), https://www.theatlantic.com/family/archive/2018/09/throw-your-childrens-art-away/570379/.

[82] A transitory record is defined by the Society of American Archivists as "a record that has little or no documentary or evidential value and that need not be set aside for future use." Society of American Archivists, *Dictionary of Archival Terminology,* "transitory record," https://dictionary.archivists.org/entry/transitory-record.html.

[83] Anna Mae Duane, "Introduction," *The Children's Table: Childhood Studies and the Humanities*. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2013), 4-5.

Sánchez-Eppler, an American Studies and English Professor, argues that researchers must understand the small nuances and meanings that can come through meaningless scribbles and art.[84] If guardians and parents, like Townsend, are worried about there being too many childhood records and historians like Sánchez-Eppler are arguing for more child created records to be preserved, then archivists are placed in a very difficult position. How will they balance the practical family's trash can with the needs of users of archives? Although Townsend does suggest that a child's guardians should keep records that children decide that they want, it still is an opinion that affects the way all *child created records* are seen.[85] This is arguing for the agency for the child, but what happens to that record three years later when the child is forced to clean out their room again? Will they choose to keep it again? I would imagine that children's decisions regarding their art work would evolve. Should archivists ask Hellen at age five if they can have her art work, or do they wait until she is fifty-five and the art work is likely gone? It appears that there will evidently always be a waiting period between when a *child created record* is made and when it enters the archive.[86] This waiting period is important to remember when studying *child created records* and looking at how to add *child created records* to the archives. Many forms of family, personal and societal curations happen in the period between creation and potential acquisition of *child created records*.

Also, the artwork that I studied from these Mennonite children hardly felt transitory. Perhaps throughout my various difficult hunts for these types of records I also became infatuated with the idea that I was handling rare records.[87] This can be seen in my interactions with one record (Image 7). When I found a water colour painting book in the Johann Wall collection, I

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[84] Sánchez-Eppler, "How Studying the Old Drawings and Writings of Kids can Change our View of History."

[85] Townsend, "Throw Your Children's Art Away."

[86] There are cases where this waiting period could be avoided. This would be when records are collected or donated by a group outside of the family (in a contest or in letters written to a famous individual) when a child is still young. This runs the risk of the records being collected unethically or without a child's consent.

[87] While at the Mennonite Heritage Archives, I was also shown a collection that was currently being processed. "Children's Art – Canada," Dyck Family fonds. (Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives).

The collection contained many *child created records* from the 2000-2010s that were gifts to the donor from their grandchildren. The fact that this grandmother saved these records says a lot about their importance to her even if these children have forgotten about creating the records themselves. Whether these records made it into the permanent collection would depend on the Stoesz's appraisal decisions. Stoesz, Guidance on Childhood Records, (8 February 2018)

noticed how elements of it were seemingly unfinished.[88] The flower remained half painted and my mind was drawn to wonder what made the child artist lose their focus on the drawing. Furthermore, amazingly this unfinished record avoided the fire or garbage and ended up in the archive. Upon reflection, I wonder why I was so excited to see half done work. Perhaps I had drawn too much significance from records that were merely passing thoughts for a child who moved on to new things (like Townsend claims). Ultimately though, I think that these passing moments are worth archiving and that this half-painted flower tells more than half a story. These drawings capture something rare and important about childhood development and the life that the child was enjoying or struggling through. To see these records as transitory, as archivists would see meeting minute drafts or emails regarding lunch, makes it appear as though childhood was merely a draft of someone's later life. This discredits the way childhood occurs, as it is important to capture these "transitory" passing moments. Ultimately, this poses an important difficulty for future record keeping in which archivists simply cannot keep all records and would not receive all records. An acknowledgement of how the curation and culling of *child created records* occurs may humble researchers who gain access to these "rare" records. In fact, the records, in cases where a child was afforded such luxury and during an era where they were allowed to create, were likely once the very opposite of "rare" and were just a portion of other *child created records* that did exist. In fact, the rarest element of these records were not that a child touched the paper, but that an adult or *grown child* touched the paper and decided they should enter the archive and not the trash.

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[88] [Untitled drawing book], "Johann Wall Jr. Penmanship papers and school books." Johann Wall fonds, 642:1-4,6,7-8. Penmanship and School Work Series, (Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives, 1880-1884, 1884-1996).

Image 7 [Untitled drawing book], "Johann Wall Jr. Penmanship papers and school books."
Johann Wall fonds, 642:1-4,6,7-8. Penmanship and School Work Series. Winnipeg, MB:
Mennonite Heritage Archives, 1880-1884, 1884-1996.

Scribbles

Beyond the *child created records* that I mentioned above, there are different ways of
accessing the way children interact with records that may be beneficial for people studying
childhood or trying to find evidence of their relatives in archives. It may be helpful for archivists
to be able to suggest other ways to see evidence of a child's agency. The reality is, as seen in the
collections of Mennonite *child created records*, that childhood is found sometimes in unexpected
ways.[89] Ideally collections based on *child created records* would exist in archives, but it appears
that in the current state of some archives accessing these documents is difficult. Even when there
are not many records fully authored by a child, they are not silent in the archives.

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[89] The scribbles in this collection were brought to my attention by Stoesz who laid out the collections with
various types of scribbles on it prior to my arrival at the MHA. Stoesz, Guidance on Childhood Records, Research
Consultation, (8 February 2018).

The last type of childhood record that I researched for this chapter is graffiti or other scribble like marks created by children on archival documents. This way that children interact with records was brought to my attention by Stoesz while I was at the MHA. These can be referred to as *child created* annotations, as they mirror the annotations of adults on their own records. Although there is no way to guarantee the date of creation or authorship of these types of markings, looking at the possibility of children interacting with records in this fashion opens up a new way to think about archives and childhood.

Archival scholarship regarding the importance of materiality offers insight into *child created* scribbles. Work by scholars such as Geoffrey Yeo, Ala Rekrut and Maryanne Dever show the important contextual information which can be gained through the material nature of records. In these works, the authors aim to understand the seemingly inconsequential physical marks left behind in archives and on records. Materiality focuses on what can be learned from the physicality of a document. These theories are useful to apply to *child created records*. Dever argues that the physical medium of records and marks on paper are often forgotten. Dever

> suggest[s] that more often than not paper remains the 'unnoticed complement to their [researchers'] thoughts.' After all, dominant practices for literary and historical research conducted within archival collections privilege the texts found on documents and pay considerably less heed to the material supports for those words and markings, as though papers and pages can be understood as neutral containers or platforms for the transmission of such texts.[90]

Seeing paper as merely a vehicle for the records' content, I argue, hides the thoughts of children and their interactions in the archives, as marking or scribbles may be disregarded. Comparably, when scribbles or annotations of adults are found on adult records often researchers and archivists pay closer attention. The decreased attention to child created annotations may be connected to ideas about a child's ability to articulate themselves or convey meaning in spontaneous scribble on their parent's work. Archivists have to look beyond content and see how the records were impacted by children's hands. These markings may be incidental scribbles, the kind that end up on important tax papers and are often chastised by adults. The reality is that scribbles can bring to light an aspect of childhood that is perhaps ignored in archives. Stoesz showing the below records to me though indicates that they have been noticed by some

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[90] Maryanne Dever, "Provocations on the Pleasures of Archived Paper." *Archives and Manuscripts*. 41:3 (2013), 176.

archivists. Scribbles become increasingly important as users of archives (particularly families in this community archive) aim to research younger children who may not have written words or drawn conventional artwork. Though these scribbles may not be able to offer a lot of information they showcase the history of the record. They show how children interact with media, which provides important information for people looking into the lives of any children.[91]

A good example of this is in a medical book that belonged to Katharina Thiessen, an important Mennonite midwife and doctor in the late nineteenth century in Manitoba.[92] The book is called the *Kreuter Buch* and was originally published in 1551 as a guide to identifying plants for health purposes.[93] The book was brought from Chortitza Colony to Manitoba in the late 1880s.[94] It is found in Thiessen's fonds at MHA because it was used in her midwifery practice. Within the Thiessen fonds there are a few of her medical books which showcase how Thiessen practiced medicine. The pages contain handwritten notes created by the different owners of the book which offer valuable insight into the ways in which medicine and knowledge of plant use in Manitoba was changing.[95] Within the book though there are red scribbles which Stoesz attributes to children (see Images 8-9). This is an authorship that cannot be confirmed. Throughout the book these scribbles of presumably red crayon and small doodles suggest that someone young was making their mark on these pages, though the child does not sign their name. The fact that it sits along side adult annotation makes an important comparison for how archives and researchers of the history of childhood are paying attention to these scribbles.

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[91] Though I discuss this in terms of physical marks on paper there also could be cases of children in the background of audio or visual records that would likely be treated in a similar fashion.

[92] Mennonite Heritage Archives, "Katharina Thiessen fonds," (Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives, 17 February 2003), http://www.mennonitechurch.ca/programs/archives/holdings/papers/Thiessen,%20Katharina%20fonds.htm.

[93] Paul Dyck and Conrad Stoesz, "In the Garden of the Book: The 1551 *Kreuter Buch* in Katharina Theiessen's Library," *Preservings,* No. 37 (2017), 4.

[94] The book started to be used by the Chortiza Mennonite community in 1833. Dyck and Stoesz, "In the Garden of the Book," 4.

[95] Dyck and Stoesz, "In the Garden of the Book," 5 and *Kreuter Buch*. In Katharina Thiessen fonds, (Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives, 1551).

Image 8 - *Kreuter Buch*. Katharina Thiessen fonds. Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives. 1551.
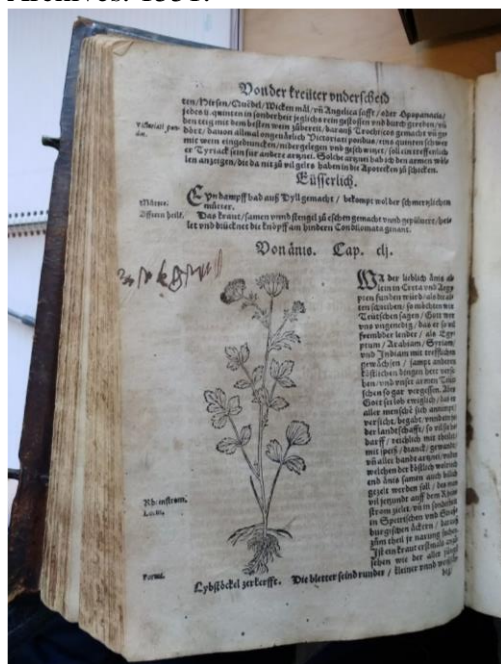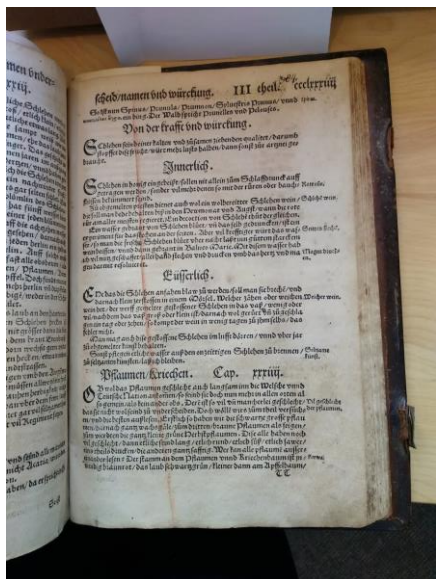

Image 9- *Kreuter Buch*. In Katharina Thiessen fonds. Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives, 1551.

Looking for scribbles from children is something that has been briefly explored by scholars like Sánchez-Eppler and the importance of these scribbles in otherwise *adult created records* is

still something relatively new to consider. [96] Other theories regarding materiality offer insight. Dever discusses the Eve Langley papers as a seemingly messy and unorganized collection. Dever claims that

> it is tempting in the face of reams of scribbled pages, mouldy notebooks and recycled cereal packets, to dismiss this collection as evidence of a mental illness that manifested itself in bouts of compulsive writing or graphomania (followed by uncritical hoarding of the results). But to do so would mean sidestepping the … elements of the historical record that come to us in frankly disorderly states. [97]

To find children in an archive it is important to look at the marks left behind. Perhaps it is in the disorder and graffiti that other stories, childhood stories, are told. To ignore scribbles in some ways hides children in archives. I argue that stories of children doodling on the paper that was available as them as they learned to use writing utensils or explored their guardian's documents are important stories of how families operate and humans learn. To see the scribbles as meaningless doodles ignores the importance of the reality of childhood. A group in society with little voice or recording power has limited means of leaving impressions in the archives. It is within the scribbles that historians and archivists can access the more nuanced aspects of their stories.

MHA also has a collection of journals in the Frank Braun fonds. The fonds has otherwise adult created journals with scribbles from children on them from the 1950s and 1960s. Stoesz believes that these are books that first belonged to children for school exercises, but the author of the journals tore out the school pages and wrote in the remainder of the books in order to make use of the paper. [98] One scribbler, which I have called "1951: Science (Football Player)," contains

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[96] Sánchez-Eppler lists scribbles as one way to access child creations in archives and uses one example of Dolly Cogswell's scribbles in Robinson Crusoe as creating additional piece of meaning on the record. She does not study this from an archival or materiality point of view. The main catalysts for studying records with scribbles on them was through the guidance of Stoesz. Sánchez-Eppler, "How Studying the Old Drawings and Writings of Kids can Change our View of History," and Stoesz, Guidance on Childhood Records, Research Consultation, (8 February 2018).

[97] Dever is also drawing on the work of Amelie Hastie. Eve Langley is an Australian-New Zealand author and poet whose collection was disorderly and required a study of the collection's physical nature to understand it. Dever, "Provocations on the Pleasures of Archived Paper," 178.

[98] Notably, these books are from a different period in Mennonite history and should be seen as having a different provenance than the above records. Again I am studying these records in a non-linear fashion because of how I wanted to narrate this type of record and not this particular childhood. Frank Braun fonds, Accession 2018-004, (Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives) and Stoesz, Guidance on Childhood Records, Research Consultation, (8 February 2018).

the journal of Tina Braun.[99] In this book (Image 10) there are markings that indicate that pages have been removed. This book was likely a reused or repurposed journal. The outside cover indicates the *child created* markings of this scribbler. Children obviously interacted with the book before the content of the journal became important. The graffiti on the football player's legs (a swastika) and face are something that the child may have wished to include. These markings in a way become evidence of the many uses of this book and show how important reusing this paper was to the family.[100] These records seem to indicate the ways in which children interacted with paper and place the child's earlier decisions as an important part of the history of the record.

Image 10- Tina Braun, "1951: Science (Football Player)." Frank Braun fonds, Accession 2018-004. Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives

Another example of using materiality to understand childhood records can be found in the drawing books of Mennonite children. One example is found in the David Stoesz fonds. There is a particular drawing book created by an unknown childhood author in the 1920s. The book has a cover that says and features a "Brown Bear" (see Images 11-13). [101] The book was likely mass produced, but the drawings inside create a distinct story of childhood. One particular drawing is of a cow and it has been scratched and scribbled out. Perhaps, the creator was not happy with

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[99] Tina Braun, "[1951: Science (Football Player)]," Frank Braun fonds, Accession 2018-004, (Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives).

[100] There are multiple other sources like this from this fonds which showcase similar graffiti.

[101] "Brown Bear." David Stoesz fonds. Vol. 5742. Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives, 1920s.

their work, or perhaps someone else had started to doodle in their note book and they scribbled it out. Sánchez-Eppler states that "[e]rrors and alterations are such potent nodes of meaning in children's writing, precisely because they so visibly mark moments of choice."[102] The rest of the pages are full of various scenes of farm life: cows, sledding, men working on tractors, children eating lunches, horses, houses and a variety of animals that Mennonite children were familiar with (Image 9).[103] Dever, though not writing about children, further argues that scholars need to pay attention to the details of physical choices made on physical spaces.[104] These markings are a challenge to archivists whose collections likely have these kinds of hidden records, but their existence is not often recorded.[105]

Image 11- "Brown Bear." David Stoesz fonds. Vol. 5742. Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives. 1920s.

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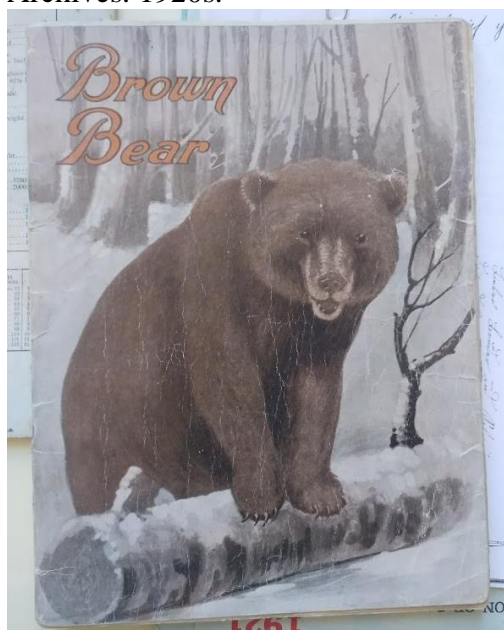
[102] Sánchez-Eppler, "In the Archives of Childhood," 222.

[103] Epp, *Mennonite Women in Canada,* 62-63 and Brown Bear." David Stoesz fonds.

[104] Dever, "Provocations on the Pleasures of Archived Paper," 178 and Ala Rekrut, "Connected Constructions, Constructing Connections: Materiality of Archival Records as Historical Evidence," in *Archival Narratives for Canada: Re-telling Stories in a Changing Landscape*, ed. by Kathleen Garay and Cristl Verduyn, (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2011).

[105] This is something which can be discovered by asking most Canadian archivists. It is something that was also noticed by Sánchez-Eppler, "How Studying the Old Drawings and Writings of Kids can Change our View of History."

Image 12- "Brown Bear." David Stoesz fonds. Vol. 5742. Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives. 1920s.
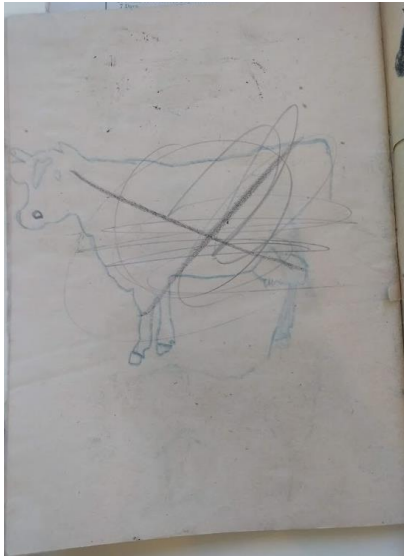

Image 13- "Brown Bear." David Stoesz fonds. Vol. 5742. Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Archives. 1920s.

Kiersten F. Latham argues that "archives are more than just "information" more than just content."[106] This is an important argument for *child created records.* In one of these records, there is a place where perhaps the child has carefully cut out an image from the book. Perhaps the child wanted to glue the drawing somewhere else, or was ashamed by their mistake. Ultimately, material qualities of these records are very important for understanding how children

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[106] Researchers experience the medium in which a record was made and this shapes how they understand the contextual history of the record. Kiersten F. Latham, "Medium Rare: Exploring Archives and Their Conversion from Original to Digital, Part Two: The Holistic Knowledge Arsenal of Paper-based Archives," *LIBRES Library and Information Science Research Electronic Journal*, 21.1 (March 2011), 4.

interact with records. If one was just studying the content of these art books, they would miss the detailed choices made by the child.[107] It is hard to know exactly what is meant by these images, doodles, or scribbles in any of these records, but their placement becomes an important way of accessing the child's inner choices.

Conclusion

Child created records exist in archives. Accessing and using them requires different methods both for researchers and archivists. Changes in archival descriptions and acknowledgement of the reality and impact of personal and family archiving could allow for various records of childhood to be found in archives. It also could provide opportunities to find childhood stories in unexpected scribbles in *adult created records.* The diverse contextual reality of Mennonite families and society has impacted the records that are left behind. Notably, this reality is different throughout cultures because it is reliant on family traditions. This means that accessing childhood and using *child created records* is about knowing the world children belonged to and the way they interacted with different mediums of records. Users of archives and archivists must ask themselves why a child is invisible and what sort of factors created this reality. This makes the hunt for *child created records* in the archives a, perhaps challenging, but very rewarding process. It also makes it so one cannot just end their study of childhood at *child created records.* It is evident that more than just these records should be studied to gain a more complete understanding of childhood. *Adult created records* have to play an important role of describing childhood in times and places where children could not leave their own voices behind. It is also evident that adults play a key role in the curation of *child created records* so much so that it is difficult to accurately and ethically collect the experiences of children without understanding the impact of adults and *adult created records.*

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[107] This is prevalent in examples of where child created records have been digitized, but the focus has been on the nice or put together parts of the book and not the records as a whole physical entity. This is seen in the LAC collection of Hallen family sketch books. An examination of these sketchbooks at the LAC reading room provides the researcher with a different understanding of the records than they would get from the digitized versions alone. Childhood stories, in efforts to create better access, may become less evident. How the child used their sketchbook is lost in the digitization process. Sarah Hallen, "Sketch Book of Sarah Hallen.". Mikan 2172134 part of Hallen family sketchbooks," Mikan 2172130, R10700-401-1-E, Gatineau, QC: Library and Archives of Canada. 1831. Ala Rekrut, "Material Literacy: Reading Records as Material Culture," *Archivaria*, no. 60 (2005): 11-37.

Chapter 2

"To Play the Way their Grandparents did"

Is it possible to understand the street yard games and rhymes of previous generations of children?[1] How do archives capture records of the diverse play and lives of children? Despite the eagerness I experienced studying *child created records* for my first chapter, it quickly became clear to me that c*hild created records* alone do not sufficiently represent all aspects of childhood. This is because *child created records,* like the ones in the Mennonite Heritage Archive (MHA), only represent a fragment of the ways in which children lived. The records that I discussed in chapter one, are an important way to understand childhood while it is happening and from a child's point of view, but these records were still mediated through family and adult archiving practices. On the other hand, archives are full of adult representations and records that discuss aspects of childhood, such as playground development. It is evident that it is often easier to see the rhetoric of those who build playgrounds, the thoughts of adults, than the opinions of children. Ultimately childhood has to be studied with different types of sources, as otherwise a skewed view of childhood is created.[2] Thereby, understanding the use and creation of *adult created records* and how they represent childhood becomes an important part of understanding childhood in archives.[3]

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[1] The title of this chapter "To play like their grandparents did" came from the following article. I return to this article at the end of this chapter when I discuss playgrounds made by the City of Calgary in 2017. "Lawson Foundation gives Calgary $300K to make playgrounds riskier." *Calgary Eyeopener CBC News,* (14 January 2016), https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/lawson-foundation-calgary-unstructured-play-1.3403723. This question is similarly raised by Kristine Alexander when she asks "[h]ow can we understand the thoughts and experiences of young people in the past" Kristine Alexander, "Agency and Emotion Work," *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures.* 7. No. 2 (2015): 120.

[2] For example, I had to contextualize the *child created* drawings of farms that I discussed in my last chapter with additional adult secondary and primary resources regarding farming in Mennonite families. I had to first acknowledge the context of the child's life, as well as the histories of the records' creations and keeping, before I could understand *child created records*.

[3] Joy Parr examines how the understanding of childhood changed when the implications of using documents created by institutions or *adult created records* became apparent. Joy Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924*, (University of Toronto Press, 2000), vii and viii-ix. Kaisa Vehkalahti also explores how institutional documents in Finland. Vehkalahi claims that "while private family archives may offer rich perspectives on the lives of upper- and middle-class children, documents produced by the controlling authorities are often the only routes available to the experiences of children of the poor." She pays particular attention to studying how the formation of social work archives affects the archives that remain. Kaisa Vehkalahti, "Dusting the archives of childhood: child welfare records as historical sources," *History of Education.* 45:4, (2016), 430-431.

To achieve my evaluation of *adult created records,* I first discuss why *child created records* are not enough for studying childhood. Then I clarify how childhood stories can emerge through Eric Ketlaar's idea of "activation." Following that, I provide a brief description of Calgary's history and why the playground movement started to highlight the adult perspectives that initiated playground development. This leads into my discussion of function-based appraisal how governments record their interactions with children and how in turn archives capture this. In my last section, I look at the benefits and strengths that can come from using *adult created records* to understand childhood. This includes a study of how *adult created records* can articulate children's needs and convey information about childhood immediately as it happens. *Adult created records* also often detail children's misbehavior and, in some cases, can accidently capture childhood, particularly in photographs. My final section of this chapter turns to *later recollection*. This showcases how *adult created records* can have limitations and leads into my third and final chapter.

Since writing this chapter, I have been employed by the City of Calgary Archives. The research and records that I discuss in this chapter were gathered during time I spent as a researcher at this archive and do not reflect my role as archivist. I want to emphasize how I interacted as a researcher with these records in order to clarify how records of childhood are accessed from someone not as familiar with the collections. The only section that I changed after the start of my employment in January 2020 was the section where I look at function-based appraisal. This section discusses function-based appraisal in a way that opens the discussion up to government archives in general and not just the City of Calgary Archives. In this sense, I do not look at City of Calgary policies in particular and only make reference to publicly available records. I would also like to point my readers to my footnotes in which I highlight observations and suggestions for further research.

What are *Adult Created Records*?

    Adult created records exist in many mediums and are created by adults while the child is still young. In this chapter, I focus on *adult created records* from the City of Calgary Archives regarding playground development. I use adult created records such as annual reports, newspaper articles, photographs, planning manuals and other related documents. *Adult created records* can also exist as media campaigns, books, meeting minutes or really any other record created by adults to document how childhood is occurring or should be occurring.

Playgrounds, have a broader definition than just physical play structures. Playgrounds can also be defined as something planned, developed or supervised by adults in public spaces to encourage play. Playgrounds can be both physical spaces and programming, but at different times they have included and excluded different elements of play and different groups of children.

"Child" and "childhood" are also terms used differently by government departments over time. In the early years of reform, cities focused on programs for white children or assimilating immigrant children and so the records about playgrounds in the early twentieth century can only be used as a limited representation of some childhoods. Furthermore, children who have identities that do not conform to societal expectations are often more difficult to learn about in these planning documents.[4] Gender roles also affected the ways in which children were treated, as there were different programs for male and female children.[5] Additionally, early playgrounds often included discriminatory racial segregation policies.[6] All of these limitations affect what can be learned from *adult created records.* In this way, when one reads "child" in an *adult created record*, it should be understood that this word includes and excludes certain children. The limitations of the word "child" as well as the word "playground" should be kept in mind throughout this chapter, as this highlights how *adult created records,* arguably like all records, cannot represent all childhoods and are always historically contingent.

<div align="center">

Why *Child Created Records* are not Enough

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As discussed in my first chapter, it is difficult to capture childhood in the sometimes hidden and missing *child created records.* How should users of archives understand this "gap" in *child created records*? I argue that seeing the lack of *child created records* in archives as a "gap" or "silence" is not a helpful way to comprehend how children interact with institutions.[7] It should be remembered, as Rodney G.S. Carter points out, that

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[4] An example of a study done on this topic is Jilian Gill-Peterson, *Histories of the Transgender Child,* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018). The book looks at stories of transgender children throughout the twentieth century through the records adult doctors made about them.

[5] Elizabeth Gagen discusses how young girls would be taught domestic roles. Elizabeth A. Gagen, "An Example to Us All: Child Development and Identity Construction in Early 20th-Century Playgrounds," *Environment And Planning* A 32, no. 4 (April 2000), 610-611.

[6] Neil Sutherland, *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 220.

[7] Studying the history of childhood developed out of other academic trends to study people with little power. Alexander, "Agency and Emotion Work," 122.

> [s]ilence implies voice. It does not equal muteness, that is, it is not a negative phenomenon, simply the absence of sound, speech, text, or other sign. Silence can be actively entered into or, as occurs where the power is exerted over an individual or group, it is enacted upon that individual or group.[8]

To say that *child created records* are often hidden in archives in no way negates the impact that children, from any ethnicity, gender identity, economic status, ability or other defining personal or societal factors have on society. In this way, looking for childhood in the archives may be about understanding these silences. These can be silences in the sense that *child created records* are missing, but they also can be manifested in information contained in *adult created records.*

Different western perspectives of childhood have affected the way children have been written about and recorded by adults. Karen Sánchez-Eppler, an American childhood historian, argues that children in the earlier part of the twentieth century were viewed as "not yet" adult and thereby consciously or unconsciously "not yet" important.[9] How can one expect to find *child created records* from this period, especially when those who create records and the archives that maintain them did not value the opinions of children? Furthermore, how adults talk about children in *adult created records* is also different.

The seemingly hidden quality of *child created records* creates excitement amongst researchers who want to "discover" the child in the archive, but this does not change the fact that many of these records simply do not exist.[10] Many children did not have the ability to record themselves and many were not documented at all or were recorded in ways that did not accurately represent their experiences.

Influential or powerful people in government are often the ones creating records and playgrounds and their records are often what end up in corporate archives.[11] Institutional focuses and control have affected the way many groups are represented in archives. Terry Cook, while

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[8] Rodney G.S. Carter, "Of Things Said and Unsaid: Power, Archival Silences, and Power in Silence," *Archivaria*, no. 61 (March 22, 2006), 219. The following study looks at different racialized programing provided at Toronto playgrounds to encourage nation building. This included minstrel shows. Anne Marie F. Murnaghan, "Exploring Race and Nation in Playground Propaganda in Early Twentieth-Century Toronto," *International Journal of Play* 2, no. 2 (September 1, 2013): 134-136, 142.

[9] This argument was made in light of other historians' work. Karen Sánchez-Eppler, "In the Archives of Childhood," in *The Children's Table: Childhood Studies and the Humanities*, ed. by Anna Mae Duane, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press: 2013), *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, EBSCO*host* (accessed September 17, 2018), 216.

[10] Anne J. Gilliland, "Forward," *The Silence of the Archive,* (London: Facet, 2017), xv.

[11] This is especially true earlier in the nineteenth century when many Canadians did not have the chance to record themselves would for financial, cultural or other reasons. Simon Fowler, "Enforced Silences," *The Silence of the Archive,* (London: Facet, 2017), 17.

discussing changing archival methods at an international conference entitled "Myth-Breaking and Myth-Making in History and Humanities" listed new groups being studied in archives. He claims that

> influences of race, ethnicity, class, gender, and sexual orientation make their varying impacts felt, related groups in society shape their identities anew, seeking in the memory of past triumphs or abuses, traumas or achievements, very powerful ammunition to justify and strengthen their identity formulation, and re-formulation, to serve the needs of the present.[12]

Groups who have been left out of larger archives have worked together to create community-based archives.[13] Children, while they are still young, do not have the opportunity or ability to create community archives. It is ethically problematic to have an eight-year-old, who still needs their guardian's permission to have their photographs taken at school, decide to share their life in archives. Furthermore, children likely do not understand the implications of donating their records. This creates a dilemma for maintaining *child created records*. Childhood, at least while the child is young, will often be mediated through adults. This can be through the curation process (discussed in chapter one), or through *adult created records*. Methods of appraisal in institutional archives may, likely unintentionally, only capture adult perspectives, unless a researcher discovers the ways in which children influence *adult created records.*

The Child in the *Adult Created Record*- the Personal in the Impersonal

Before I unpack my case study and the ways in which *adult created records* are useful or limiting, it is important to understand that how *adult created records* are used greatly changes the stories that emerge and thus how visible childhood is. Every type of record that I use in this chapter may come from adults, but they showcase childhood because users, including myself, have looked into the context of the record's creation and brought forth childhood stories despite restrictions. My hope is that these showcase how departmental records regarding the playground movement in Calgary can also detail the personal life of a child to researchers.

People use institutional playground records in many ways: commemoration, genealogy or other personal studies. The records of playgrounds could also be useful teaching tools for students regarding the lives of children before them or by social workers to understand changing

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[12] Terry Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms," *Archival Science* 13, no. 2 (2013): 96.

[13] Fowler, "Enforced Silences,".18-19

child care policies. City planners can use these records to develop or remodel playgrounds. Many of these uses revolve around adult projects and research and they often focus on how children were perceived in *adult created records*. Since *adult created records* are an important aspect of the study of childhood and current programing (such as education and playground remodels), I argue that it is important for researchers to understand the nuisances of using *adult created records* and how they shape and define the study of childhood and individual children's lives.

Jennifer Douglas and Allison Mills offer an important commentary on the ways in which personal stories can be found in institutional records.[14] Douglas and Mills argue that "[w]hether a record is experienced as personal or not is less likely to be determined by who made the record or who preserved it, than by how it is activated."[15] The level of information that an *adult created record* conveys about childhood may be thought of similarly, as *adult created records* can also bring out important information about childhood, if that information is brought forward by the researcher. For Douglas and Mills a record can be institutional in provenance and creation, but be used to understand something personal: the *"personal-in-the-institutional."*[16] For instance, Douglas conducts an autoethnographic study of the hospital records created when her daughter died. Douglas describes how the medical documents regarding her daughter's death brought back emotional pain and connections to the event even though they were written in medical jargon.[17] Douglas found a personal story of her daughter's life in these *adult created*, and seemingly impersonal, medical records.

Understanding how records are used and activated is related to archival reference services in which an archivist guides a researcher to the records that will best help them. Reference archivists are faced with many unique requests and they can sometimes gain many personal stories and connections while doing this work. Sometimes researchers decide to share their personal experiences with archivists. I argue that it would be clear to many archivists that

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[14] Jennifer Douglas and Allison Mills, "From the Sidelines to the Center: Reconsidering the Potential of the Personal in Archives," *Archival Science* 18, no. 3 (September 2018): 257.

[15] In this passage they are using the term "activated" to mean how something has been used or worked with. They state that they are using this term as Eric Ketelaar did. Douglas and Mills, "From the Sidelines to the Center," 258. Eric Ketelaar, "Tacit Narratives: The Meanings of Archives," *Archival Science* 1, no. 2 (June 2001): 137.

[16] A *grown child* finding their personal story in the records of an institution has become important in the cases of children in care facilities in Australia. I discuss the importance of "care leavers" and the way they use *adult created records* in my last chapter. Douglas and Mills, "From the Sidelines to the Center," 261.

[17] Douglas and Mills, "From the Sidelines to the Center," 267.

seemingly mundane records can be meaningful to the right person. I argue that this should be kept in mind when thinking about how *adult created records* record childhood.

Adult created records are impacted by the "activation" of the user. Ketelaar says that "[e]very interaction, intervention, interrogation, and interpretation by creator, user, and archivist is an activation of the record. The archive is an infinite activation of the record."[18] In this way, the records at the City of Calgary Archives can always be open for new interpretations in which users find new meanings and new childhood stories.

An example of the "activation" of childhood stories can be found in the City of Calgary's Parks Cemeteries and Playground Department's "1950s Annual Report." This report contains details of accidents that happened on a city playground. [19] One of these accidents was the near strangulation of a child on part of an abandoned carnival ride that was reengineered to work mechanically by teenagers in South Calgary Park.[20] The report details how a young boy and girl were playing with this carnival equipment and a piece came crashing down and choked the boy who was quickly saved by Parks Department staff. This incident was listed as a maintenance issue in the "Annual Report." It is followed by recommendations for restrictions on future carnivals in city parks. The family of the young boy, or the boy himself as a *grown child,* could request this "Annual Report" and gain information about a potentially traumatic life moment, but it could also be seen as technical detail for a researcher looking at how the city has implemented new safety rules in city parks.[21] The record is both a record of childhood and a record of municipal development. The difference comes with, as Ketelaar identifies, "activation" and ways users highlight different stories and voices where it may seem like only adult narratives are told. "Activation" is an important aspect of the study of childhood and can be seen in many of the examples I use below.

The Setting: Calgary and its Parks

A brief explanation of Calgary's history provides important background information for the *adult created records* that I study in the rest of this chapter. Calgary was built on what would

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[18] Ketelaar, "Tacit Narratives: The Meanings of Archives." 137.

[19] City of Calgary's Parks Cemeteries and Playground Department, "Annual Report 1950," Parks and Recreation fonds, (Calgary, AB: City of Calgary Archives), 1950), 35-36.

[20] City of Calgary's Parks Cemeteries and Playground Department, "Annual Report 1950," 35-36.

[21] The boy does remain nameless in the report and so finding this record would be difficult for the family. This highlights the ways in which children's voices can be silenced by archival descriptive practices, as Rules for Archival Descriptions (RAD) would not record this level of detail.

become Treaty 7 land and the land has a history much older than Fort Calgary that was eventually built on the intersection of the Bow and Elbow Rivers by the North West Mounted Police in 1875. Treaty 7 was originally signed by the Siksika (Blackfoot), Kainai (Blood), Piikani (Peigan), Stoney-Nakoda, and Tsuut'ina (Sarcee).[22] After 1875, Calgary grew physically and in perceived importance throughout the nineteenth century, as it became a city of transportation and trade, especially when the railway reached Calgary in 1883 and throughout various oil booms in the twentieth century. Park and playground creations developed from the idea that Calgarians needed a natural place to escape to in an increasingly urban area.[23] Early city beautification and planning focused more on adult pastoral escapes in the city and less on the needs of children.[24]

As the city grew, ideas about the importance of childhood changed along with the landscape of the city. Changing concepts of childhood may have been informed, in part, by national and international concerns for children which were manifested in playground movements across North America. This is highlighted in adult programs that aimed to shape childhood experiences. For instance, in 1909 City Council created the Parks Commission and eventually the Special Committee for Parks and Playgrounds was made.[25] St. George's Island became the first playground in 1909.[26] The push for playground creation came from wider ideological campaigns. A Toronto social reformer, J.J. Kelso, spoke in 1909 in Calgary about playgrounds.[27] The people advocating for playground development in Calgary were influenced by one of the biggest leaders of the movement in Canada and North America and by adult ideas about what children need and what childhood should look like.[28] The use and perceived need for

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[22] Beverly A. Sandalack and Andrei Nicolai, *The Calgary Project: Urban Form/ Urban Life,* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2006), 5-6.

[23] City of Calgary, *Calgary Celebrating 100 Years of Parks: From the Ground Up,* (2010), 20 and 23, http://www.calgary.ca/csps/parks/documents/history/parks-100-book.pdf?noredirect=1.

[24] An example of this is the work of G. Stanley Hall who discussed children in an evolutionary fashion. Gagen, "An Example to Us All," 604.

[25] The Men's Educational Club, the Board of Trade and the Children's Aid Society were active at the beginning of this movement. Markham attributes some of these efforts as aims for Calgary boosterism. Susan Evelyn Markham, "The Development of Parks and Playgrounds in Selected Canadian Prairie Cities 1880-1930," PhD Thesis, (Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta, Education Research Archive,1988), 134-135 and 160.

[26] City of Calgary. *Calgary Celebrating 100 Years of Parks,* 40.

[27] Markham, "The Development of Parks and Playgrounds in Selected Canadian Prairie Cities," 134.

[28] Elsie Marie McFarland, *The Development of Public Recreation in Canada,* (Vanier, ON: Canadian Parks-Recreation Association, 1970), 37.

playgrounds changed over time, but they initially developed around a focus on the importance of play during childhood.

Playgrounds originated as part of the progressive reform movement in North America at the start of the twentieth century. Progressive urban reformers wanted to fix the social ailments of urban city environments and the general "sorry condition of cities" across North America.[29] In the United States, this focus on reforming was prompted by the increased number of immigrants in crowded cities in the 1870-1890s who, reformers believed, required training on how to be American.[30] Reformers generally saw the playground as a place for healthy expressions of play which kept children away from delinquent activity.[31] Reformers thought children expressed themselves best in physical activities and so adults were focused on what children were doing and not their opinions, expressions or personality.[32] Early playground movements focused on adult understandings of what children needed. Reformers saw children as products of their environment and not as individuals who could make choices on their own.[33] Records of playground development show adult expectations and the limitations of childhood studies.

The Function of Childhood

To understand how Calgary records childhood, one must know what sort of records the City of Calgary Archives aims to collect (through appraisal decisions). This is best done by understanding their mandate and general record management practices of Canadian governments. Perhaps unsurprisingly, government departments deal with children very differently than families do and so the records that arrive at the archives often show a different side of childhood than the ones I studied in my first chapter.[34] The City of Calgary Archives' mandate is:

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[29] Markham, "The Development of Parks and Playgrounds in Selected Canadian Prairie Cities," 212.

[30] Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1978), 121-122.

[31] Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America,* 245 and 248.

[32] Gagen,"An Example to Us All," 600.

[33] Gagen,"An Example to Us All," 600.

[34] This statement is made knowing that the City of Calgary does receive a variety of donations and even government records transfers from departments that may contain archival records from families. A good example of this would be a collection that came in from the City of Calgary Parks Department which includes family photographs of George Pickering's family who operated the Inglewood Bird Sanctuary in Calgary. This initially started off as a project of the Colonel James Walker family and in 1970 the Sanctuary was transferred to the city. Early records of the Sanctuary contain family photographs. "Bird Binder C: Inglewood Bird Sanctuary." 1926-1940, Parks and Recreation Department fonds, Series 3, SS III, Accession 2020-004, (Calgary, AB: City of Calgary Archives).

to identify, acquire, preserve, and make accessible, archival material in the form of civic and private records, which document the structure, functions, activities, and history of The Corporation of the City of Calgary and its predecessors. The primary focus of the Archives' acquisition guideline is the preservation and accessibility of The City's archival records. Archival records are those selected for permanent retention through the archival appraisal process.[35]

This archive collects records that relate to the functions of the city and were produced, most often, by city departments or officials. It also acquires external donations from groups or individuals related to the city's history, but I focus on government records alone in order to highlight how many Canadian government archives capture childhood differently.[36] The difficulty with using records from a government department is that archives and records management schedules often use function-based appraisal methods, such as macroappraisal, to decide what records enter their archives. The City of Calgary uses a records schedule and classification system to manage records created by the City based on the functions of city departments before they enter the Archives. [37] In this section, I do not focus on the City of Calgary's classification system specifically, but rather macroappraisal methods as a whole.

Macroappraisal is a method in which an archive focuses on documenting the functions and activities of the departments within their structure and interactions with society. Cook's concept of macroappraisal was that archives should "assess the societal value of both the functional-structural context and work-place culture in which the records are created and used by their creator(s), and the interrelationship of citizens, groups, organizations – ''the public'' –with that functional-structural context."[38] For governments this sometimes means that departments, like Parks and Recreation, create records that document their activities and the archivists chose to the keep records, based on record classification codes, that best represent the department's functions.

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[35] "Records management and collecting policies," City of Calgary Archives Institutional Profile, *Alberta on Record,* https://albertaonrecord.ca/city-of-calgary-corporate-records-archives.

[36] In the chapter I also used the Glenbow Archives, but this was due to the availability of playground photographs when I was initially researching for this chapter. Glenbow, "Archives," 2019, https://www.glenbow.org/collections/archives/ and University of Calgary, "University of Calgary and Glenbow announce historic initiative," (15 November 2018), https://www.ucalgary.ca/news/university-calgary-and-glenbow-announce-historic-initiative.

[37] The City of Calgary's corporate records management includes a records retention schedule called the "Corporate Records Classification and Retention Schedule." This classification system looks at the functions and activities of city departments and sets the life cycle of the rest of the records. "Citizen and Corporate Services," Calgary, AB: City of Calgary. https://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Administration-services/AdministrationServices.aspx.

[38] Terry Cook, "Macroappraisal in Theory and Practice: Origins, Characteristics, and Implementation in Canada, 1950–2000," *Archival Science* 5, no. 2 (2005): 101.

This appraisal method makes it difficult to collect records, *adult created* or *child created,* that convey childhood in a way that is not influenced by adult perspectives. Although some Parks and Recreation department functions address the needs of children (for instance, recreation programs provide healthy exercise and playgrounds provide safe places to play), children are not employed by the city and they often do not have enough power over society to shape these functions as part of official citizen-state interactions.[39] The municipality may not focus on the intentions or thoughts of children, but they would provide a variety of services for them (from playgrounds to protective and educational services). Raising children, or childhood itself, likewise, is not a function of the government. Childhood includes more than just these structured activities that the department would run. This information should change the way in which *adult created records* are used and the ways in which one thinks about the apparent "silence" of children in government archives.

How does functional appraisal collect the dynamic reality of childhood, which is lived out and recorded more in people's private life? Archivists have debated the practicality of functional appraisal for the collection of private records. Sue McKemmish claims that

> Archivists can analyse what is happening in personal recordkeeping in much the same way as they analyse corporate record keeping. Just as they can identify significant business functions and activities and specify what records are captured as evidence of those activities, so they can analyse socially assigned roles and related activities and draw conclusions about what records individuals in their personal capacity capture as evidence of these roles and activities - 'evidence of *me.*'[40]

McKemmish's point has led me to many more questions. Is there a way to record the "socially assigned" roles of child? What is the function of being a child and can we create one sort of record set that will accurately describe all of the unique aspects of childhood? At any rate, records of the city are not mandated to focus on creating "evidence of me," but rather document the actions of the city and this changes what is available.

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[39] It is important to note that before a record enters the appraisal process it is affected by the ways in which the agency that created the document recorded children. For instance, Vehkalahti discusses the many ways in which social workers may have been trained to record children and how that affects the types of documents created. This may also be the case for children in playground programs who would be recorded in particular bureaucratic fashions by adult city record creators. To fully understand the records then one almost needs to fully understand the corporate structure of the City of Calgary. Vehkalahti, "Dusting the archives of childhood," 431.

[40] Sue McKemmish, "Evidence of 'Me," *Archives and Manuscripts: The Journal of the Australian Society of Archivists,* vol. 24, no. 1 (May 1996): 30.

Verne Harris, in his response to McKemmish's article, questions the practice of applying function-based appraisal to one's personal life. He argues that function-based appraisal leads to collections that mostly contain records that are from the people in power which are representations of the stories of others.[41] It may be difficult to record the functions of childhood, as this may always lead to mostly *adult created records* being saved. Functional appraisal, in the case of the City of Calgary's records, is not being used in the way McKemmish argues, but maybe it is not as ineffective as Harris implies either. It could provide records that would highlight important contextual information about the factors that influence children's lives. It would collect important records about the pressure children were under and the support they were offered. The focus of the City of Calgary Archives is to capture the activities of government departments: playground programing, recreation developments and other city events and not childhood. In this process, it can appear that children are invisible, but children's stories can be, though perhaps unconventionally, accessed in these municipal documents. This knowledge of the limitations of government archives should empower users of archives to look for new ways to use records. These unconventional, as Ketelaar would call in, "activations" of childhood stories could be done using the methods that I describe in the next section.

With all of the strengths and limitations of function-based appraisal in mind, there still is perhaps room for a more diverse understanding of childhood to be collected. Contemporary children have their own photographs and records collections on Snapchat, Instagram, blogs, fanfiction websites, TikTok and other social media platforms. Since the City of Calgary focuses on collecting records from city departments and closely related private records, should contemporary *child created* social media post regarding playgrounds be something that the city needs to look into collecting as private records? Perhaps there needs to be a switch to Helen Samuel's important acknowledgement "that both official and non-official materials are required

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[41] Verne Harris, "On the Back of a Tiger: Deconstructive Possibilities in 'Evidence of Me'" *Archives and Manuscripts.* Vol. 29: 1 (2000).

This was the case for the records I studied about playgrounds for this chapter. Frank Upward and McKemmish, both Australians who work within the theories of the record continuum, in a reply to Harris' response note that records can change and have evolving meanings as they are used in new ways. In this sense, institutional records can have new meanings when they are "activated" and used by communities. This occurs in the various uses of the *adult created records* that I have discussed throughout this chapter. New uses of *adult created records* though do not replace that *child created records* will be missing because childhood is not a function of governments. Frank Upward and Sue McKemmish, "In search of the lost tiger, by way of Sainte-Beuve: re-constructing the possibilities in 'Evidence of Me'. [Response to Harris, Verne. On the Back of a Tiger: Deconstructive Possibilities in 'Evidence of Me']," *Archives and Manuscripts*, v.29, no.1, May 2001, pp.8-21.

to achieve an adequate archive."[42] I argue that this is complicated for children, as the ethics of capturing these records makes this challenging, if not impossible. Understanding childhood in municipalities is less about complaining about why *child created records* are not available and more about researchers looking at various record types along with understanding the way records management works within each unique government and time period.

I would though like to point out that even if children's perspectives are hard to capture with functional appraisal they are not as invisible in this process as my above discussion may lead one to believe. Aspects of macroappraisal have attempted to allow for various perspectives to influence the records that end up in archives. Cook argued that to combat the institutional focus of records, appraisal policies should aim to capture "hot spots." "Hot spots" are points of citizen engagement with institutions in which society pushes back against the work of the government (an example would be addresses to Council or writing letters to a Councillor).[43] Children seemingly may not have enough say in society to influence governments or create these "hot spots."[44] This has been proven wrong in contemporary climate change movements in which children like 16 year old Greta Thunberg are influencing children around the world to make climate change a priority for their governments through speeches, protests and campaigns. Even Thunberg herself acknowledges that her power is very limited and, as an archivist, I question what kind of records are being created during these climate strikes that will end up in government archives, but this still does not negate that children are putting pressure on governments.[45] This interaction highlights how there are ways for children to interact with their government and that archivists should aim to understand how to capture children's efforts.

A good example of how function-based appraisal of governments captures childhood can be seen in the City of Calgary Playground supervisors' manual from 1970. This manual

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[42] Helen Samuels, *Varsity Letters,* (Chicago, IL: SAA. 1992), 7.

[43] Cook, "Macroappraisal in Theory and Practice," 130 and 133.

[44] Justin Rowlatt, "Climate Change Action: We can't all be Greta, but your Choices have a Ripple Effect," *BBC News,* (20 September 2019), https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-49756280?utm

[45] Thunberg says that "[m]any people listen to what I have to say and I appear a lot in media so therefore I influence a lot of people and therefore I have a bigger responsibility because I have a bigger platform." Rowlatt, "Climate Change Action: We can't all be Greta." There are records that would enter collection collections inside of incoming correspondence, especially for important individuals in government, like Mayors. It appears to be easier to find these kinds of records in collections further into the twentieth century. For instance, I found a record from a child to Mayor Sykes in 1975 regarding Calgary's Centennial celebrations.

Mayor Sykes fonds. "Letter from Richard E. O'Flaherty to Mayor Rod Sykes." Century Calgary file 522, box 18, (Calgary, AB: City of Calgary Archives, 1975).

showcases both why *child created records* would likely not be in archives and the context for the function of the Parks and Recreation department in the 1970s. In the 1970s Parks and Recreation Department's "Reports Summer Playground Manual," the city outlines for its staff how youth should be treated during summer playground programs. These were playground programs that ran supervised summer activities for Calgary's school-aged youth. The manuals were used to guide everything from first aid and discipline to descriptions of games and rules.[46] Ultimately, this is an *adult created* administrative record.[47]

The report outlines what administrators in 1970 Calgary thought childhood play should look like. The "Summer Playground Manual" states that the playground program was meant "to encourage and guide the development of the children's character, social attitude, health and [so] happiness…[was] the primary concern of our program."[48] This goal of happiness is connected to how in the 1970s, in western cultures, there was an increased focus on the individual needs and joy of children.[49] It was starting to become common to look at children as actors in society and not just objects to be molded.[50] The function of this 1970 programing was to create happiness for children while promoting good social values. This *adult created record* ended up in the archive to record the function of that program.

These summer playground programs would have produced *child created records,* but those records do not end up in the archive. The manual, claimed that "[t]here should be space [on playground bulletin boards] for presenting the ideas children may bring to the leader for nature handicrafts or other projects."[51] The administrators asked for *child created records* and children's opinions to directly affect the way the program operated (in an almost Cook-style "hot spot"). Interestingly, the handicrafts or *child created records* that

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[46] Parks and Recreation Department City of Calgary, "Reports Summer Playground Manual (Green)," Parks and Recreation Department fonds, Series 5 Box 6, (Calgary, AB: City of Calgary Archives, 1970), and Parks and Recreation Department City of Calgary, "Summer Playground Manual (Grey)" Parks and Recreation Department fonds, Series 5 Box 6, (Calgary, AB: City of Calgary Archives, 1970).

[47] It is important though to acknowledge that these programs were limited in their outreach and many children still did not have access to them. Also, it is likely that these manuals were created to be used by young, if not teenaged staff, which adds another layer of how the record conveys childhood.

[48] Parks and Recreation Department City of Calgary, "Summer Playground Manual (Grey)" 1.

[49] Robert M. Stamp, *Suburban Modern: Postwar Dreams in Calgary*. Calgary, AB: TouchWoods Editions Ltd. 2004),156.

[50] It is important to note that children were being thought of differently at this period by society at large. This can be seen in the UN declarations that would emerge not to long after this. Gagen,"An Example to Us All," 600 and United Nations Human Rights, *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, (20 November 1989), http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx.

[51] Parks and Recreation Department City of Calgary, "Summer Playground Manual (Grey)" 16.

were to be placed on the bulletin boards do not exist at the City of Calgary Archives. This is because the camps existed to entertain and supervise children and not to collect handicrafts. The child could have taken the craft home or it could have been disposed of, but evidently, they were not seen as essential to the function of the department.[52] The lack of *child created records* does not mean that the children were silent partakers in these camps. In fact, the *adult created records* leads one to believe the very opposite: children were shaping the programing. *Adult created records* must be understood within the limitations of the appraisals of government archives, but also within the understanding of how the departments operated and developed their activities. Many aspects of childhood may not be captured in the archives, but that does not mean children were invisible or not creating records at all. It merely means that their opinions have to be discovered in alternative ways.

Methods for Using *Adult Created Records*

A useful way of understanding *adult created records* in archives is in a study of the strengths of these records in relation to childhood studies. In this next section, I discuss how children can be visible in the City of Calgary Archives in *adult created records* despite the limitations of the adult gaze. I aim to showcase examples of how *adult created records* can help researchers access and "activate" childhood stories. In this section I look at methods of using *adult created records* to: articulate children's perspectives in reference to adult pressures, look at childhood while it is occurring, document children's decisions to misbehave and showcase how childhood is accidently and unintentionally recorded in documents.

Articulating Children's Needs and Adult Pressures

The first method for using *adult created records* is to understand the view points of children in particular periods where they may not have had the capability to convey them themselves. Often this is done by showcasing children through the lens of what adults thought they needed. Sutherland claims that sometimes *grown children* are better able to articulate their emotions and feelings than children themselves who may have limited vocabulary and a

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[52] They also would have required consent to collect. Also, the archivists at the City of Calgary Archives did not seem to think there were *child created records* regarding playgrounds or playground programs, so under initial search they do not exist. Small samples of these types of records could exist somewhere in the collection.

restricted understanding of their particular life circumstances.[53] I discuss the implications of this statement in relation to *later recollections* in my third chapter, but this leads to other questions in the case of municipal records in which children, as individuals with limited power in society, have little say in what records are created about them. Sutherland's argument would mean that if someone asked a child if they felt safe playing in their neighbourhood, they might not be able to articulate how they felt or what would make their playground safe without adult guidance. This is not likely though, as anyone who has been around children would know that they often have opinions regarding what equipment they would like to play with and if a slide was scary or fun. This is because the equipment would affect their play time and thus their lives. The bigger question should be how are children's perspectives recorded and not whether a child can articulate these thoughts.

The reality is that in many periods, the opinions of children were not valued in a way that contemporary researchers may value the archival "scraps" of *child created records* that they find. Often in Canadian western society even if children did articulate their opinions, those perspectives were often not valued let alone written down.[54] The perceived ability of a Canadian child to articulate these opinions changes over time and this is seen in international Declarations on the rights and abilities of children. [55] This means that in certain periods *adult created records* may be the only records available to convey what childhood looked like and in some cases what children desired. *Adult created records* can provide important records of details that may have been otherwise not captured.

A record from a doctor in Calgary in 1919 conveys how adults spoke for the needs and desires of children. Early playground ideologies were conjoined with notions of the nature of the child's body. Dr. C.S. Mahood claimed that "[c]hildren in order to be healthy must be active. Fortunately, nature has made them that way… [c]hildren must play or they will deteriorate in both body and mind… [o]pen air games have high hygienic value, as they develop heart, lungs

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[53] Sutherland claims that many children struggle to vocalize or write down their true emotions and may actually hide them. Neil Sutherland, "When You Listen to the Winds of Childhood, How Much Can You Believe?" *Curriculum Inquiry* 22, no. 3 (1992), 244.

[54] Vehkalahti, "Dusting the archives of childhood," 440.

[55] The United Nation's *Convention on the Rights of the Child* from 1989, includes affirmation that the thoughts and expressions of child are important and valid. United Nations Human Rights, *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, Article 12.1

and muscles, appetite and digestion."[56] Mahood, like other reformers, claimed that play helped children develop good character and was an important social and mental aspect of childhood.[57] The article ends with Mahood saying that Calgary children are complaining they have "no place to play."[58] It is unclear if children really wanted these playgrounds, as they may have desired a different form of play that was not recorded. Nonetheless, the record conveys what was happening in Calgary at that time and this *adult created record* makes the supposed complaints of children visible in a way that would have been deemed appropriate by adults at the time. The biases and motivations of Dr. Mahood have to be further understood, but this record at least offers a way to look at childhood in a period when obtaining children's perspectives would have been seen as unnecessary.

Adult created records* can, perhaps in a limited sense, articulate the perceptions of children, and they are important when studying periods where the viewpoint of a child was not valued. Dr. Mahood's article highlights how changing concepts of what western childhood are visible in *adult created records*. There have been varying opinions on the value and ability of a child to express themselves throughout the twentieth century. Social groups, nations and international organizations have decided that children deserve to have their voices heard in more recent years, but studying the evolution of international rights attributed to children is useful when one looks at *adult created records.*

The first international declaration on the rights of the child was the *Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child* created in 1924. The *Declaration* had five principals by the League of Nations. These principles made sure children were cared for in times of crisis, protected from exploitation and given the chance to develop in a healthy environment.[59] Tellingly, this 1924 document also protects children's rights to "earn a livelihood" which shows the realities of working-class children in relation to social reform efforts.[60] This *Declaration* does not talk about children having the right to express

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[56] "Playgrounds Aid to Health of the Children: Dr. Mahood Points out Value of These in his Monthly Health Report." Unknown Newspaper. Board of Commissioners fonds, series 1. box 89, file 523, (Calgary, AB: City of Calgary Archives, 1919).

[57] "Playgrounds Aid to Health of the Children: Dr. Mahood."

[58] "Playgrounds Aid to Health of the Children: Dr. Mahood."

[59] These were important concerns considering the recent end of the First World War. League of Nations, "Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child," (26 September 1924), http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/instree/childrights.html.

[60] These reform movement aimed to better society by ensuring that working children had good morals and safe working conditions. League of Nations, "Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child," article 4.

themselves. From this era, we have *adult created records* like Dr. Mahood's article. If we take this 1924 *Declaration* as a reflection of popular western ideals, then this was a time when adults believed they must protect children and advocate for them, which is exactly what Dr. Mahood was doing. It was likely not seen as necessary to collect children's opinions especially when carrying out the functions of a municipality.

The United Nations issued a new *Declaration of the Rights of the Child* in 1959. This declaration identified the need to protect a child's right to grow up in a safe environment. This reflects how in the 1950s the baby boom, made children more visible in society and so the western *adult created records* produced regarding childhood at this time may be more focused on how to provide safe and healthy living conditions for children in a post World War II society.

The most recent 1989 declaration of international protections for children is called the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Eugeen Verhellen, a children's rights advocate, noticed the change in the 1989 declaration from "'children must be given' to 'a child has the right to.'"[61] This conveys a distinctly different idea about children's abilities and role in society.[62] This should be reflected in the way governments work with children and hopefully in the types of records that eventually end up in archives.

Historian Anna Mae Duane acknowledged that the 1989 *Convention on the Rights of the Child* came from a time when a child was no longer seen as "progress" manifested, but an agent who acts and interacts within society.[63] Seeing children in this way presents new challenges for archives. Changing concepts of childhood are also reflected in historical studies of childhood. Alexander claims that the later half of the twentieth century shaped studies of childhood by "emphasizing the socially constructed nature of childhood, insisting that children's cultures and relationships are worth studying in their own right… [children were seen] as agents and social actors."[64] There is a contrast between what sort of records exist and the types of things that researchers would want to study.

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[61] Eugeen Verhellen, "The Convention on the Rights of the Child: Reflections from a historical, social policy and educational perspective," in *Routledge International Handbook of Children's Rights Studies,* ed. by Wouter Vandenhole et al. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 51.

[62] Anna Mae Duane, "Introduction," *The Children's Table: Childhood Studies and the Humanities*. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2013), 4.

[63] Duane, "Introduction," *The Children's Table,* 4-5.

[64] Alexander, "Agency and Emotion Work," 121.

The United Nation's *Convention on the Rights of the Child* from 1989 clearly states that the thoughts expressed by children have value. Article 12.1. claims:

> State Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.[65]

In addition, article 13.1 emphasizes the creative rights of the child:

> The child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice.[66]

In this way, children are treated as a more active part of society.[67] Verhellen claims that children moved from being a "not yet adult" to being "meaning mak[ers]" in the later part of the twentieth century.[68] This shift, I argue, can be clearly seen in Canadian archives and in particular in the records regarding playground development in Calgary.

Ultimately, international documents show that the voices of children have not always been sought and this provides context for how childhood is represented in many archives. Kaisa Vehkalahti in her study of social work records in Finland observed the limitations of archival documents regarding children put into social work systems. Vehkalahti noted that "[h]earing children and young people themselves was not required at the time [for Vehkalahti this was in post second World War Finland], and if their opinion was heard there was no obligation to document their account."[69] This is also likely the case with the *adult created records* regarding playground development in Calgary. Mahood stated that children had "no place to play" in 1919 and this says a lot about the pressures and realities of childhood at that time.[70] It is important to understand that childhood during some periods, especially in government or institutional archives, is told in *adult created records*

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[65] United Nations Human Rights, *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, Article 12.1

[66] United Nations Human Rights, *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, Article 13.1.

[67] Though it should be noted that there are still limitations on when or how a child should express themselves, as certain children in Canadian society have had fewer opportunities to express them because of social, cultural, personal or financial restrictions.

[68] Verhellen, "The Convention on the Rights of the Child," 55.

[69] Vehkalahti, "Dusting the archives of childhood," 440.

[70] "Playgrounds Aid to Health of the Children: Dr. Mahood."

and by adults who viewed childhood differently than today's post 1989 *Convention* society. Ultimately, how children have been treated by adults is also historically contingent.

The Immediacy of *Adult Created Records*

The second benefit of *adult created records* is that they record childhood while it is happening. There is a benefit to being able to access childhood from the period in which it was occurring and to be able to understand what was going on from the point of view of the people alive during this time, even if it was not from the children themselves. The accuracy of the representation in *adult created records* differs based on the reason for the record's creation.

An example of the immediacy of *adult created records* can be seen in the City of Calgary's Parks, Recreation and Cemeteries' Annual Reports. Annual Reports from 1905-1991 (non-inclusive) have been posted on the City of Calgary Archives' website.[71] These reports offer a mostly year by year summary of the activities of the city's parks, recreation and cemeteries. Although they contain lots of information that does not have anything to do with children, the records offer an examination of programing for children that occurred each year. These reports clarify the condition of playgrounds in different years and, in a sense, capture information about programs or events that generated records that ended up in archives. For example, 228,127 children attended Playground programs in 1966. Though this number does not tell a researcher much about which groups of children were attending the camps or their reactions to the parks, they do provide context for the opportunities available to children in the city. Unlike *child created records,* which are random and sparse, *adult created records* work in the bureaucratic fashion of the city to make meticulous observations that can be useful for a range of users of the archive.

Misbehavior as Voice

Adults often record the behaviors of children. Though the records created in this manner may appear to be records complaining about or condemning childhood practices, cultures or games they can, as many historians I studied proved, actually be useful records of children making decisions. Against the grain readings of *adult created records,* showcases how adults are only somewhat effective at shaping childhoods. Elizabeth Gagen, an American playground

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[71] Annual Reports for Parks and Recreation have been scanned can be found on the City of Calgary's website https://www.calgary.ca/ca/city-clerks/archives/parks-and-recreation-department-annual-reports.html.

historian, argues that "the archive establishes the discursive context in which these [playground development] actions took place. It is only by historizing the construction of children that their behaviour and therefore agency, can be understood."[72] This means that one must understand the pressures and desires placed on children by adults in that particular period of time. This process, which Gagen acknowledges creates a "weighty methodological impediment [that is] faced by researchers endeavoring to write child-centered histories," forces researchers to read *adult created records* differently and look for evidence of children making decisions.[73] One of Gagen's methods is how childhood decisions can be seen in mischief.

Gagen studied annual reports to discover moments of childhood defiance that shaped playground usage. She studied program development and equipment logs to highlight ways children engaged in play. For example, she discusses that swing sets were in high demand by children and so many cities purchased them despite reformers believing they encouraged non-productive forms of play.[74] Gagen knows that the decisions and play of these individual children went beyond these reports and outside the supervised playgrounds, but she argues that that the *adult created sources* still offer meaningful evidence of children interacting with government programing.[75] Understanding alternative meanings for these *adult created records* opens them up to be used by those studying genealogy, city planning or other research outside of historical studies.

Gagen's against the grain methods can be used for reading annual reports form the Children's Aid Society (CAS). In a 1916 report, the charity CAS listed the number of cases of juvenile delinquency in Calgary and claimed that the number had decreased in recent years.[76]

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[72] In her article "Too Good to Be True" Gagen exams methods that aim to highlight children's decisions in adult perspectives, but she does so from the perspective of a historian, not archivist. I would argue that "the archive" that she describes is maybe more complex than she argues as it is shaped by many record making processes and the appraisal decisions of various archivists. I would argue, as I do throughout this chapter, that understanding these records is also about contextualizing and understanding the history of the archives and those who have contributed to it. Elizabeth Gagen, "Too Good to Be True: Representing Children's Agency in the Archives of Playground Reform." *Historical Geography* 29 (2001), 55.

[73] Gagen, "Too Good to Be True," 53 and 55.

[74] Gagen, "Too Good to Be True," 59-60.

[75] This can be seen in the work of historians like Kristine Alexander who know the limits of *adult created records* that marginalize the voices of children. Kristine Alexander, "Can the Girl Guide Speak? The Perils and Pleasures of Looking for Children's Voices in Archival Research," *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures*. 4, no. 1 (2012), 132-145.

[76] Something they relate to their work and playground development. The CAS was a charity that had similar organizations in many North American cities. "Report of the Children's Aid Society, Calgary, January to December 31 1916," Board of Commissioners fonds. Series 1, (Calgary, AB: City of Calgary Archives, 1916), 2.

The report claimed that there were 290 cases in 1916 whereas there were 463 cases in 1915.[77] It was beneficial for the CAS to appear to be reducing crime in Calgary. If delinquency was a problem, then researchers should understand why children were participating in it (out of financial need, peer pressure, boredom, or other reasons), or if they were partaking at all.

The important information that can be discovered in the misbehavior of youth can be seen in one CAS report which claimed that

> [m]isdirected energy, bad associations, lack of play, and the gang spirit are responsible for most cases of juvenile delinquency. These [CAS and other groups such as Cadets and Boy Scouts] organizations supply an outlet for youthful activities, prevents the formation of bad associations, and utilize the gang tendency for constructive, educational and amusement purposes. [78]

Since many playgrounds were created to solve issues of delinquency it is important to acknowledge that this report was responding to the actions of real children. Apparently, the CAS saw the solution to child delinquency in the creation of supportive groups and play activities. Children become visible in these numbers and the ways they conformed or did not conform to adult ideas. [79] The fact that children were defined as delinquents should not be the only thing researchers focus on. Instead, they can look to understand why children were seen as such. This is a matter of contextualizing *adult created records* and understanding motivations. Although doing against the grain research is perhaps obvious to historians, it is beneficial for archivists to keep these multiple ways of reading records in mind while they describe these kinds of sources, as this research method is not evident to all users.

It is important to note that studying children through moments of defiance, as Gagen does, still means that many children are not represented. Alexander, when discussing the records of Girl Guides argues that "[m]ore often than not, however, girls participated without argument or complaint—a far cry from the oppositional behaviour and street-level clashes that fill the pages of books and articles about juvenile justice, [and] moral regulation."[80] Studying deviance leaves out children who followed the rules, as even obedience does not mean that the efforts and

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[77] "Report of the Children's Aid Society, Calgary, January to December 31 1916," 2-3.
[78] "Report of the Children's Aid Society, Calgary, January to December 31 1916," 3.
[79] Gagen, "Too Good to Be True," 59.
[80] Alexander, "Agency and Emotion Work," 122.

records of adults were effective. Researchers and archivists can hardly compare all of the various experiences of childhood to the representations in *adult created records*. *Adult created records* thus are important, but must be used carefully.[81]

Accidental and Intended Photographs

Another benefit of *adult created records* is that they often capture more than what is intended and often children become unintentional figures in records where the adults likely did not initially see their significance.[82] This along with the fact that children may not understand or abide by the social rules the way adults do means that many children may enter photographs that were not taken to capture their lives.[83] Most archives contain photographs of children, but photographs, especially older ones, were likely not *child created.* While some of today's children, in developed countries with the financial privilege to do so, may take many photographs of their lives on personal electronic devices this was not a possibility for many in the past. *Adult created* photographs featuring children are sometimes merely representations of childhood, but they are still a visible depiction of childhood. They also are beneficial ways for researchers to access childhood.

This means that it is important to note that even if a photograph features a child intentionally it may still be the product of adult desires. Although this may appear more evident in staged studio photographs of children in the early 1900s it is also present in other periods. Today many guardians have become the official photographer of their children; some carry cellphones with thousands of photographs of their children. Guardians now have images that vary from formal occasions like graduations to lazy Sunday afternoons. If these pictures are still *adult created records*, can archivists say a parent's 2019 Instagram account contains a more accurate portrayal of a child's life than a 1909 photograph? It appears that just as it was for textual *adult created records*, that sometimes children must be understood through the lenses that observed them and an understanding of why the camera shutter was clicked and by whom.

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[81] This leads back to the ideas of Douglas and having more complete descriptions. Descriptions of collections with documents such as the 1916 CAS Annual Report would benefit from details of how these records were created and used by agencies like this. This argument connects to the work I discussed in chapter one regarding including information in descriptions about how outside parties curated and altered collections and could include information about how record creators used records. Douglas, "Towards more Honest Description," 26-55.

[82] This could be related to the scribbles on *adult created records* that I mentioned in chapter one.

[83] Adrienne Chambon, "Children and the City – The City and its Children." *FROM STREETS TO PLAYGROUNDS Representing Children in Early 20th Century Toronto,* (Toronto, ON: City of Toronto Archives. 2017, exhibition catalogue), 5.

If someone is researching photographs from the late 1800s or early 1900s, they are limited to how photographs were taken at this time. Alena M. Buis claims, in a study of Thomas Barnes' Home Children photographs, that "the "staging" of photographs was common practice during the Victorian era. In fact, during the early years, large, cumbersome cameras and long exposure times require[ed] sitters [to]… remain still for extended periods of time [which] created technical limitations that meant all photographs were staged to a certain degree."[84] This process produced studio or still life photographs. Furthermore, at this time the average Calgary child was likely not the subject of City photographs, especially children participating in free play, as photography was expensive and often focused on affluent members of the population.[85] Although this is a generalization of this particular period of childhood; collections like the Glenbow or the City of Calgary Archives contain various candid records of children at play from different family and institutional creators.[86]

Photographs of fields, streets and different city development projects may include images of children. This is discussed in an exhibit created by the City of Toronto Archives from 2016-2017 regarding children who were unintentionally photographed. This exhibit was called "From Streets to Playgrounds: Representing Children in Early 20th Century Toronto."[87] The exhibit began when Adrienne Chambon discovered a 1912 photograph of a building that was being taken down. In the foreground of this picture, there are children standing in the street. The photograph, entitled "The New Registry," was captioned "loitering" by an archivist. This depicts the children's behaviour as unwanted or, at least by the initial archivist who described the photograph, unintentional.[88] Chambon claims that in these photographs "children are accidental, incidental, circumstantial, [and] unintended."[89] Chambon discusses how the archival description

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[84] Alena M. Buis, "The Raw Materials of Empire Building Depicting Canada's Home Children," in *Depicting Canada's Children*, ed. by Loren R. Lerner, (Waterloo, Ont: Wilfrid Laurier University Press. 2009), 135.

[85] Buis discusses Home Children who immigrated to Canada and became part of the working population, often farming population, which was not a common subject of expensive photographs during the start of the twentieth century. Buis, "The Raw Materials of Empire," 144.

[86] It is important to note that the Glenbow Archives collection has lots of classroom photographs, Boy Scout activities, hockey team photographs and various other photographs depicting children in a wide variety of settings.

[87] The City of Toronto's Archives mandate is similar to that of Calgary's, but also mentions that they contain family records. "City of Toronto Archives." Toronto. 2019. https://www.toronto.ca/city-government/accountability-operations-customer-service/access-city-information-or-records/city-of-toronto-archives/.

[88] The photograph was taken by Arthur Goss. Chambon, "Children and the City – The City and its Children," 5.

[89] This would not be mentioned in the archive's description of such records. Chambon, "Children and the City – The City and its Children." 5. This is also something mirrored in Anastasia Rodger's study of Arthur Goss' photographs of the construction of the Bloor Viaduct. These photographs captured the workers completing the

also judges the child's action and shapes how the text is read.[90] The archivist in this way is shaping the representation of the experiences of childhood for future users.[91] The photograph has become an accidental record of childhood.[92] Conventionally speaking though it is still an *adult created record*. The archival description of the photo prevents the child from being visible to researchers and when they do discover the child, the description interprets the child's actions for the researcher.

Ernie Lightman, another researcher on the City of Toronto Archives project, claims that the development of supervised and enclosed playgrounds hampered children's freedom and made them what society wanted them to be.[93] It seems that using *adult created* photographs, such as these, make it so one can question the effectiveness of playground movements and the autonomy of Canadian children in this period. Children would not have been in the above-mentioned photograph if the programs were completely effective. Julia Winckler further discusses how studying the way children stood or looked at the camera can distinguish the child's agency in these incidental photographs.[94] Of course, this does not take away from the adult gaze of these city planning records, but it does provide a new way to look at these *adult created records.*

I tried looking for children accidently featured in archives, the way the City of Toronto's researchers did, in the records at the City of Calgary Archives. Unfortunately, the City of Calgary Archives does not have a way to quickly search their collection outside of their reading room. Instead I did an online search of the Glenbow Archives' online photograph collections for "playgrounds" which brought up photographs of children playing on city equipment, but the

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project almost accidently. The workers were not really the subject of the photographs and so their existence in the photograph shows their less important roles. Children, like these workers, are not be the main focus of the photograph, and this says a lot about what society thought of the children – and the workers. Anastasia Rodgers, "Constructing Beauty: The Photographs Documenting the Construction of the Bloor Viaduct," *Archivaria*, no. 54 (October 1, 2002), 84.

[90] Chambon, "Children and the City – The City and its Children." 5.

[91] This could be seen as a form of what Ketelaar calls archival activation. Ketelaar, "Tacit Narratives," 137.

[92] Chambon, "Children and the City – The City and its Children." 5.

[93] Ernie Lightman, "Care or Control?" *FROM STREETS TO PLAYGROUNDS Representing Children in Early 20th Century Toronto,* (Toronto, ON: City of Toronto Archives. 2017, exhibition catalogue), 13, https://cris.brighton.ac.uk/ws/portalfiles/portal/5079984/catalogue_.pdf.

[94] Julia Winckler, "Threshold Photographs, Verges, Entry Points," *FROM STREETS TO PLAYGROUNDS Representing Children in Early 20th Century Toronto,* (Toronto, ON: City of Toronto Archives, 2017), exhibition catalogue, 21 https://cris.brighton.ac.uk/ws/portalfiles/portal/5079984/catalogue_.pdf.

Tom Nesmith also discusses this in another form in part of his article on societal provenance. He looks at Indigenous students showcased agency in their sports photographs in reference to work done by Gerald McMaster and his reading of the photographs as part of the student's agency. Tom Nesmith, "The concept of societal provenance and records of nineteenth-century Aboriginal–European relations in Western Canada: implications for archival theory and practice," *Archival science* 6, no. 3-4 (2006): 351-360.

provenance of these photographs is not listed. A photograph entitled "Playground at St. George's Island, Calgary, Alberta" from 1912 show children running around on equipment and parents watching closely. This depicts playgrounds when they were supervised by parents and not by official city supervisors.[95] Another photograph, simply called "Children's playground, Calgary, Alberta," shows two children playing at a park with an adult and a dog looking on.[96] These two photographs show children running and playing on the equipment, but under a watchful eye. These photographs also showcased the types of equipment used and playground supervision, but it is hard to tell what these children felt about these particular playgrounds. Photographs are limited in what they can capture or express, but they do offer a view into how children were using Calgary's play structures even if they were created for adult purposes.

It should be noted that finding photographs that accidently capture childhood is difficult, as one has to sift through various collections hoping a child is featured. It is easier for an archivist to find *adult created* photographs that accidently capture childhood as they are accessioning or describing a fonds. Descriptions likely would focus on the function of the department that created the record rather than the action of the child featured.[97]

Free Play and the Turn to *Later Recollections*

Ultimately, using the above methods to study perspectives of childhood, childhood while it is happening, misbehaviour and accidental images of childhood can "activate" various stories of childhood in *adult created records*.[98] In my research though, it also became clear that these methods of looking at childhood are limited in their utility for understanding the experiences and thoughts of children. The stories told in *adult created records* are related to real life experiences.

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[95] This search was not done at the City of Calgary Archives because their photographs are not easy to search and are often integrated into the collections. A search of "playgrounds" on the City of Calgary's page on the Archives Society of Alberta does not bring up any photographs, or any records for that matter. When I did research at the City of Calgary's Archives I was limited in the photographs I was able to obtain. After I started my position in January 2020 at the City of Calgary Archives, I was able to find more photographs and records of children, but I made an active decision to only include what I found as a researcher to further show the limits of archival description. "Playground at St. George's Island, Calgary, Alberta." Glenbow Archives Photograph Collection. File PD-127-144, (Calgary, AB: Glenbow Museum, 1912).

[96] "Children's playground, Calgary, Alberta." Glenbow Archives Photograph Collection. File NA-1604-72, (Calgary, AB: Glenbow Museum, 1920s).

[97] If an archivist found a child in municipal planning records Rules for Archival Descriptions (RAD) descriptions do not have a place to record this They could write this as part of the description in the scope and content, but it is difficult when they are describing thousands of photographs in a collection which have 100 photographs with children in them. If the function and majority of photographs have nothing to do with children, then it may not seem logical to indicate that children are in any of the photographs.

[98] Ketelaar, "Tacit Narratives: The Meanings of Archives," 137.

In relation to playgrounds, the impact of these *adult created records* and the programs that they discuss can be seen in the lasting memories of these structures and programs of Calgarians. This was something fairly clear to me, as I also have memories of my time on Calgary playgrounds. I participated in Calgary's Stay and Play program (a free of charge day camp in city parks that started in the 2000s and still exists today) when I was young, and I have memories of the Calgary's playgrounds. My memories of playing in Calgary go beyond the games I played at city camps; beyond what would be recorded in government documents. It was important for me to gain a perspective of how children experienced these playgrounds. Finding children's perspectives is often best done through the input of those who lived the childhoods in question: *grown children.*

Sharon Wall offers important commentary regarding the use of *adult created records* to discuss the history of "Playing Indian" at summer camps which is useful for understanding how adult programs (including playgrounds) influenced children's lives and memories.

> Children did not run camps, nor did they, alone, make decisions to attend them. With adults as both the founders and the paying clients of these institutions, one might argue the entire enterprise was an exchange between adults and, as such, reflected their needs and aspirations… On the other hand, if Indian programming was of clearly adult origin, it also had its impact on children. That certain families patronized the same camps… suggests that powerful loyalties engendered in childhood sometimes endured into adult years. Many children… were strongly affected by their stays at camp.[99]

Wall goes on to use *later recollections* to discuss the lasting impact that the camps and their lessons had on children.[100] The time children spent at camp sticks in their memories and perhaps the same can be said about *grown children's* experiences of play in Calgary. The experiences that youth have on play structures can be important aspects of their memories.

Sutherland claims that one's childhood memories of playing in vacant lots and in streets can be an important aspect of the history of childhood.[101] These details are not in the city playground records. Researchers have to look at *later recollections* in order to understand how play occurred outside of government facilities. The Glenbow has a particular collection of oral history recordings that can be used to study Calgary childhoods even though they were created to

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[99] Sharon Wall, "Totem Poles, Teepees, and Token Traditions: 'Playing Indian' at Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-1955," *The Canadian Historical Review* 86, no. 3 (2005): 537-538.

[100] An example is a past camper named Jim Buchanan who recalled his experiences with "Playing Indian" in a camp during an interview. Wall, "Totem Poles, Teepees, and Token Traditions," 539.

[101] Sutherland, *Growing Up,* 32.

capture the history of a particular neighbourhood. These records could be combined with *adult created records* to gain an understanding of what Sutherland calls the evolving "culture of childhood."[102] Children often play and interact with each other privately from the adult world and in spaces or activities that may not be recorded in government *adult created records*.[103]

Oral history can be a useful tool for studying of the interwoven nature of all *adult created* and *later recollection records*. John Shipley was a young boy during the interwar years in the Cliff Bungalow Community in Calgary. He grew up at a time when supervised play was deemed important, as highlighted in *adult created records,* but unsupervised play was common. In 1999 Shipley, born in 1922, participated in the Cliff Bungalow Oral History Project. This was a local history project and it included a number of oral histories from people who had lived in the community during the interwar years. It was intended to discuss the neighbourhood's history and not necessarily the childhoods lived within the neighbourhood. Oral histories, however, can provide useful information beyond the reasons they were initially created for.[104] In his interview, Shipley elaborates on his childhood which can be compared to *adult created records.*

Shipley's interview, along with the summary of the rest of the interviews by David Mittelstadt, offers an examination of play during this period. Shipley's recollection displays how childhood was often lived outside of playground spaces. Adult constructed ideas of childhood were not the only influential factors on a child's life. Mittelstadt explores how the middle-class neighbourhood of Cliff Bungalow had many vacant lots which were often used as play areas for children.[105] Mittelstadt explains that for the elderly participants in the interviews, though perhaps idealized, "[c]hildhood experiences and recollections of friends were… usually quite vivid."[106] Do these *later recollections* offer a better understanding of this period than the *adult created*

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[102] Sutherland, *Growing Up,* 223.

[103] Sutherland, *Growing Up,* 225.

[104] Alexander Freund, Kristina K. Llewellyn and Nolan Reilly, "Introduction," *Canadian Oral History Reader*, (Montreal, QC: McGill Queens University Press, 2015), 7.

[105] Mittelstadt claims that ethnicity was not often disclosed by his participants so this is also not a very diverse look at childhood. This chapter as a whole is limited by the idea of race and ethnicity not being mentioned in the reports. A more in-depth study of Calgary communities brings to light how the city was supporting or not supporting different areas or ethnic groups with playgrounds over time. David Mittelstadt, "Researchers Guide to Cliff Bungalow-Mission Oral History Project," (Calgary, AB: Glenbow Archives. 2002), https://www.glenbow.org/collections/search/findingAids/archhtm/extras/cliff/guide.pdf, 2 and 7.

The following study looks at the way race was treated in playground programs: Murnaghan, "Exploring Race and Nation in Playground Propaganda in Early Twentieth-Century Toronto," 134–146.

[106] The interviewed participants were born in the 1910s and 1920s. Mittelstadt, "Researchers Guide to Cliff Bungalow-Mission Oral History Project," 4 and 7.

record? It seems that it is not useful to rank the value of these records, but rather understand what can be useful from both.

Shipley tells a variety of stories of his and his relatives' childhood. For instance, he discussed the tragic death of his cousin Billy in a firecracker accident in 1922.[107] Shipley was able to list all of the businesses in Cliff Bungalow, but he also described how he was warned by his mother to play safely in the city streets. He mentioned swimming along the Elbow River in the summer and skating in the winter.[108] Shipley discussed aspects of his childhood which shows how childhood was experienced outside of playgrounds. He played in vacant lots and an industrial sand pit where he repurposed old tires as sleds. Shipley lists all of the neighbours' fences he used to climb and all of the hills he raced down in the winter.[109] Shipley also explained how he and his neighbourhood friends made their own ice rinks and play areas in their backyards.[110] This *later recollection* is a useful way of understanding different aspects of childhood that cannot be found in *adult created records*. Shipley's oral history proves how even when supervised playgrounds existed, children played freely.

This *later recollection* shows the complexity of childhood. This record though is not something a researcher would intentionally find and is not in the municipal archive. The detailed finding aid for this oral interview says that "John describes growing up in Mission, including childhood activities."[111] The series as a whole though does not mention that the collection discusses childhood and there is no way to directly connect it to childhood history without searching the project's summary or finding aids. Archivists need to reflect on how they are describing *later recollections* and *adult created records* in order to make interviews like Shipley's discoverable. Also, in some cases a municipal archive may not have a comprehensive story of childhood and so other archives or questions to *grown children* may have to be used.

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[107] John Shipley, "Cliff Bungalow-Mission Oral History Project, RCT-940-17 John Shipley," Audio Recording, (Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alberta, March 17, 1999), https://www.glenbow.org/collections/search/findingAids/archhtm/extras/cliff/rct-940-17-1.mp3, Tape 1 Side 2 0:8:00.
[108] Shipley, "Cliff Bungalow-Mission Oral History Project," Tape 1 Side 2, 0:28:00 and Tape 2 Side 1 0:01:00.
[109] Shipley, "Cliff Bungalow-Mission Oral History Project," Tape 1 Side 2, 0:30:00.
[110] Shipley, "Cliff Bungalow-Mission Oral History," Tape 1 Side 1, 0:42:00.
[111] Glenbow Archives, "Cliff Bungalow-Mission Oral History Project, RCT-940-17 John Shipley March 17, 1999," (Calgary, AB: Glenbow Archives), https://www.glenbow.org/collections/search/findingAids/archhtm/extras/cliff/shipley.pdf, 1.

Conclusion

   Adult created records ultimately are very useful in the study of childhood. A researcher can effectively extract childhood stories from records that may otherwise seem to be purely focused on adult concerns and ideas.[112] Through using the methods presented by various historians and a detailed understanding of the history of how adults saw and shaped the children within their influence or care, one can gain details about the pressures and situations that children would be faced with. Using *adult created records* to study childhood is furthermore about understanding the archives that they are in and the way that archive attempts to capture the history of their organization (through methods like functional appraisal). Understanding what stories an archive has valued over time brings forth important information about the stories that exist in *adult created records* and why certain childhood stories are harder to capture. Most researchers are forced to use some sort of *adult created record* to understand childhood, but they must do so carefully and with an aim to bring forth new perspectives.[113] To do otherwise makes it seem that children behaved and lived just as the adults who recorded them intended. I argue that this simplifies the complexity of childhood and the way children think and interact with the world.

   Returning to Calgary's twenty first century playgrounds, one can still see adult perspectives of childhood, but also new ways of recording children. This affects the types of records and the voices of children left behind in archives and how one understands *adult created records*. One can find childhood stories in *adult created records*.

   In the summer of 2017, the City of Calgary created "junk" playgrounds filled with random household objects (tires, planks, bathtubs and other "junk") which traveled across the city to encourage children to experiment in creative play.[114] Calgary planners believed that children needed to take more risks and not be limited by built play structures. The new junk playgrounds were considered a "freer" form of play. Comparatively throughout the 1910s, city planners-built play structures and created play programs in Calgary to encourage safer structured play within

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[112] Gagen, "Too Good to Be True," 53.

   [113] This could be seen as the "activation" of new stories. Ketelaar, "Tacit Narratives: The Meanings of Archives," 137.

   [114] Carolyn Kury de Castillo, "Calgary "junk" playground promotes creative, risk-taking play," *Global Calgary,* (4 July 2017), https://globalnews.ca/video/3575267/calgary-junk-playground-promotes-creative-risk-taking-play.

urban culture. The 2017 "junk" parks were made in consultation with children.[115] The fact that they are including children in these projects leads to questions regarding the records that would be produced during the municipal departmental project.[116]

A CBC report claimed that these new 2017 "riskier," independent and "unstructured" playgrounds were an attempt to get "kids today to play the way their grandparents did."[117] This is an interesting claim to make in light of the oral testimony of Shipley and the adult constructed childhood programs throughout the twentieth century. How are children to learn about how their grandparents played? Is this CBC reporter saying that children should be playing like Shipley and racing sleds down busy winter streets or are they saying they should play in the structured spaces of a reformer's playground? Since today's children have a very different social life from their grandparents, their experiences with play are fundamentally different. That means that understanding how someone's grandparents played requires detailed knowledge of the context and reality of that period. Childhood will always be culturally and historically contingent.

The reality is, as Carter highlights, "[t]here is simply no way of capturing the multitude of stories, although archivists must try."[118] Many of the stories of childhood play will never make it into *adult created records,* but that does not mean *adult created records* offer no information. This means that there still needs to be a change in the ways in which researchers and archivists understands how children interact with record creators, in particular government record creators.

Seeing children in *adult created records* is also about seeing children in often adult centred archives. Archives, in turn could benefit from becoming places where children feel like they can read stories about how their grandparents played. Archives can be places where children can bring to light the stories of past children in *adult created records.* Perhaps programing for children at archives would also encourage children to be interested in archives from a young age and how they to can influence government records and playground creation.[119] It may also lead

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[115] Kury de Castillo, "Calgary "junk" playground promotes creative, risk-taking play."

[116] It would be interesting to see if any input of children into playground designs will become archival material As of January 2020, I have been assigned the Parks as well as Recreation Departments as part of my portfolio as an archivist at the City of Calgary Archives. These records are somethingI willlook for in future dispositions.

[117] "Lawson Foundation gives Calgary $300K to make playgrounds riskier." *Calgary Eyeopener CBC News.* 14 January 2016. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/lawson-foundation-calgary-unstructured-play-1.3403723.

[118] Carter, "Of Things Said and Unsaid," 221.

[119]Examples of this kind of programing can be seen in the events at the National Archives in the United States and United Kingdom. These events have replica records for children to work with. The National Archives United Kingdom, "The Time Travel Club," National Archives United Kingdom, (2019),

to an archive that values the voices of children both visible in *child created records* and in unconventional ways in *adult created records.*

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https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/about/visit-us/whats-on/the-time-travel-club-family-activities/ and "Visiting with Children," National Archives (US), (2019) https://museum.archives.gov/visiting-children

Chapter 3

Hearing *Grown Children*

If *adult created records* and *child created records* can be used to understand some childhoods, what can be said about the many children who were incorrectly or not at all recorded? Studying childhood in the archives is as much about the records that do not exist as it is about the stories that do exist. Researchers have to look at alternative ways to access childhood and I argue that includes expanding what is considered a record of childhood. *Adult created records* focus on what adults thought of or wanted for children's lives. *Child created records* can only account for the lives of some children. Furthermore, the existence of both of these types of records are often dictated by the activities of adults. *Later recollections* are an important way for a *grown child* to ethically decide how their childhood is told. Reflections of *grown children* regarding their childhoods are important records that create a more complete understanding of childhood.

In this chapter, I explore the nature of *later recollections* and their relationship to how childhood is told, remembered and studied. I examine the nature of *later recollections* and their strengths and weaknesses as a mode of understanding childhood. I then present my case study of the records of the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR) and the ways in which this archive is in a way an archive of childhood. This includes a study of Old Sun School in Alberta on the Siksika Nation.[1] Although my analysis focuses on records from Old Sun, I also use records from Survivors of other Indian Residential Schools when necessary.[2] This is not a complete history of the students from Old Sun or an examination of Indigenous childhoods.[3] Rather this study looks at how the records created and maintained by the NCTR and by Survivors of residential schools are

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[1] The Siksika Nation is part of the Blackfoot Confederacy. It is located in southern Alberta near the town of Gleichen. They are a Treaty 7 First Nation.

[2] In this study, I also use a *later recollection* in the form of a memoircreated by Arthur Bear Child: *My Decade at Old Sun, My Lifetime of Hell*.

[3] The community has more information regarding their parenting practices in the form of embodied knowledge. It is essential for anyone studying this history to do so in conjunction with the community. For information regarding Blackfoot childhood please see: G. Lindstrom P. Choate, L. Bastien, A. Weasel Traveller, S. Breaker, C. Breaker, W. Good Striker and E. Good Striker*, Nistawatsimin*: *Exploring First Nations Parenting : a Literature Review and Expert Consultation with Blackfoot Elders,* (Calgary, AB: Mount Royal University, 2016).

significant to those researching childhood.[4] This leads to my last section in which I look at *later recollections* as a way of ethically collecting childhood stories, by examining additional cases (such as children in care in Australia) in which *grown children* have been involved in telling their childhood stories.

Who are *Grown Children?*

Grown children are adults (individuals older than eighteen) who are reflecting back on their own childhood. I argue that *grown children* should be involved in how their childhood stories are told and accessed. It is important for *grown children* to be involved in how their story is told in records and eventually archives, through access restrictions or the alternative narratives they provide in various *later recollections*.

This chapter in particular looks at how *grown children* create records through *later recollections.* These are records, in various mediums (books, testimonies, oral histories, artwork or others) which are created to record someone's past. Sometimes *later recollections* are not created for the specific purpose of recording childhood, but they offer a retrospective history of the person's life which often includes their childhood. The key to this type of document is that they are created when an adult has the ability to reflect on their childhood.[5]

In chapter one, I discussed juvenilia of famous individuals and how *grown children* are sometimes already a part of the curation process of their own records. I would argue that as archives are already accepting edited juvenilia, they may also need to actively seek the involvement of *grown children* in the creation of *later recollections* or in interactions with records already in their holdings.[6] When I argue for the involvement of *grown*

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[4] Notably, I found records regarding Old Sun in the Glenbow Archives. The ethical problems with finding records here will be discussed in this chapter.

[5] Notably, this being a reflection of adults later in their lives still means that children who died in their youth will still be under represented in these types of records. It also means that individuals who do not express themselves in written or oral forms that society has deemed "normal" may still be limited in their ability to represent their childhoods later in life. This could be difficult for *grown children* who have mental handicaps. Even *later recollections* cannot capture the lives of all children.

[6] While the term juvenilia is most commonly used when referring to someone famous, I am applying it to any collection of *child created records* that have been curated by a *grown child.*

For information regarding the way Douglas discusses juvenilia as only being from famous individuals can be seen here: Douglas "Towards more Honest Description," 44-45 and 29-30. and Jennifer Douglas, "The archiving "I": a closer look in the archives of writers," *Archivaria* 79 (2015): 57.

children, I do not mean that *child created* or *adult created records* should be censored, but that they should exist alongside *later recollections* and with access restrictions in mind.

Looking Back- *Later Recollections* as Sources of Childhood

I begin this chapter, by briefly touching on what makes *later recollections* distinct. I have focused on how they often exist as oral histories, but I have also used other mediums of these records when possible. My general focus though was on oral histories because of the importance of the testimonies of *grown children* at the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR).

Oral histories often contain information about a participant's childhood and they have increasingly been used to study gaps in childhood history. As Alexander Freund, Kristina K. Llewellyn and Nolan Reilly highlight, oral histories arose in the 1970s as "a global social movement for democratizing history; that is, for making the telling and writing of history more inclusive."[7] Interestingly, this is around the same time in which historians started to write about Canadian childhood. Historians, since the start of the study of childhood in the 1970s, have been frustrated by the limits of the archival sources available.[8] Historians of childhood began to use *later recollections* as a way to gain more additional information than what was provided by the limits and complexity of *adult created* and *child created records.*[9] Using oral histories or *later recollections* as a solution to the gaps of other records is complicated. This is because oral histories and *later recollections* are created and maintained differently in various cultures and traditions.[10]

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[7] Alexander Freund, Kristina K. Llewellyn and Nolan Reilly, "Introduction," *Canadian Oral History Reader*, (Montreal, QC: McGill Queens University Press, 2015), 3 and 11.

[8] Parr claims that this movement started with political, diplomatic and intellectual historians examining the past looking for those who were "powerless." In the case of histories of childhood, it was apparent that adult created records often had to be used. Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada,* vii and viii-ix.

[9] The use of oral histories as sources has been done by various historians including Mona Gleason who combines discussions with *grown children* regarding their childhoods and other records (she studies doctors' journals, medical textbooks, educational materials and records regarding care done from 1900-1940).Mona Gleason, *Small Matters Canadian Children in Sickness and Health, 1900-1940,* (Montréal QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 12 and 14-15.

Sutherland also acknowledged that the there was a general understanding that to access a more diverse and accurate viewpoint of what it meant to be a child in particular periods, studies would have to start using oral histories. Neil Sutherland discusses the problems associated with a child's ability to conceptualize ideas Neil Sutherland, "When You Listen to the Winds of Childhood, How Much Can You Believe?" *Curriculum Inquiry* 22, no. 3 (1992), 240-241.

In a small historiography of childhood studies, it became apparent that those who used oral histories tended to have more studies that included more diverse populations of children.

[10] Freund, Llewellyn and Reilly, "Introduction," 4.

Furthermore, the way an individual wishes to talk about their past is not identical to ways others do. This requires a unique understanding of context.

Oral histories, and perhaps *later recollections* as a whole, at one time had the reputation of being unreliable sources. This is because memories of childhood change based upon the time in which a *later recollection* is created.[11] A *grown child's* reflection on their childhood when they are twenty years old and just left home for the first time would be much different than a reflection from an eighty-year-old who just heard of the arrival of their first great-grand child. Childhood memories may change based on external situations, pressures or even memory loss. This means that *later recollections* are often tied to the life of the child as a whole. This may bring about different stories from the *grown child* in different periods and in turn alter how childhood is remembered.

Using *later recollection*s to understand childhood often denotes a unique way of using a record. In many instances, though not in the case of the NCTR which collected recollections for the very purpose of studying childhood, *later recollections* are not created to detail someone's childhood alone. More often, *later recollections* can be found in oral histories or autobiographic type records that are created to record various aspects of one's life and not to just record their childhood.[12] In this way, childhood is often talked about as a stage of development, or in the case of Shipley that I studied in chapter two, the very questions proposed by oral historians may unintentionally bring up stories of childhood. This says a lot about the value placed on childhood experiences in western society and the perceived significance of someone's youth. It means that perhaps more focus needs to be taken to curate *later recollections* with the goal of recording childhood.

Using *Later Recollections* - The importance of Talking About Childhood

Why should researchers look to *grown children* to hear the stories of childhoods gone by? Often the very nature of childhood means that children may have limited control over their lives. Many children were removed from their homes and placed in for in various institutions. For the federal government, "disability and special needs, Aboriginal

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[11] Alexander Freund, "Oral History as Process Generated Data," *Canadian Oral History Reader,* (Montreal, QC: McGill Queens University Press, 2015), 225.

[12] Interviews for oral histories may begin with questions like "tell us about your childhood." In these cases, childhood is a precursor to the main subject of the oral history or other *later recollection* record. Freund, Llewellyn and Reilly, "Introduction," 7.

origin, poverty, illegitimacy and ungovernability were seen as sufficient reasons for taking children out of their homes and placing them in residential facilities."[13] The Law Commission of Canada conveys how children in care came from "marginalized' communities which means they were "members of society's most powerless groups;… who ha[d] neither the financial resources nor the political clout to make themselves heard and to exercise control over the course of their lives."[14] In addition, many of the children that I studied in this chapter were also influenced by colonial practices that affect the way childhood could be told while it was being lived.[15] Other archivists who work with minority groups, such as Katie Shilton and Ramesh Srinivasan discuss the "power to represent" as the active way in which archives create narratives that highlight and hide certain voices.[16] Archives often contain records that are "*about* rather than *of* communities."[17] For children this means that the records, particularly *adult created records,* that document their youth may not actually represent their childhoods. This is why studying childhood with different sources can include using decolonizing methods which often includes examining the ways in which children are recorded by people with power over them. It includes giving space for the voices and stories of childhood to be heard.

Later recollections are important sources because they allow *grown children* to be active in the story of their childhood. The Law Commission highlights how it is important to understand that "[c]hildren do not decide to live in institutions. It is, rather, their parents, legal guardians, the courts and others with legal control over them who are responsible for sending children to residential institutions."[18] In the same sense, children often do not decide what records of their youth would be saved, especially when they were in

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[13] Law Commission of Canada, *Restoring Dignity: Responding to Child Abuse in Canadian Institutions,* (Minister of Public Works and Government Services, 2000), 3.

[14] Law Commission of Canada, *Restoring Dignity,* 4.

[15] Alexander argues that *adult created records* create a colonial representation of children when they, or their parents, do not have autonomy over the records of their lives. Notably, Alexander is discussing the records of Indigenous children in Canada. Kristine Alexander "Childhood and Colonialism in Canadian History," *History Compass.* 14, no. 9 (2016), 400.

[16] Their solutions to these problems have to do with actively engaging those with limited representation, this which may be easier said than done for children. Katie Shilton and Ramesh Srinivasan, "Participatory Appraisal and Arrangement for Multicultural Archival Collections," *Archivaria*, no. 63 (2007): 88.

[17]. Shilton and Srinivasan, "Participatory Appraisal and Arrangement for Multicultural Archival Collections," 89.

[18] This report is related to many different types of residential systems that students were placed in and not just residential schools for Indigenous students. Law Commission of Canada, *Restoring Dignity,* 20.

government care. Furthermore, in the case of residential schools, most parents did not want their children to attend the schools. The remaining records of childhood often reflect the adult curation and perspectives of people who were not the guardians or caretakers of the children.[19] *Later recollections* are important sources that provide additional information to stories where a child's perspective may have been restricted or limited. It is important to understand experiences from those who lived them, even if this means that researchers and archivists have to look to *grown children* for this information.

Furthermore, many institutions or adults did not value the perspectives of children while they were young. Collecting *later recollections* is an important way to gain perspectives of those otherwise ignored. The Law Commission of Canada claims that

> [t]he very factors that caused society to view residential institutions as a response to the perceived needs of these children, contributed to their vulnerability. These same factors also made it easier for officials to discount, disbelieve or deny the children's complaints of the treatment they received or witnessed. They also made it easier for society in general to regard these complaints as unimportant.[20]

The thoughts of children were not seen as truthful or authentic representations. These institutions, and these school record keeping systems, favored the adults who ran the schools over the children.[21] This has direct implications for what residential school records of childhood exist in archives. Researchers, like Alexander may greatly value and look for *child created records,* but the reality is that administrators in places like residential schools likely did not focus on the wants or desires of children and so the few *child created records* need to be understood within these administrative pressures. In this way, *later recollections provide* valuable and different perspectives.

Using *Later Recollections* - Memories and the Context of Childhood

In the first two chapters, I discussed how only a limited sense of childhood can be collected in archives. The very selection and context of *child created records* means that any collection would be skewed and only represent particular aspects of childhood. *Adult created*

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[19] Wilson and Golding further claim that children in care often do not know that institutional documents are made about them Methods like the ones I discussed in my second chapter could be used to highlight other stories, but these records are still distinctly adult. Jacqueline Wilson and Z. Golding, "Latent Scrutiny: Personal Archives as Perpetual Mementos of the Official Gaze," *Archival Science* 16, no. 1 (2016): 95.

[20] Law Commission of Canada, *Restoring Dignity,* 5.

[21] Law Commission of Canada, *Restoring Dignity,* 5.

records in turn may focus on adult needs and desires. *Later recollections* though also have their own complications.

Unfortunately, *later recollections* also cannot be the perfect answer that archivists and researchers are looking for. Scholarship regarding how historians collect information about someone's childhood has important weight in this discussion of childhood. Sutherland proposes in "When You Listen to the Winds of Childhood How Much Can You Believe," a method for collecting childhood memories. Sutherland offers tips for recording and working with adult subjects to collect the memories of their childhood. His research offers a unique perspective on *later recollections* and what kind of information can be gained from *grown children* regarding childhood.

Sutherland concludes that adult memories, as recorded in oral histories or memoirs, are just as important records of childhood as the records created in the eras in which the children in question lived (*child* and *adult created records*).[22] Additionally, Sutherland sees *later recollections*, in some cases, as containing more accurate understanding of childhood, than *child created records.* This is because the records can provide information that would not have been available when the *grown child* was a child. Nonetheless, he does acknowledge that *later recollections* can be limiting as well. He argues that they can sometimes revolve around common "scripts" of childhood in which stories become general and cliché.[23] This means that common stories, like "walking uphill both ways to school" become generic stories that many people assign to their childhood and in this way *later recollections* of those sort of memories do not have the same meaning.

In relation to his arguments, Sutherland talks about the limits of the records created while the children are still young. Sutherland reminds readers that sources of childhood (*child created* in particular) are often manifested in an oral form before they were ever written (for instance a school yard rhyme was originally sung before it was recorded).[24] So in some cases, written down aspects of childhood are already altered representations, even

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[22] Sutherland, "When You Listen to the Winds of Childhood, How Much Can You Believe?" 240-241.

[23] These are general "scripts" that most people in society can relate to which create a common experience of a routine throughout society. Sutherland, "When You Listen to the Winds of Childhood, How Much Can You Believe?" 240-241.

[24] Sutherland also claimed that childhood cannot be recollected before someone is three or four. This is connected, Sutherland claims, to interpretation skills. Sutherland, "When You Listen to the Winds of Childhood, How Much Can You Believe?" 239-240.

if they are *child created,* of childhood. He also states that on the rare occasion, a child does write their own thoughts down, in *child created records*, that the child could hide their true opinions or not formulate them in a meaningful fashion.[25] Furthermore, Sutherland argues that a child could change their viewpoints to fit certain expectations if they were asked by an adult how they felt.[26] For instance, a child may lie and tell their parent they were scared and that is why they broke a plate rather than confess to playing recklessly with their family's china. Ultimately, Sutherland argues, that some records created by children or about children will never be able to capture all of the nuances of childhood. Although Sutherland probably would have still wanted *child created records* to be collected, he is still bringing researchers to a question that I raise throughout my thesis: how should researchers understand and work with the agency and ability of children to record themselves?

With these limitations in mind, Sutherland argues that *later recollections* have the added benefit of retrospection which means they can provide additional information. Sutherland states, in relation to an interview he completed with a woman regarding her childhood in the 1940s and 1950s, that

> [o]nly as an adult did the woman have the vocabulary and, indeed, the conceptual and contextual structure that enabled her to put her childhood feelings into words. … The more thoroughly she had been probed by my notional social scientist in her childhood, the more likely it would be that that discussion, rather than the inchoate but complex underlying feelings, would frame any later reconstructions. Indeed the paradox is that the closer in time you try to probe the feelings of childhood, the further away they may go.[27]

Sutherland argues that records created by a child during their childhood may offer more details about the situation, but that the context and meaning behind a situation is sometimes best found out later in life.[28] He is fundamentally claiming that childhood is best understood by adults: by *grown children*.

Are *grown children* better at explaining childhood than children themselves? Sutherland's argument offers a limited understanding of the ability of a child to convey their own perspective or voice. Perhaps the take away from Sutherland's study on

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[25] Sutherland, "When You Listen to the Winds of Childhood, How Much Can You Believe?" 238-239.
[26] Sutherland, "When You Listen to the Winds of Childhood, How Much Can You Believe?" 252.
[27] Sutherland, "When You Listen to the Winds of Childhood, How Much Can You Believe?" 252.
[28] Sutherland, "When You Listen to the Winds of Childhood, How Much Can You Believe?" 252.

retrospection should be that there are cases where having the perspectives of *grown children* is beneficial for understanding childhood, especially in the case of former students of residential schools that I discuss below. Sutherland's point about the way *child created records* can be inaccurate representations suggests that researchers and archivists alike should look at how children were treated in each period and understand the context of the records created while they were young rather than dismiss their records.

Perhaps Sutherland's point needs to be considered, but more in a sense of understanding the complexity of the sources than focusing on one source being more reliable than another. The reality is that to create complete depictions of children in the archives one must have all of the views of childhood, even if the context of *child created records'* creations shows that children might omit details or lie to please an adult. Archivist and researchers should work to understand these adult pressures and perhaps not just dismiss child perspectives, as being influenced by adults. Looking at the importance of children's perspectives is helpful for current cases of children in care and ensuring that children's voices are heard and believed while they are still young. This could help bring to light abuse before a child becomes a *grown child.* This does though further show how *later recollections* are most beneficial for cases where we cannot travel back and have the child ethically partake in record creation.

Sutherland's research also made me consider how people hesitate to accept the *later recollections* of an adult who may be affected by nostalgia, even if they have the "vocabulary" to describe what happened. Sánchez-Eppler argues that an individual could formulate ideas about what their childhood was like that are influenced by notions of the present.[29] How *later recollections* are talked about in secondary sources convey how people also hesitate to trust this form of record. When discussing how poorly children were fed at residential schools and after using multiple Survivor *later recollections* as examples, a history of the residential school systems clarified that "[t]hese are not just childhood memories of children sick for home and their mothers' cooking. Dietary studies carried out by agencies such as the Red Cross in the 1940s confirm the students' recollections."[30] Having to clarify or justify the experiences

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[29] Sánchez-Eppler, "In the Archives of Childhood," 216.
[30] *They Came for the Children Canada, Aboriginal Peoples, and Residential Schools,* (Winnipeg, Man: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012), 34.

recounted in *later recollections*, showcases how settler society views the importance and abilities of children as well as the restrictions of memory. Many sources also discuss how the poor conditions of the schools were reported by various officials while the schools were in operation.[31] Should a stamp from an official government or *adult created record* be the confirmation that childhood was lived a particular way? The distrust of children's perspectives, as individuals with less control over their own lives and how they are recorded greatly affects the study of childhood and the work of archivists. It may mean that archivists, as a profession, need to look at who they are valuing as authoritative knowledge makers and keepers and understand how that is affecting the records that remain along with the stories emerging in *later recollections.*

Furthermore, should Sutherland's point make one believe that children are not able to express fully their opinions? From *adult created records* we know that children were acting out against those in power at residential schools. For instance, there were attempts to burn down schools and there were children who ran away from them.[32] A St. Alban's school inspector in Prince Albert said that ""[m]ore than one disastrous Indian school fire has been started by the pupils themselves in an effort to obtain their freedom from a school which they did not like.""[33] These acts of defiance show the agency of children in their lives. Although these acts were deemed inappropriate by the colonial authorities, the children were clearly expressing their opinions about the schools. Maybe part of the context of childhood is that a child's emotions and thoughts will have to be recorded differently even if they are not in the clear compiled way that Sutherland highlights comes with time. This offers important commentary for social workers, teachers, guardians and parents going forward, but it is also an important part of the argument for the use of *later recollections* as a way to gain details about the very many children's perspectives that may have been ignored when a child's voice was less trusted.

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[31] Peter Bryce made a report in 1907 to the Department of Indian Affairs regarding the poor education and conditions at the schools. Knowledge of some of the bad circumstances at these schools was thus public, but this did not create a large amount of change. Also, in the 1940s R. Hoey toured the Mount Elgin School and recommended that residential schools be closed which was the start of the decline of the schools. Eric Taylor Woods, "On Making of a National Tragedy: The Transformation of the Meaning of the Indian Residential Schools, ed. by Vanthuyne, Karine, and Brieg Capitaine, in *Power through Testimony: Reframing Residential Schools in the Age of Reconciliation,* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2017), 34-35.

[32] Some students, as Rosa Bell claims, at the Edmonton Methodist school stormed the kitchen of their school to revolt against their school's routine. There are also many cases of runaways from the school. Students set the barn on fire at Saint-Paul-des-Métis, Alert Bay, Kuper Island. *They Came for the Children,* 52-53.

[33] J.P.B. Ostrander Inspector of Indian Agencies quoted in *They Came for the Children,* 53.

Ultimately, Sutherland's argument led me to question: are *later recollections* the best form of childhood records? Should archivists and oral historians wait until every child is grey haired to learn about their past perspectives and view points? Or is a child able to have the vocabulary to describe their own reality? The very experience of childhood is defined by a child's limited vocabulary and conceptual understanding. This is the context and reality of childhood. Without these "imperfections," archivists lose a piece of the information regarding the way in which children lived. The truth is that many children's initial thoughts were regulated by adults. It is the job of researchers to contextualize any adult biases or controls that would affect any of the types of records. It is also the job of researchers to understand which of these thoughts were completely ignored and look to *later recollections* when appropriate. The complex nature of childhood requires both a broad collection of documents along with detailed understanding of the ways in which a child interacts with the story of their life, both as a child and a *grown child.*

The NCTR as an Archive of Childhood

The NCTR provides an important case study for the impact and use of *later recollections* to study childhood. This is because the NCTR is a collection that was created out of a mandate to record experiences of past children in residential schools. In a way, it is an archive of childhood because it includes and showcases the need for all three types of records (*child created, adult created* and *later recollection records*) to more complete and ethically tell the story of childhood. Throughout my thesis I have highlighted how all of these types of records are needed to tell the stories of childhood. In this section, I reference the discussions in the previous chapters regarding *child created* and *adult created records* with the importance of having *grown children* interact with these records and create *later recollections*. I begin this section with a brief history of the NCTR. I then look at *adult crated, child created* and *later recollections* records from Old Sun School to explore how childhood has been recorded in each of these types of documents and how the narrative evolves when these various records are used.

The NCTR is an archive of childhood by its very mission of incorporating the perspectives of *grown children* and communities into the stories of children who were previously powerless in the initial records created by them. It is an archive that focuses on goals that highlight and value the activities and perspectives of children. The "Archives at the NCTR" section of their website says that

> [b]y incorporating Indigenous perspectives on memory, archival practice and ownership, we are creating something new — a decolonizing archive built on principles of respect, honesty, wisdom, courage, humility, love and truth. This archive is intended to be a powerful agent of change in the country — a mirror that allows all Canadians to understand the history of Canada and the treatment of Indigenous peoples. This archive supports multiple ways of knowing.[34]

The NCTR allows Indigenous ways of knowing to be visible in residential school research. At this archive, they are telling stories away from the colonial narratives that were present in the government and church records: the *adult created records*. The Indian Residential School Agreement (IRRSA) required that these documents were transferred to the TRC in order to convey stories of residential school experiences. These records were placed in the NCTR. IRRSA's "Schedule N" (which mandated the creation of the TRC with the goal of research centre in mind) says:

> In order to ensure the efficacy of the truth and reconciliation process, Canada and the churches will provide all relevant documents in their possession or control to and for the use of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, subject to the privacy interests of an individual as provided by applicable privacy legislation, and subject to and in compliance with applicable privacy and access to information legislation. [35]

This means that the NCTR has a variety of records from a variety of adult sources, but the collection of testimonies brought in a new type of record. In this way, children's stories become visible in the new sources alongside the "traditional" *adult* and *child created records*.

The creation of the NCTR, as successor to the TRC, was an important step for the recognition of how childhood is recorded, though it may not traditionally be seen as supporting this. In chapter two, I mentioned Cook's discussion at the conference "Myth-Breaking and Myth-Making in History and Humanities." In his presentation, Cook spoke about communities getting together to create archives that challenge traditional narratives.[36] In chapter two, I proposed that it is difficult for communities to do this if they

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[34] National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, "Archives at the NCTR," (Winnipeg, MB: National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation University of Manitoba), https://www.nctr.ca/archives.php.

[35] Indian Residential School Agreement, "Schedule "N" Mandate for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission," http://www.trc.ca/assets/pdf/v-SCHEDULE_N_EN.pdf

[36] Terry Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms," *Archival Science* 13, no. 2 (2013): 96.

are a group that is only united by age. This issue though becomes different when the group is united by a common experience that happen while they were a certain age. The NCTR is a place for a variety of *grown adults* to come together and share their stories of human rights violations even if they were children during different decades or attended different schools. In this way, a child born in 1935 and a child born in 1965, although no longer children themselves, can find a common archive to tell their *later recollections*. Though I acknowledge that this coming together is limited, as not all of the children who had these experiences have had the opportunity to tell their stories and many did not live to become *grown children* or they were children in a period when their stories were not heard.

History of the NCTR

Understanding the creation of the NCTR helps clarify how childhood is recorded in this archive and why *later recollections* are significant to the various stories of these children from unique traditions, upbringings and experiences at residential schools. The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA), starting in 2006, and the resulting Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), beginning in 2008, brought the treatment of Indigenous children in residential schools to the attention of the general public. Residential schools operated in Canada in various forms for around 160 years before this. This means that there are many diverse stories about residential schools and many ways *grown children* want to be remembered. Some children in government- and church-run residential schools had their experiences silenced in the initial institutional records that were created about them. By the 1980s, *grown children* began to publicly proclaim their experiences in residential schools and various memoirs were published long before the TRC.[37] Also, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, starting in 1991 and going until 1996, brought greater attention to the residential school systems. In all, the TRC and the resulting research centre at the NCTR made these stories visible to the general public, but it is important to note that the diverse stories and the experiences of these *grown children* existed prior to the creation of the TRC. As I argued for Mennonite children in my first chapter; childhood is historically contingent for each child and so no

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[37] Eric Taylor Woods, "On Making of a National Tragedy: The Transformation of the Meaning of the Indian Residential Schools," ed. by Karine Vanthuyne and Brieg Capitaine, in *Power through Testimony: Reframing Residential Schools in the Age of Reconciliation,* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2017), 40-41.

two experiences were identical. IRSSA and the TRC brought stories of these childhoods to the public and created an archive where *later recollections* were needed to understand childhood.

The NCTR's creation was part of the TRC's mandate to serve the community. IRSSA's "Schedule N" mandate which created the TRC and NCTR said that "a research centre shall be established, ... It shall be accessible to former students, their families and communities, the general public, researchers and educators who wish to include this historic material in curricula."[38] Former students are able to access their records and tell their stories at the NCTR. Anne J. Gilliland claims that voices can grow from the silence and "absences and voids in the archive may not be absolute or forever. Over time an apparently silent archive may give up new facts and tell new stories."[39] As an archive cannot completely represent the experiences of all children, this archive provides communities with a place to share their experiences. I argue that this could be an important lesson for how childhood is recorded and studied.

Before the NCTR, the main records researchers could use to understand the stories of these children were the records kept by the Canadian government and churches who operated these schools.[40] As former students came forward to discuss their experiences, it became evident that these records were not adequate representations of the reality of residential school experiences. In a history of the residential school system,

> Richard King, who taught at the Choutla school in the Yukon during the 1962–1963 school year, concluded that the school's record-keeping system "would be unacceptable in any well-run stock farm, where at the very least, parentage, production records, and performance characteristics of each animal are minimal records to be maintained. In the case of one sixteen-year-old girl, who had been at the school for eight years and was still only in the fourth grade, her school record consisted of a single page of test scores.[41]

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[38] Indian Residential School Agreement, "Schedule "N.""

[39] Anne J. Gilliland, "Forward," *The Silence of the Archive,* (London: Facet, 2017), xvi.

[40] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Survivors Speak: A Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada,* (2015), 1 http://www.trc.ca/assets/pdf/Survivors_Speak_English_Web.pdf. Sean Carleton, Crystal Fraser and John Milloy, "Assessing the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation," *Archive History,* (26 November 2015), http://activehistory.ca/2015/11/assessing-the-national-centre-for-truth-and-reconciliation/, and Jennifer Douglas and Allison Mills, "From the Sidelines to the Center: Reconsidering the Potential of the Personal in Archives," *Archival Science* 18, no. 3 (September 2018), 268.

[41] They Came for the Children, 28.

In many cases the records kept did not accurately represent the student's education let alone their various childhood experiences. The NCTR recognized the limitations of *adult* and *child created records* and created a place where the involvement of *grown children* was key to understanding childhood. Various other stories were gathered in Sharing Circles during the TRC which aimed to gain perspectives from the former students.[42] As part of the 2007 settlement agreement for the TRC, there was an understanding that these records (often *later recollections*) created during the TRC's work would be saved along with the *adult created* government and church records.[43] The NCTR became a meeting place of all three record types (*adult* and *child created* as well as *later recollections*). This reinforces the importance of using all three types of records.

Indigenous children at residential schools lived in a unique situation that affects the context of all of the records of their childhood that exist at the NCTR. This is because one could say that most children are placed under the care of their parents and other adults in their lives, but the authority in residential schools was very different. The Canadian Law Commission made an important argument in their report on child abuse in institutional or government run care facilities. This Commission stresses how it is important to remember that

> [p]owerlessness, some might say, is a natural condition of childhood. There is a critical difference, however, between respect for, or obedience to adult authority, and lack of control over the fundamental aspects of one's life. There is a critical difference between accepting the directions of another in a context of parental love and affection and being roughly and coldly ordered around.[44]

Children in residential schools were often faced with misuses of power which affected all the types of childhood records that I have discussed. This means that it is even more important to let Survivors' perspectives become visible to the public in *later recollections,* but the records must be understood within this context.[45]

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[42] When the NCTR opened it had on its online database alone "35,000 photos, five million government, church, and school documents, 7000 Survivor statements, and a host of other materials (art, poems, music, and physical items) collected by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC)." Interest in the online release of this information was initially very high. This is perhaps a sign that people were interested in hearing what actually happened at the schools. Carleton, Fraser and Milloy, "Assessing the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation" and Douglas and Mills, "From the Sidelines to the Center," 268.

[43] Carleton, Fraser and Milloy, "Assessing the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation."

[44] Law Commission of Canada, *Restoring Dignity,* 26.

[45] Law Commission of Canada, *Restoring Dignity,* 71.

Why then is an archive in particular an important place to talk about this childhood? The Law Commission of Canada established one of the needs of Survivors of child abuse as "[e]stablishing a historical record."[46] In addition, article 70 of the TRC's "Calls to Action" claims that there should be a

> review [of] archival policies and best practices to (i) Determine the level of compliance with UNDRIP and the UN Joinet-Orentlicher Principles as related to Aboriginal people's inalienable right to know the truth about what happened and why with regard to human rights violations committed against them in residential school.[47]

The records at the NCTR were compiled with the aim of bringing to light the true experiences of these children and in light of human rights violations. It is important to have a place where common narratives of childhood can be challenged and new perspectives brought to the table.

Maintaining accurate records of childhood is more important than just keeping the beautiful *child created* artwork of youth; it is about supporting communities and *grown children.* The NCTR is fundamentally centered on valuing the experiences and rights of children. This is a very different aim than the other archives I have studied. In a sense, it is a good example of an archive that shows the various types of records that are created to record childhood. It provides an interesting avenue to examine how the life of a child has been documented in Canada.

History of Old Sun Boarding School

In the following section I focus on records from Old Sun Boarding School in Gleichen, AB. I look at the different types of childhood records from Old Sun that I have

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[46] Law Commission of Canada, *Restoring Dignity,* 74 -76 and 273.

[47] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. "Calls to Action." (Winnipeg, MB: 2015).

This means that the context of the *later recollections* at the NCTR are also tied to the affirmations of *UNDRIP. UNDRIP* "recogniz[es] in particular the right of indigenous families and communities to retain shared responsibility for the upbringing training, education and well being of their children, consistent with the rights of the child." As discussed in the previous chapter, the United Nations various declarations impact the way in which the agency and rights of a child are represented and respected in society. Researching children at the NCTR is also impacted by the *United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP).* The creation of the NCTR is though an effort of self determination and a way of affirming the right of Indigenous communities. The Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission aimed to gather different and more diverse perspectives on already existing records through the creation of new records. Valerie Johnson, "Solutions to the Silence," *The Silence of the Archive,* (London: Facet, 2017), 148 and United Nations, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People,* (13 September 2007), 5, https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf.

[47] United Nations, *UNDRIP,* 5.

discussed in my previous chapters (*adult* and *child created*) to highlight the need for *later recollections* and the involvement of *grown children.* To begin with I discuss the evolving narrative of Old Sun to convey how the stories of childhood can be told in very different ways when different types of sources are used.

Old Sun was started in 1886 by an Anglican Minister Rev. John W. Tims. The school's use has evolved over time. When the federal government moved to sending Indigenous children to public schools in the 1960s the building became the location for a community college that was run by Indigenous communities. [48] By 1978, the school was independently operated by the Blackfoot Nation as a college.[49]

Contrasting narratives of Old Sun's history convey how different perspectives can be discovered regarding childhood when *grown children* are involved in the process. A rather colonial history of the school on the Anglican Church of Canada's webpage claims that "the school's farm, first located at the North Camp and expanded at the South Camp, provided important vocational training for boys."[50] On the other hand, Bear Chief, in his *later recollection* memoir of his time at Old Sun, referred to the man who ran the school as the "farm boss" and described how he beat students who misbehaved.[51] The "farm boss" hardly seems like someone who was running "vocational training." These stories describe two different representations of the school. The Anglican church's history highlights how it is easy to tell the history of these children from a colonial point of view that leaves out why the boys were doing "vocational" labour.

The history of the school is told very differently by the Old Sun Community College on their webpage. Their website says that "[t]he building that houses the college is steeped in a rich heritage. Some of it tragic, some of it triumphant, but always-focused on

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[48] Old Sun Community College, "Our History."

[49] From 1971-1978 it was operated as part of Mount Royal University in Calgary. Old Sun Community College, "Our History."

[50] Anglican Church of Canada. General Synod Archives, "Old Sun School Gleichen AB," Anglican Church of Canada, (23 September 2008), https://www.anglican.ca/tr/histories/old-sun/.

A discussion of the way the Anglican Church described their schools in a 1939 pamplet can be found in Milloy, *A National Crime,* xxxv and xxxvii Milloy's text provides an important examintation of how adults described children in residential schools amd then examines how these documents created by the Anglican church were not accurate.

Milloy also discusses the importance of having former students and communities involved in the tell of their stories Milloy, *A National Crime,* xlii.

[51] Arthur Bear Chief, Frits Pannekoek Judy Bedford, *My Decade at Old Sun, My Lifetime of Hell*. Edmonton, (CA: Athabasca University Press, 2016), 8.

education and learning."[52] This affirms the various experiences that have occurred in the school. Their history focuses on the agency of the community and how "Chief Old Sun allowed him [Rev. Tims] to build a cabin which became the first school and, at a later date, was named after Chief Old Sun."[53] This tells a story in which the community has always been active, where children are always present. This highlighted for me the importance of having *grown children* and their community tell Old Sun's history. These contrasting narratives reminded me that childhood is valued and treated differently in each culture. Also, the stories of childhood are very different depending on the voices that convey them.

Blackfoot Childhood

As I started to look into Old Sun, I realized that the children in the records that I studied were often not recorded in ways that respected their families' traditions. Since Old Sun was on Siksika Nation, I looked into studies of Blackfoot childhood, as childhood is understood differently in every community. Although I do not try to define the lives of students before they entered the schools, in this section I briefly try to provide information from a study of childhood done with Elders in the Blackfoot community regarding children. In particular, I have used G. Lindstrom, P. Choate, L. Bastien, A. Weasel Traveller, S. Breaker, C. Breaker, W. Good Striker and E. Good Striker *Nistawatsimin: Exploring First Nations Parenting: a Literature Review and Expert Consultation with Blackfoot Elders*. I chose this source because it was written in consultation with Blackfoot Elders and it closely discussed parenthood.

Blackfoot communities treat the period of childhood differently than western communities and this shapes the context of all of the records of and about Old Sun.[54] This also highlights why it is important that *grown children* have a say in the records that were created about their lives by those who were outsiders to their traditions.[55] Lindstrom,

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[52] Old Sun Community College, "Our History."

[53] Old Sun Community College, "Our History."

[54] Lindstrom, Choate, Bastien, Weasel Traveller, Breaker, Breaker, Good Striker and Good Striker, note this in relation to concerns raised by the Blackfoot elders they interviewed that Indigenous communities have a range of different child care practices that differ based on tribe. In this section, I take information from G. Lindstrom P. Choate, L. Bastien, A. Weasel Traveller, S. Breaker, C. Breaker, W. Good Striker and E. Good Striker.'s overview, but this should not be seen to apply to all Indigenous Peoples. Lindstrom, Choate, Bastien, Weasel Traveller, Breaker, Breaker, Good Striker and Good Striker, *Nistawatsimin,* 84.

[55] It is important to notice that for Indigenous communities their history is often told in oral narratives and histories that would not be included in archives. John Borrows (Kegedonce), *Drawing Out Law - A Spirit's Guide*,

Choate, Bastien, Weasel Traveller, Breaker, Breaker, Good Striker and Good Striker indicate that Blackfoot communities focus on the interconnected nature of humans and relationships are seen as very important.[56] Lindstrom, Choate, Bastien, Weasel Traveller, Breaker, Breaker, Good Striker and Good Striker emphasize, that "in traditional Aboriginal societies, the family was made of relational networks extending beyond kinship ties."[57] Chief Bear, for example, said that before he went to Old Sun residential school he "was perhaps like any normal Indian child, nurtured and loved by my parents, grandparents and aunts and uncles."[58] It is thus significant to note, as Lindstrom, Choate, Bastien, Weasel Traveller, Breaker, Breaker, Good Striker and Good Striker do, that, "residential schools diametrically opposed Native ways of parenting and learning."[59] For instance, children in many Indigenous communities were not raised with corporal punishment.[60] Chief Bear says that he remembers how an older Indigenous man named Low Horn used to tell him that "[c]hildren are our pride and future. Treat them with gentleness and patience, and

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(University of Toronto Press, 2010), 4 and Bruce Grandville Miller, *Oral History on Trial Recognizing Aboriginal Narratives in the Courts,* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2011), 2-3.

[56] G. Lindstrom, P. Choate, L. Bastien, A. Weasel Traveller, S. Breaker, C. Breaker, W. Good Striker and E. Good Striker, *Nistawatsimin*: *Exploring First Nations Parenting : a Literature Review and Expert Consultation with Blackfoot Elders,* (Calgary, AB: Mount Royal University, 2016), 13.

[57] Lindstrom, Choate, Bastien, Weasel Traveller, Breaker, Breaker, Good Striker and Good Striker*, Nistawatsimin,* 14.

[58] Bear Chief, Frits Pannekoek Judy Bedford, *My Decade at Old Sun,* 13.

[59] It should be noted that when Patrick Morrissette wrote this there was little academic research done on residential schools. In fact, some residential schools were still in operation. Patrick Morrissette, "The Holocaust of First Nation People: Residual Effects on Parenting and Treatment Implications." *Contemporary Family Therapy*edford, *My Decade at Old Sun,* 16.

Lindstrom, Choate, Bastien, Weasel Traveller, Breaker, Breaker, Good Striker and Good Striker, *Nistawatsimin,* 27.

Reading from former students like Chief Bear may also bring new information about childhood, as he reflects fondly on his childhood and the bonds he had with his parents before being taken for school. Bear Chief, Frits Pannekoek Judy Bedford, *My Decade at Old Sun,* 14-15.

For more information regarding the history of residential school please see The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Calls to Action," (Winnipeg, MB: 2015), The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Canada's Residential Schools, The History, Part 1, Origins to 1939: The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Volume I.* Montreal; (Kingston; London; Chicago: McGill- Queen's University Press, 2016), and The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Survivors Speak: A Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada,* (2015), http://www.trc.ca/assets/pdf/Survivors_Speak_English_Web.pdf.

To research the history of residential schools, one must also look at J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision : a History of Native Residential Schools*, (University of Toronto Press, 1996) and McCallum Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System*. *A National Crime*, (Winnipeg, CA: University of Manitoba Press, 2017).

[60] Lindstrom, Choate, Bastien, Weasel Traveller, Breaker, Breaker, Good Striker and Good Striker, *Nistawatsimin,* 25.

don't ever punish them physically, but set them straight."[61] Lindstrom, Choate, Bastien, Weasel Traveller, Breaker, Breaker, Good Striker and Good Striker also highlight how child rearing in some communities was seen as a holistic and community focused activity that utilized lessons that were passed down in traditions.[62]

Recording children in situations and a way that is different than the community that they came from creates discrepancies in the *adult created records* of the schools and churches. Lindstrom, Choate, Bastien, Weasel Traveller, Breaker, Breaker, Good Striker and Good Striker note that

> [f]or millennia, Aboriginal peoples have provided a safe, sustainable and optimal environment most conducive to the development of children. Emerging research into the relational neurobiology of parenting offers scientific proof supporting the fact that Aboriginal parenting practices fostered ideal conditions for healthy brain development in Aboriginal infants and children.[63]

Residential schools disrupted these traditions and this means that the records created about these children would be very different than the ways communities would have chosen to record them. Furthermore, the legacy of intergenerational trauma experienced by Indigenous individuals and communities highlights the long-lasting damage of these schools that separated children from their families' traditions.[64] Children, according to elders in the Blackfoot confederacy, are "seen as a sacred gift from the Creator and [they] ha[ve] membership in the larger community."[65] This conflicts with colonial ideas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century which saw children as "not yet adult" and merely a stage of development to be molded. [66]

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[61] Bear Chief, Frits Pannekoek Judy Bedford, *My Decade at Old Sun,* 16.

[62] Lindstrom, Choate, Bastien, Weasel Traveller, Breaker, Breaker, Good Striker and Good Striker*, Nistawatsimin,* 60.

[63] In this report, the researchers go on to list various studies that look at the ways in which Indigenous communities have and continue to raise their children. Lindstrom, Choate, Bastien, Weasel Traveller, Breaker, Breaker, Good Striker and Good Striker*, Nistawatsimin,* 56 and 59-60.

[64] Lindstrom, Choate, Bastien, Weasel Traveller, Breaker, Breaker, Good Striker and Good Striker*, Nistawatsimin,* 42.

[65] This comes from theme two, regarding child care that the researchers in this study identified as being raised by Blackfoot elders. This study did not directly cite particular elders. This study uses various quotations from elders which I have chosen not to include, as they do not clearly identify which community the quotations come from. Many of these quotations though support the ideas presented throughout the study. Lindstrom, Choate, Bastien, Weasel Traveller, Breaker, Breaker, Good Striker and Good Striker*, Nistawatsimin,* 86.

[66] Eugeen Verhellen, "The Convention on the Rights of the Child: Reflections from a historical, social policy and educational perspective," in *Routledge International Handbook of Children's Rights Studies,* ed. by Wouter Vandenhole et al. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 55 and Sánchez-Eppler, "In the Archives of Childhood," 216.

It is important to listen to the *later recollections* of the children and stories of their lives, as this offers information beyond the depictions of their lives in colonial documents. To do otherwise leaves the narrative of childhood in the hands of adults, adults who, in the case of residential schools, treated the children as part of their colonial tactics.

Child Created Records from Old Sun

I entered this case studying, like I did at every archive I researched at, in a perhaps optimistic search for *child created records.* I hoped to find the pencil drawings and words of children that I felt so excited to find for my first chapter on Mennonite childhood. *Child created records* initially seemed to be the ideal records of childhood for my thesis as a whole. During my research, I quickly found that *child created records* required additional research and often knowledge from their creators to be understood. In a way, the *child created records* I found about residential schools obscured what happened at the schools because they, at least the ones I was able to access, were created under the guidance of those who operated residential schools.[67] Many *child created records* that were preserved would further be affected by the curation practices of the school and adults who were carrying out the school's mission. The records could easily convey colonial perspectives more than children's perspectives.

With these limitations in mind, I was excited and yet uneasy when I found a hand drawn and digitized book entitled "Blackfoot Indian Legends 1954."[68] I was uncertain about this record because it had been digitized and placed online with little contextual information and likely without the permission of the children who authored it. The booklet contains Blackfoot stories told by students at Old Sun. The stories are signed by various children and written in neat handwriting. The stories may have been copied, or they may have been retold or created by the students themselves.[69] One of the stories, "The Frog who Rewarded the Man" was copied by a

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[67] I want to acknowledge that there likely is *child created records* that showed different perspectives, but through my research application at the NCTR I was not shown records of this nature.

[68] Notably this was not a record within the holdings of the NCTR. Due to complications and time restraints I did not access any *child created records* from the NCTR. A deeper look into this archive may have revealed *child created records* that were made by the students outside of the formal schooling process. *Legends by Blackfoot School Children at Old Sun Residential School*, (Calgary, AB: Glenbow Museum, 1954), available through: Adam Matthew, Marlborough, Empire Online, http://www.empire.amdigital.co.uk.uml.idm.oclc.org/Documents/Details/Legends by Blackfoot school children at Old Sun Residential School.

[69] The stories have a wide variety of titles which all suggest that they could be stories that they created or ones they encountered through their traditions. Story titles include: "The Good and Bad Boys," "The Woman who Tried to Kill her Children," (Na-Be) The Old Man," and "The Frog who Rewarded the Man." Many of these stories

grade seven student. Upon research I discovered that this story is a variation of a Blackfoot story[70] The fact that these children knew this story and were writing about it in a record created by the school says something about the cultural knowledge that students were able to retain, but the reason that the school made them write these and the fact that it survived to enter the Glenbow Museum (where it currently resides) may have not been to record Blackfoot culture. This is thus a *child created record* wrapped in the context of the residential school system and the desires of those who told the children to create the record.

Why or how the record came to the Glenbow Museum, let alone why it was digitized, is not clear. Studying this record though can led one to question the authenticity of *child created records* to convey the experiences of children when they are impacted by adult desire. Is one to believe that these children were learning Blackfoot stories in class? Are the children telling these stories from memory, or were they dictated to them by their teachers? For me, this highlights how community members could offer important insight into the accuracy of these stories and why they were being taught at Old Sun. It is necessary to have *grown children* or the community involved in the way this record is understood and used.

Overall, although this record can only provide limited information and provokes many questions, I still find great value in seeing mark's created by child in archival records despite the restrictions of the colonial school systems. I still find that *child created records* can lead to productive research and allow children's narratives to be heard, but I found that it is most beneficial to see these records in their context. Ultimately, a child's voice can shine through these records, but *grown children* or the community may need to help it be better understood.

Adult created records from Old Sun

Next my research turned to the *adult created records* that I was provided access to through the NCTR. As instructed by NCTR, I completed an application for access to Old Sun records. This application was reviewed by the NCTR's access committee, and I was eventually provided with access to scans of a few correspondence records from the 1950s. These records were about a legal case against a member of the staff at Old Sun. I do not detail the particulars of this case,

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have violent aspects and revolve around children's lives. *Legends by Blackfoot School Children at Old Sun Residential School*.

[70] This story is told by Clement Chief Bear. According to the Oki Napi to Blackfoot Crossing Historical Park this "story is told to children to teach them that if they are kind to others and help them they will be rewarded." Oki Napi to Blackfoot Crossing Historical Park, "Story Telling," http://www.blackfootcrossing.ca/story-telling.html. *Legends by Blackfoot School Children at Old Sun Residential School*, 10.

in order to respect the former student's ability to tell their own stories.[71] Even though these *adult created records* tell stories about these children and are not made by the children, they still detail events that impacted particular children. As in my second chapter, these records have to be understood in a way where childhood stories are highlighted and I would further argue in a way that shows how they are impacted by *grown children.*

A letter from E.S.W. Cole, principal of Old Sun describes how complaints about an individual's actions were made at a Blackfoot Council meeting at the regional office. At this meeting the Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies was present. In the letter, Cole speaks of being "embarrassed" that he was not able to speak to the Council prior to the meeting and have his opinion consulted. He was frustrated that the Regional Supervisor trusted the Blackfoot Council at all.[72] The ability of the Blackfoot Council to voice this claim offers important information regarding the community's resistance and strength, but Cole should have been embarrassed that the children were not consulted. Children's perspectives likely though would not be something this principal wa concerned with and his authority over the children should be highlighted when one looks at these *adult created records.* Further *adult created records* regarding this complaint claim that the Indigenous individuals who made these remarks about the teacher should not be trusted.[73] In comparison, Cole refers to conversations he had with students regarding the incident and claims that the children "ganged" up on the individual being accused in order to get them in trouble.[74] Cole speaks for the children and they almost seem like silent participants and not the ones having their childhoods impacted.

The whole story is told without the perspective of those who lived out the experiences themselves. Cole's derogatory remarks regarding the Blackfoot people throughout his letter further show how he wrote within a colonial worldview. This *adult created record,* when understood in its colonial context, can offer useful information about the restrictions placed on

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[71] I was not able to find *later recollections* regarding this case in particular.

[72] OLD-001022 [000728] Redacted - Letter to G.H. Gooderham from E.S.W. Cole 22 February 1950. Old Sun Residential School Records, (Winnipeg, MB: National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation).

[73] OLD-001022 [000728] Redacted- Letter from E.S.W. Cole to Colonel Bernard F. Neary. 22 February 1950. Old Sun Residential School Records, (Winnipeg, MB: National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation).

[74] OLD-001022 [000728] Redacted- Letter from E.S.W. Cole to Colonel Bernard F. Neary. 22 February 1950. Old Sun Residential School Records. Interestingly, Bear Chief describes a variety of instances in which students during his time at Old Sun were treated poorly. He also mentions a time when staff members lost their job over mistreatment of the students in 1955 (a different circumstance then the one listed above). Bear Chief, Frits Pannekoek Judy Bedford, *My Decade at Old Sun, My Lifetime of Hell*. Edmonton, (CA: Athabasca University Press, 2016), 26-33.

children and can even highlight events such as the abuse described in the letters. Unfortunately, there were many *adult created records* made about the school which shows the limited ability of children to impact the decisions that affected their lives at the school, but this in itself can lead to opportunities to understand these childhoods better.

The importance of *grown children* interacting with *adult created records* was something I clearly noticed while reading another *adult created record:* an Old Sun *Monthly Report* digitized by the Glenbow Archives.[75] This Old Sun *Monthly Report,* Sheila Carr-Stewart and Jane Preston point out, "always referred to students by their numbered placement on the school enrolment list."[76] Attempts were made to strip children of their identity when their names were disconnected from their experiences on *adult created records*. These colonial records, especially when they are accessed publicly, can continue to hurt the understandings of these childhoods and the *grown children* who lived through them. For example, there is a *Monthly Report* list of names that is publicly available in a digitized copy on the Glenbow's website that does not contain any explanation of the way the record was created.[77] When I read this record, I was very uncomfortable with the one-line summaries of children in these reports which simply stated the child's name followed by what the administrator observed. For a child's life to be recorded as: "living, [e]xcellent health. Good [w]orker"[78] hardly portrays a compete representation. The child

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[75] Calgary Indian Missions fonds. "Old Sun pupils. -- 1908-1909," File M-1356-7, (Calgary, AB: Glenbow Museum, 1908-1909).

[76] Sheila Carr-Stewart and Jane Preston, "Blackfoot Children and Old Sun's Boarding School: 1894-1897: A Case Study," *First Nations Perspectives* 3, 1 (2010): 12.

[77] These reports have been digitized and exist on the Glenbow Archives webpage where anyone can access the records. The only description given is: "Old Sun pupils. -- 1908-1909. -- Consists of a report about students who attended Old Sun Industrial School on the Blackfoot (Siksika) reserve in southern Alberta beginning in 1894. Many of the students died or were discharged due to ill health, while others left because they had completed school or married." Calgary Indian Missions fonds. "Old Sun pupils. -- 1908-1909."

[78] I have actively chosen not to record this student's name or Residential School number, as to protect the privacy of the student who likely did not consent to this record's creation. This is with the knowledge of the age of the document, as I do not wish to continue to allow this, brief annotation to be the story of this child's life. Calgary Indian Missions fonds. "Old Sun pupils. -- 1908-1909," 2.

Recently the names of 2,800 students who died in residential schools were released by the NCTR. This indicates the importance of sharing names and honouring these children, but this was done in conjunction with the NCTR and communities. This list is an important honouring of these students, as "[t]he list has been created to break the silence over the fates of at least some of the thousands who disappeared during the decades the schools operated." By not mentioning this child's name in this section I am attempting to honour this child who was much more than the description the school provided, but I also acknowledge the importance of remembering and honouring the names of children who died in the schools. Names are important reminders that these children were not just numbers or objects of the school system, but children. Teresa Wright and Bob Weber. "Names of children who died in residential schools released in sombre ceremony," *National Post*, (30 September 2019), https://nationalpost.com/pmn/news-pmn/canada-news-pmn/names-of-children-who-died-in-residential-schools-to-be-released.

described here likely was not actively a part of this record's creation and may not have known about its existence.[79] The records mostly showcased what the government and churches wanted the world to see of the residential schools. This means that people studying residential schools have to understand the nature of the *adult created records.* Otherwise, researchers and archivists run the risk of perpetuating adult ideas onto these children's experiences.

Later Recollections

After researching *child* and *adult created records* I was led to look for the voices missing. The perspectives of children, at least in the records I was able to access, often appear to have not been recorded. In this section, I look at a few *later recollections* in the form of testimonies provided at TRC gatherings and events to determine what can be learned hearing *grown children* detail their childhood. Collecting the statements of former students was an important aspect of the TRC and it is helpful to understand the context in which these *later recollections* were collected. The Indian Residential School Agreement (IRSSA), in regards to the collection of *later recollections,* says:

> The Commission shall coordinate the collection of individual statements by written, electronic or other appropriate means. Notwithstanding the five year mandate, anyone affected by the IRS legacy will be permitted to file a personal statement in the research centre with no time limitation. The Commission shall provide a safe, supportive and sensitive environment for individual statement-taking/truth sharing. The Commission shall not use or permit access to an individual's statement made in any Commission processes, except with the express consent of the individual.[80]

The testimonies that were presented in public hearings (now available on the NCTR's website) from throughout Canada are meant to be a public witness to the school systems. Former students were able to speak out at these national events, like Sharing Circles, which included: "(f) an opportunity for a sample number of former students and families to share their experiences; (g) an opportunity for some communities in the regions to share their experiences as they relate to the impact on communities and to share insights from their community reconciliation processes."[81] In this way, the *later recollections* collected in public hearings, national events (Sharing Circle and Sharing Panels), or continuously in the following years cannot be disconnected from these events which

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[79] Wilson and Golding, "Latent Scrutiny," 95.
[80] Indian Residential School Agreement, "Schedule "N.""
[81] Indian Residential School Agreement, "Schedule "N.""

offered a place for people to publicly convey the truth of the residential system and the stories of their childhood. For this section I watched the TRC's Calgary Event from November 2013.[82]

At the TRC's Calgary event in November 2013, former students shared important details of their childhoods. While listening to the Sharing Circles on NCTR's website I was struck with how vividly the former students were able to convey what happened to them many years prior. They were able to very clearly convey small details. In many ways, I could tell that these testimonies were very much part of the *grown child's* current memory. Reg Crowshoe, recalled his Father saying, in relation to his time at residential schools, that "we [former students] may be through with the past… but is the past through with us."[83] Crowshoe highlights the lasting legacy of the schools and in his oral testimony one can see how his time at residential schools continued to affect his life. His testimony also includes his reflection upon what occurred to him in a way that highlights Sutherland's points regarding retrospection. Crowshoe says he remembers that in the time before he went to residential school he knew of his culture and traditions, but at residential schools he found "a different way of life."[84] He sees the changes of residential school in a bigger picture and details his childhood as a *grown child* with that perspective in mind. In his testimony, he discusses a time in which he and his friends tried to escape their school.[85] In his testimony, Crowshoe identifies his experiences and reflects on why he responded the way he did to certain punishments. Through this testimony one is able to learn about the events of the schools and also understand these events through the context of the TRC and the impact that residential school had on his life. For instance, he relates the experiences of residential

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[82] Due to the mental space and time that it takes to watch these Sharing Circles I have chosen to just watch the Calgary Event. This event has a range of speakers from various Indigenous communities. Where possible I have mentioned the name of the former student. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, "Alberta Hearing: Calgary Event- Sharing Panel," (5 November 2013), https://nctr.ca/SCRIPTS/MWIMAIN.DLL/154526251/1/2/2363894?RECORD&DATABASE=DESC_ACC_VIEW.

[83] Reg Crowshoe is from the Piikani Nation and he attended St. Cyprian residential school. Reg Crowshoe, "Alberta Hearing: Calgary Event Day 2- Sharing Panel,"00:33:00.

[84] He explains how he was in a western culture that was unfamiliar to him. He also highlights how he cannot forget the number that was assigned to him at school and the important factors that shaped his childhood. Crowshoe, "Alberta Hearing: Calgary Event- Day 2 -Sharing Panel,"00:35:00.

[85] This includes information about the RCMP coming to his Aunties' house after they ran away. The RCMP threatened to arrest his family if they did not return to school. Crowshoe, "Alberta Hearing: Calgary Event-Day 2- Sharing Panel,"00:40:00.

schools to the hardships he has seen in his and his friend's lives.[86] This adds valuable information to help one understand how his childhood was lived.

In another testimony, Yvonne Johnson talks about how increasing public interest in residential schools encouraged her mother to acknowledge the painful memories she had of her time in residential school whereas before the TRC her mother had praised her time there.[87] The stories and perspectives that come out of these *later recollections* are shaped by the truth being revealed by thousands of *grown children*. The TRC encouraged stories to emerge that maybe could not before surface. In this way, these stories offer perspectives of childhood that are different from *child* and *adult created records*. Former students are able to offer evidence about events that would not otherwise be recorded. *Later recollections* can also offer insight into current information about the importance of Indigenous ways of life.[88] Without these *later recollections* the story of former students' childhoods could not be completely understood

Grown Children and Ethical Access to Childhood

The study of Old Sun's records further highlighted for me how *grown children* can provide more ethical access to the stories of their childhood. Across the world there have been other cases in which records for children in government care facilities have not accurately reflected childhoods.[89] These studies become important examples, along with the NCTR about involving *grown children* in their own narratives.

Joanne Evans, Sue McKemmish, Elizabeth Daniels, and Gavan McCarthy study the ways in which various communities of children in care have accessed their records from the point of view of the Australian record keeping systems. They discuss how record keeping processes in government-run care facilities have often left children virtually invisible in records and in turn created records that often did not tell a story the *grown child* remembered.[90] The ways in which these other communities have sought to reconcile these differences is important to mention in relation to my thesis and this chapter in

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[86] Crowshoe, "Alberta Hearing: Calgary Event- Day 2 - Sharing Panel," 00:40:00.

[87] Yvonne Johnson is from the Cree Nation in Saskatchewan, "Alberta Hearing: Calgary Event- Day 2 - Sharing Panel," 00:54:00.

[88] Crowshoe, "Alberta Hearing: Calgary Event- Day 2 - Sharing Panel," 00:48:00.

[89] Joanne Evans, Sue McKemmish, Elizabeth Daniels, and Gavan McCarthy, "Self-Determination and Archival Autonomy: Advocating Activism," *Archival Science* 15, no. 4 (December 2015): 345-356.

[90] Evans, McKemmish, Daniels, and McCarthy, "Self-Determination and Archival Autonomy," 344.

particular. This is because the work of the NCTR plays an important role in making known the truth of the residential school system, but it also plays an important role in the greater conversation of how childhood is ethically recorded.

A few projects in Australia, including the Forgotten Australian and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project at the National Library of Australia in 2012, are good models for how *grown children* can tell their own stories in relation to or in contrast to the records that were created about them.[91] From these studies the Pathways: Historical Resources for people who experienced out of home ''care'' in Victoria website was formed. This website encourages children who were in government care systems in Australia to seek out their records. This website provides instructions about how the Australian government and various social workers maintained records.[92] In a way, it informs *grown children* on how to think like records professionals in a hope that they will understand the way their own lives were recorded. *Grown children* are taught how to research their records in a way that invites them to be a part of their record's future use. This is similar to efforts to have former students involved at the NCTR. Furthermore, various National Inquiries in Australia into abuses in care have identified record keeping as a prominent issue.[93] This is because, in many cases these *grown children* have to interact with their records in order to understand their childhood. It is ethical to have their input regarding what story the *adult created records* and *child created records* convey. I argue that archivists should not see records of childhoods as frozen, "rare" depictions of a moment of one's life since gone. Rather childhood records are continuously shaped by *grown children* and have lasting impact on their lives.

The above example highlights how *grown children* interacting with *adult created records* from their childhood is an effective way of addressing lacking elements in the documentation. Sometimes ethically recording childhood is also about having *grown children* involved in the process, even if they are not directly creating a *later recollection.* At the NCTR Indigenous communities are directly involved in the ways their records are

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[91] Evans, McKemmish, Daniels, and McCarthy, "Self-Determination and Archival Autonomy," 346.

[92] Evans, McKemmish, Daniels, and McCarthy, "Self-Determination and Archival Autonomy," 351.

[93] This was the case at the following inquires: *Stolen Generations* (Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission (HREOC) 1997), *Lost Innocents* (Senate Community Affairs References Committee (SCARC) (2001), and *Forgotten Australians* (SCARC 2004) Frank Golding, "The Problems with records and Record Keeping practices are not confined to the past," *Archival Science* 20 (2020): 2.

accessed. The NCTR has a comprehensive application process for anyone wanting to research records at their archives.[94] The NCTR's online database also provides former students with the opportunity to request that an item be taken down.[95] Former students, *grown children,* are actively deciding how their lives are presented to the public.

Other avenues for *grown children* to interact with the records of their childhood in archives may be less evident, but sometimes it may be beneficial for *grown children* to help with archival descriptions. For instance, many initiatives already exist, such as Project Naming at Library and Archives Canada (LAC), which have Indigenous communities involved in identifying individuals in photographs that were taken by past anthropologists and other settler professionals.[96] Previous archival descriptions and catalogues often represent only the opinions, perspectives and world views of certain people in power and certain archivists.[97] In this way, creating *later recollections* of childhood is also about ensuring that *grown children* are active in archival descriptions.

In addition, archives should ensure that the context of records of childhood is known. For example, Sherry Farrell Racette notes that it is often hard to find children in the photographs taken by anthropologists of Indigenous communities.[98] This is because the children had been removed from communities and placed in residential schools. In turn, the photographs of children from residential schools are often, as Racette points out, staged before and after photographs that were used as propaganda to prove the "success" of the schools. In contrast, Racette highlights how when children were forcibly taken from their families there were no photographs of these horrific scenes.[99] This kind of contextual information would be beneficial

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[94] This process establishes trust between the researcher and the NCTR who is holding the information of former students. Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies,* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 98.

[95] United Nations, Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights, *Promotion and Protection of Human Rights. Impunity. Report of the independent expert to update the Set of principles to combat impunity, Diane Orentlicher,* (2005), paragraph 33.

[96] Another example of this kind of project is the Names and Knowledge Initiative at the Hudson Bay Company Archives which again asks for community support to create more accurate descriptions of archival photographs. Beth Greenhorn, "Project Naming/Un visage, un nom," *International Preservation News* 61 (2013): 20-24.

[97] Simon Fowler, "Inappropriate Expectations," *The Silence of the Archive,* (London: Facet, 2017), 55.

[98] Sherry Farrell Racette, "Haunted: First Nations Children in Residential School Photography," in *Depicting Canada's Children*. Edited by Loren R. Lerner, (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009), 49.

[99] Kent Monkman has created art inspired by classical paintings that depict these scenes. He created this artwork through archival research. Kent Monkman, *The Scream, 2016.* Morgan-Feir, Caoimhe. "Kent Monkman: History Painting for a Colonized Canada." c*anadianart* 26 January 2017. https://canadianart.ca/features/kent-monkman-critiques-canada-150/. Racette, "Haunted: First Nations Children in Residential School Photography," 57.

to have within collection descriptions, so that people do not just assume that children lived in the way the colonial *adult created records* represented them.

In other cases, it is important to repatriate and involve *grown children* in decisions about what happens with documents that were created about or by them. This would ensure that existing collections are ethical. Dr. Andrea Walsh from the University of Victoria worked with paintings that were brought to the University of Victoria's Archives by Robert Aller from his time teaching art classes at Inkameep Day School, St Michael's Indian Residential School; the Alberni Indian Residential School and Mackay Indian Residential School.[100] Walsh has worked to find the original child artists of the 700 pieces of art, so that she could ensure that the artwork kept by the archives were only the ones that had the consent to be showcased.[101]

Aller had collected these paintings likely to record his classes or out of personal interest. Aller likely did not ask the children, or their guardians, if he could keep and eventually donate these records to the archives.[102] Walsh, like Wilson and Golding, argues that it is necessary for *grown children* to influence how their childhoods have been recorded.[103] For Walsh, this means that the *grown child* has the chance to be active in the appraisal decisions of the archive retrospectively, even though their thoughts and opinions regarding their time in residential schools are likely different from when they were as a child. Furthermore, Walsh argues that the documents created by children remain something that the archive cares for and not something that the archive takes ownership of.[104] This is related to First Nations research principals of OCAP which focus on ownership, control, access and possession for records from First Nations. This study highlighted for me that the *child created records* that are so highly prized in archives may be unethically collected. Archivists and researchers should learn the context of these records and not just assume that a *child created record* is in an archive because of the decisions of the child themselves.

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[100] This information comes from notes regarding Dr. Andrea Walsh's talk at the BC GLAM Symposium 2019. Emily Lonie, "BC GLAM Symposium 2019," Things I'm Fonds of: Highlighting archivists and their work, (17 May 2019), http://www.thingsimfondsof.com/its-the-glam-time-of-year-again-glam-symposium-2019/.
[101] Lonie, "BC GLAM Symposium 2019."
[102] These paintings are in an exhibit called "There is Truth Here, *Creativity and Resilience in Children's Art from Indian Residential and Day Schools*" which is on display at the Museum of Vancouver. Lonie, "BC GLAM Symposium 2019," and Museum of Vancouver, "There is Truth Here: Creativity and Resilience in Children's Art from Indian Residential and Day Schools," (5 April 2019), https://museumofvancouver.ca/there-is-truth-here.
[103] Lonie, "BC GLAM Symposium 2019."
[104] Lonie, "BC GLAM Symposium 2019."

Furthermore, issues of childhood being misrepresented in *adult created records* calls for better record keeping systems to be implemented. Evans, McKemmish, Daniels, and McCarthy suggest that the lack of or inaccurate records has a serious effect on *grown children* researching their lives in archives. [105] If generations worth of *grown children* from various countries are struggling to learn about their past from records that were created about them, then a focus on *grown children* and the *later recollections* they create becomes necessary for anyone studying the records of children. [106] There needs to be conversations around what better record keeping practices look like for current children in care. Maybe archives and record creators should look to ethically collect the perspectives of children or *grown children* and include them in the record creating process. There is a distinct benefit of having alternative ways to record childhood experiences that could be used in conjunction with *child created* and *adult created records*. No record keeping system is identical within governments, schools, orphanages or families both in Canada and globally and so the diversity of childhood should always be noted.[107] The creation of better and more accurate recording keeping systems for childhood deserves a further study.[108]

Conclusion

While reading *adult created records* about residential schools and some secondary research regarding the schools I often found myself wondering "where are the children?[109]" It was while watching the testimonies and reading *later recollections* that the children's stories started to come alive. They were no longer just names on a page. While watching the testimonies I realized the legacy of these school systems, but I also witnessed the strength of the individuals who tell their stories.. *Later recollections* are an important

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[105] Evans, McKemmish, Daniels, and McCarthy, "Self-Determination and Archival Autonomy," 345.

[106] Evans, McKemmish, Daniels, and McCarthy, "Self-Determination and Archival Autonomy," 346 and Elizabeth Shepherd, "Care Leavers Trying to Access Childhood Records is Distressing and Dehumanising," *The Conversation,* (3 October 2019), https://theconversation.com/care-leavers-trying-to-access-childhood-records-is-distressing-and-dehumanising-124381.

[107] Evans, McKemmish, Daniels, and McCarthy, "Self-Determination and Archival Autonomy," 347.

[108] This following citation is a study that includes a list of suggested ways to create better record keeping systems that focuses on catching and preventing abuse. Evans, McKemmish, Daniels, and McCarthy, "Self-Determination and Archival Autonomy," 347.

[109] A ground breaking exhibit (now online) by Jeff Thomas exists with the title "Where are the children." In Thomas' exhibit he highlights stories from residential schools that show how children were taken from their families. Jeff Thomas. "Where are the Children," (*Legacy of Hope Foundation,* 2001), http://wherearethechildren.ca/en/.

element of not only childhood history, but also of the histories of communities who had their children taken from them.

Later recollection records are a significant aspect of the historical study of childhood. Although they are not perfect sources, as they are complicated by issues of nostalgia, memory loss or contemporary issues for the *grown child*, they can provide alternative narratives and understandings of a *grown child's* past experiences. Often, they may be able to tell stories that *adult created* and *child created records* alone cannot convey. They are important for children who were not properly recorded or were recorded by adults who did not share the cultural understanding of the communities that the children were raised in. As explored, *later recollections* may also be manifested in opportunities for *grown children* to interact with the records of their childhood with the creation of restrictions, descriptions or in the repatriation of records. Ultimately, *later recollections* should not replace other forms of childhood records. Instead, I argue that they should be more closely looked at and considered as a way in which the youth is recorded. This is because they support a more complete understanding of the history of particular childhoods and they also provide more ethical access to their stories.

Child abuse still occurs in society and there are still recording processes that exist that have the potential to hide children's perspective.[110] Furthermore, intergenerational trauma highlights the lasting effects of the residential school system on people living today whose parents, grandparents or other care givers lived through the system.[111] Understanding how the residential school system was damaging to its students is an important step in ensuring that similar instances do not happen in the future and provide support for Survivors.[112]

Later recollections often exist outside of archives.[113] When discussing oral history and the legacy of its use Freund, Llewellyn and Reilly discuss how many communities throughout Canada use oral histories and *later recollections* to pass down traditions and cultures. [114] It is not

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[110] Law Commission of Canada, *Restoring Dignity,* 6.

[111] Law Commission of Canada, *Restoring Dignity,* 6-7.

[112] United Nations, Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights, *Promotion and Protection of Human Rights. Impunity. Report of the independent expert to update the Set of principles to combat impunity, Diane Orentlicher,* (2005), paragraphs 32-35 and Law Commission of Canada, *Restoring Dignity,* 15.

[113] This is important for Indigenous communities whose many stories are often passed on in the form of oral histories. This also extends, though in a very different way, to anyone who passes on the stories of their childhood to someone else even if it is just in causal Sunday evening dinners. Borrows (Kegedonce), *Drawing Out Law - A Spirit's Guide,* 4 and Miller, *Oral History on Trial,* 2-3..

[114] Freund, Llewellyn and Reilly, "Introduction," 4.

just academics and archivists who are responsible for the memory and the transfer of this knowledge and thus the stories of childhood.[115] The stories that parents tell their children about their own childhoods become a part of the parent and children's identities as well as their family history. If childhood is something learned and transmitted through the stories of families and communities, then there will always need to be attention given to what *grown children* are saying because, by its very nature, some aspects of childhood may not enter archives.[116] *Later recollections* may be an ethical way of accessing many of the undocumented details of childhood.

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[115] Freund, Llewellyn and Reilly, "Introduction," 4.

[116] Childhood play is something Sutherland claims has been taught. Neil Sutherland, *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 32 and 220.

Conclusion

To Growth

On World Children's Day or National Children's Day, November 20th 2019, Library and Archives Canada (LAC) created a post on their Facebook page to commemorate the rights of children and the history of the United Nations' various Declarations regarding childhood rights. LAC routinely creates Facebook posts to celebrate different national holidays, individuals or commemorate particular collections. Interestingly, on World Children's Day 2019 LAC shared an image of a poster created by the UN in 1959 regarding the extension of the *Declaration of the Rights of the Child* that year.[1]

By choosing to celebrate World Children's Day with an image from the UN, LAC, though likely unintentionally, highlighted how the actions of adults have shaped what can be understood about children. On a day meant to celebrate the rights, needs and perspectives of children there were no *child created records* used in their post. LAC has a variety of child created records that would have worked well to show the perspectives of children. Of course, on this day, they were trying to celebrate the protocols of the UN, so maybe the *child created records* would not achieve this goal.

This post connects with a central concern of this thesis: the ethics of archives and childhood records. How are archivists to collect and maintain accurate records of childhood and accurate interactions with children and *grown children*? Perhaps the complex nature of recording childhood means that it will always be difficult to ethically obtain and use *child, adult* and *later recollection records.* How childhood records are maintained and how stories of childhood are told will always have a lot to do with the ethics of recording children and the access that the archive provides. I conclude my thesis with a brief discussion of the ethical and privacy issues regarding the future collection of records of children.

In the Association of Canadian Archivists' Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct, the association highlights how an archivist must work to "respect the privacy of the individuals who created or are the subjects of records, especially persons and communities who had no voice in the creation, transmission, disposition, or preservation of the records." In the very nature of the work that archivists do they should consider how the records within collections can affect *grown*

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[1] Library and Archives Canada, 2019, "On November 20, 1959, @UN," Facebook, 20 November 2019.

children and those who are still children.[2] Ethics are, in part, about protecting children's voices in the records as well as providing information regarding the nuances of *child created, adult created* and *later recollection* records. This ensures that a variety of opinions are both protected and represented.

Childhood stories can be unethically obtained and are difficult to capture because of various ideas of what constitutes childhood over time and throughout cultures. The believed autonomy of children is related to understandings and respecting the privacy of children and the level of consent, as a legal minor, they are able to give. Children in care are often not aware of the institutional documents are made about them.[3] This alone calls for *grown children* to play an active role in the preservation of their own records and telling of their stories. It also calls for one to remember that the records that document childhood and end up in archives are mitigated through the interactions of adults who shape or curate records for better or for worse.

Part of the problem with ethical access and record production is related to how society protects the privacy of children. The *Privacy Act*, published in 1983, protects an individual's personal information and privacy.[4] This has implications for the records of childhood, but this is a complex relationship, as many of the records were created without the consent of the child. Furthermore, it is not ethical to obtain consent from a child alone.

Personal privacy, as defined by the Working Group of Canadian Privacy Commissioners Child Youth Advocates, is "the ability of an individual or group to seclude themselves or information about themselves thereby revealing themselves selectively. The boundaries and content of what is considered private differ among cultures and individuals."[5] This aligns with my discussions regarding the cultural and historical contingencies of childhood. The frustrations

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[2] This may include access restrictions, if necessary. Association of Canadian Archivists, "Association of Canadian Archivists Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct," (18 October 2017), https://archivists.ca/resources/Documents/Governance%20and%20Structure/aca_code_of_ethics_final_october_2017.pdf,3.

[2] Kristine Alexander, "Childhood and Colonialism in Canadian History," *History Compass.* 14, no. 9 (2016)."

[3] Jacqueline Wilson and Z. Golding, "Latent Scrutiny: Personal Archives as Perpetual Mementos of the Official Gaze," *Archival Science* 16, no. 1 (2016): 95.

[4] Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada., *A Guide for Individuals Protecting Your Privacy.* (December 2015), https://www.priv.gc.ca/en/about-the-opc/publications/guide_ind/.

[5] Working Group of Canadian Privacy Commissioners Child Youth Advocates, and Canadian Electronic Library. *There Ought to Be a Law Protecting Children's Online Privacy in the 21st Century / by the Working Group of Canadian Privacy Commissioners and Child and Youth Advocates.* DesLibris. Documents Collection. Ottawa, Ont.: [Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada] (2009), 5.

that historians have had with the lack of *child created records* and *grown children's* frustrations with their representation in *adult created records* is perhaps rooted in consent and privacy laws. Resolving this issue in contemporary Canada, should lead one to look at privacy laws in conjunction with the United Nations declarations. The ethical access and collection of *child created records* may though be something difficult to achieve in a world where children are constantly curating their own record sets on Instagram, Snapchat or TikTok. Social media companies are also accumulating thousands of *child created records*.

The Canadian Child Youth Advocates Commissioners in their book, *There Ought to Be a Law Protecting Children's Online Privacy in the 21st Century,* are concerned with online privacy and not archives, but their work offers information on the way in which children's records are collected and made. As stated, many Canadian children are making online records on social media platforms, so many of the records that may need to be theoretically collected to document contemporary childhoods are born digital and connected to internet privacy issues.[6] Children often use social media platforms as a form of self expression and isolation from adults.[7] This makes the records very revealing and an important aspect of childhood that could be missed in future archives. Furthermore, privacy laws exist to give people, even children, a say in how their personal information is used.[8] Collecting data from children in a way that does not respect the consent or desires of the child would not respect the right of the child to be able to influence what happens with their personal information.[9] Whether that data is collected to be sold to social media advertisers or be placed in archives may not matter. The *child created records* that I so desperately looked for in archives across Canada arrived there often because of reasons beyond the child who created the record. This has huge implications for existing and future collections of documents about childhood.

The privacy of a child also goes beyond the initial appraisal of the record into the archives. Catherine Hobbs makes important claims about the privacy and ethics of working with private

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[6] This group is concerned with childhood records being used for predatory reasons or contemporary cyber bullying. The question though for archives becomes how do these relate to how they are recorded in archives. Working Group of Canadian Privacy Commissioners Child Youth Advocates, and Canadian Electronic Library. *There Ought to Be a Law Protecting Children's Online Privacy in the 21st Century,* 5-6.

[7] Working Group of Canadian Privacy Commissioners Child Youth Advocates, and Canadian Electronic Library. *There Ought to Be a Law Protecting Children's Online Privacy in the 21st Century,* 8.

[8] Working Group of Canadian Privacy Commissioners Child Youth Advocates, and Canadian Electronic Library. *There Ought to Be a Law Protecting Children's Online Privacy in the 21st Century,* 5.

[9] Wilson and Golding, "Latent Scrutiny," 93.

records that can be applied to the documents of children (*adult, child* and *later recollection records*). Hobbs, when talking about the ways in which archivists acquire, title and describe private collections, describes how archivists impact and shape the understanding of the collection they receive.[10] Hobbs discusses how at every point of interacting with the records an archivist is creating interpretations that affect how it is used for years to come.[11] She suggests that archivists always must recall that they have the ethnical imperative to remember that records are connected to someone's life and can still affect or change their lives.[12] In this way, archivists have to remember that the records that they receive regarding childhood are complex and not just the idealized and glamorized records that some have made them out to be.

Children are vulnerable members of society and the way they are recorded, as seen in chapter three, can greatly affect their current life and the life of *grown children.*[13] Obviously the records of children will have to be treated in a particular manner, a manner which respects the autonomy of the child, but yet understands and details their relationship to adult figures of power in their lives. This all creates an important context for these records and imperatives for the future collections. In terms of *later recollections,* it means understanding the period when the childhood was remembered in as much as the period being discussed.[14] Maybe with this context in mind the perspectives of children can be better collected and used by current researchers.

The frustrations of historians may lead some to argue that archives must simply save more *child created records* in order to better represent childhood. Ethically this issue is more complex than that simple answer would suggest, as obtaining these sources is not as easy as preventing them from being destroyed. It involves a process of consent and authority that would change the operation of archival practices. For instance, Alexander is frustrated that she was "not even able to learn a single … [of the Girl Guides she was studying] names."[15] This leads to the question of whether Alexander should have ever been able to access the child's name to begin with? Maybe the child never wanted their thoughts, pictures or artwork to be taken. There are even surfacing

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[10] Catherine Hobbs, "Personal ethics: Being an archivist of writers," in *Basements and Attics, Closets and Cyberspace: Explorations in Canadian women's archives* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 2012): 182.

[11] This was discussed in the descriptions from the City of Toronto Archives of the child as "loitering" that I discussed in chapter two. Hobbs, "Personal ethics: Being an archivist of writers," 182.

[12] Hobbs, "Personal ethics: Being an archivist of writers," 184.

[13] Douglas and Mills, "From the sidelines to the center," 257 and Wilson and Golding, "Latent Scrutiny," 95.

[14] Freund, "Oral History as Process Generated Data," 234.

[15] Kristine Alexander, "Can the Girl Guide Speak? The Perils and Pleasures of Looking for Children's Voices in Archival Research," *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures*. 4, no. 1 (2012), 138.

cases of contemporary children protesting against the records created by their parents and shared on social media which call into question a level of consent a parent can have.[16] It is important to remember the impact that record keeping has on children's lives.

Frank Golding indicated, that there needs to be changes to the way childhood is recorded for children who are in various forms of care. Golding discusses a charter made by a group called the Care Leavers of Australasia Network (CLAN). This charter includes proposed ways to create and care for records of children, particularly children who are in vulnerable circumstances. CLAN's 2016 *Rights to Records* includes a child and *grown child's* right to challenge a record, control who can see the record and ultimately gain physical control over the record once they have aged out of the system.[17] This could be a potential way to look at recording childhood going forward.

Growth

Capturing the unique and varying experiences of a five, seven, fourteen or sixteen-year-old is never a simple process. Childhood is not universally experienced and different values and perspectives of society will be shown in the records left behind of particular children's childhoods. Each child is recorded uniquely in relation to the contextual reality of the world they lived in. In yearly purges of homework and art work, children regulate their childhood records just as adults regulate the records of those they care for.

I was privileged to experience a childhood with many happy memories. Furthermore, I can access records of my childhood through my family's informal archive, but I often wonder what will happen to these records in sixty years when my grandchildren want to know how I played. Even more so, I wonder what will happen to the stories of children who were not privileged to live a safe childhood like I had? Who will make sure their stories are told and let their voices are heard? It becomes clear that finding childhood in archives is not a straightforward task.

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[16] There are cases where children have actively revolted against the ways in which their "Mommy blogger" parent has recorded every action of their lives on various social media accounts. Sometimes this "digital trail" can follow the child throughout their lives and affect the decisions that they can make later in life.

Taylor Lorenz, "When Kids Realize Their Whole Life is Already Online," *The Atlantic,* (20 February 2019), https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2019/02/when-kids-realize-their-whole-life-already-online/582916/.

Allie Volpe, "How Parents of Child Influencers Package Their Kids Lives for Instagram," *The Atlantic,* (28 February 2019), https://www.theatlantic.com/family/archive/2019/02/inside-lives-child-instagram-influencers/583675/.

[17] CLAN's Rights to Records 2016. Golding, "The Problems with records and Record Keeping practices are not confined to the past," 9-10.

Perhaps one of the greatest challenges of studying childhood is that one can only be five for one year. Soon the child turns six years old and they pass their favorite sweater on to their younger sibling. Soon they have to change schools and class work becomes harder. With each day children grown and experience new things and so how do archivists capture this quickly evolving period of life? The answer could be that records cannot easily move from fridge magnets to acid free folders and when they do it is by the hands of adults or *grown children* and not often the children themselves. *Child created, adult created* and even *later recollections* in a sense can never alone fully articulate childhood. They need to be used together and they constantly evolve.

Childhood is a complex subject to research and to archive. It requires the inclusion of various perspectives in *child created, adult created* and *later recollection records.* It also requires an understanding of the unique and varied context of childhood. Researching childhood may include examining the ways adults record, document and have control over the children under their care. It also entails looking for children in unexpected records or even in unexpected annotations created by children. Childhood furthermore can be understood more completely when a *grown child* is consulted, as they can highlight narratives that may not have been told when the child was still young. None of these negates the importance of having *child created records* in archives, but rather highlights the opportunities researchers and archivists have to work with a variety of records and an assortment of stories while providing ethical access to these narratives.

It may also be that in the process of personal curation, retention schedules, biography creations and oral history studies that all records of childhood have in a sense become memories. A *grown child* reflects on their *child created records* and curates them to look a particular way. A family maintains the *child created records* of value in their homes to uphold a sense of family or belonging. The *adult created record* is culled through dispositions and records management in order to represent a particular function of a government. *Later recollections* are reflections of a *grown adult* on their records and life. Ultimately, my study showcases how the age of the creator of records truly matters in archives and deserves more attention. It has also made it clear that maybe archivists need to value the words, abilities and perspectives of children. Maybe archivists and researchers alike need to remember the complexity of their own youth.

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