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Quliaq tohongniaq tuunga (Making Histories):

Towards a Critical Inuvialuit Archaeology in the Canadian Western Arctic

by

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Abstract

The Inuvialuit of the Western Canadian Arctic have been both underrepresented and misrepresented in the annals of written history. The present study has sought to redress this gap both theoretically and methodologically through the process of undertaking a community-based archaeology project with the Inuvialuit. This study was formulated within a critical perspective, with a view to developing a localized critical theory suited to Inuvialuit worldviews and social needs. Methodologically, the project aimed to enfranchise Inuvialuit into the process of (re)telling their histories through the identification and (re)interpretation of Inuvialuit material culture. Inuvialuit Elders superseded this task by situating their traditional objects in a rich tapestry of personal stories, experiences, and remembrances. They demonstrated how Inuvialuit approaches to the past are fundamentally different from western perspectives of linear history. The study explores the convergences and divergences between how the Inuvialuit past is portrayed by insiders and outsiders, and also suggests how such representations are constructed within present cultural and sociopolitical circumstances. Inuvialuit Elders and community leaders asserted that their identities are constituted by their knowledge of a shared history and by their relationship to the land, and that these representations of the past are critical to understanding their present and to negotiating their future. The relationship developed over the course of this project between the Inuvialuit and archaeological communities has made strides towards both a critical Inuvialuit archaeology and towards the decolonizing of archaeological theory and practice in the Canadian north.

Dedication

*This dissertation is dedicated, with much
admiration and respect
to Elders of the Inuvialuit community

and with love and respect
to my sister Karen*

Acknowledgements

I first and foremost acknowledge and thank the many Inuvialuit that I have worked with over the past five years. I thank the Elders that I have worked with from the communities of Aklavik and Inuvik for their knowledge, humour, patience, and expertise. I thank several community leaders who have been integral to the process of developing the ideas presented in this dissertation. These include Cathy Cockney, Mervin Joe, Jerry Kisoun, Billy Archie, Velma Illisiak, and Nellie Cournoyea. I thank organizations in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region for their continued support of this research, including the Inuvik and Aklavik Community Corporations, the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, Aurora Research Institute, the Hamlet of Aklavik and Town of Inuvik.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	<i>iii</i>
Dedication	<i>iv</i>
Acknowledgements	<i>v</i>
Table of Contents	<i>viii</i>
List of Figures	<i>xii</i>
List of Plates	<i>xiii</i>
List of Tables	<i>xiv</i>
Chapter one. Introduction: Archaeology & the Inuvialuit	<i>1</i>
<i>A beginning</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Emerging elements of an Indigenous Archaeology</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Archaeology & Northern Indigenous Peoples</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Archaeology in the Inuvialuit community</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>Intentions & goals of the research</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>Introduction to my collaborators: Inuvialuit Elders from Aklavik & Inuvik, NT</i>	<i>16</i>
<i>Structure of the study</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>A note on representation in this study</i>	<i>18</i>
Chapter two. An external account of Inuvialuit change in the 20th century	<i>20</i>
<i>The contemporary Inuvialuit community</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>Commercial Whaling</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>The market-driven fur trade economy</i>	<i>24</i>
<i>The move into the delta</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>The new welfare state & government 'modernization'</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>Militarization of the north</i>	<i>27</i>
<i>Oil & gas discovery & development</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>The growth of pan-Inuit consciousness & and land claims</i>	<i>29</i>
<i>The negotiation of traditional and capitalist economies</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>The lives of Inuvialuit Elders in the 20th century</i>	<i>31</i>

Chapter three. Outlining a Critical Theory for Indigenous Archaeology	34
<i>History & tenets of critical theory</i>	35
<i>Critical theory in archaeology</i>	37
<i>Archaeological theory & the post-colonial critique</i>	40
<i>Critical theory & Indigenous Archaeology</i>	43
<i>Bridging worldviews & establishing effective communications</i>	48
<i>Theoretical intentions of the study</i>	52
Chapter four. Methodological Issues in Representation	57
<i>Issues in representation: contemporary crises</i>	58
<i>Decolonizing methodologies</i>	62
<i>Critical theory & participatory research</i>	65
<i>Reflexivity & dialogue</i>	67
Chapter five. A critique of the historical representation of the Inuvialuit	75
<i>Accounts of explorers, whalers, traders, & adventurers</i>	78
<i>The explorers & early traders</i>	78
<i>The whalers</i>	80
<i>The fur traders</i>	82
<i>Women adventurers</i>	84
<i>Accounts of missionaries</i>	86
<i>The early missionaries</i>	87
<i>Missionaries in the mid-20th century</i>	88
<i>Accounts of social scientists</i>	90
<i>The early social scientists</i>	91
<i>Post-war social science</i>	94
<i>Social science in an atmosphere of dissent</i>	96
<i>Recent social science</i>	97
<i>Accounts by & for the Inuvialuit</i>	99
<i>The premier Inuvialuit authors</i>	100
<i>Inuvialuit voices & burgeoning social awareness</i>	103
<i>Recent Inuvialuit representation</i>	105
<i>Accounts of archaeologists</i>	106
<i>Early archaeologists</i>	107
<i>Archaeology at a crossroads</i>	109
<i>Archaeology since the land claim</i>	110
<i>Chapter discussion</i>	115

Chapter six. Praxis: A reflexive account of the project design & narrative	134
<i>Project Methodology</i>	136
<i>Origins of the project & the approvals process</i>	137
<i>Design & conduct of the 2005 Elders interviews</i>	144
<i>2006 verification work & cultural heritage interviews</i>	155
<i>Transcription & analysis</i>	158
<i>Epilogue</i>	160
Chapter seven. A negotiated analysis of Inuvialuit material history ...	162
<i>A context for learning: Inuvialuit traditional values & material culture</i>	165
<i>Inuvialuit traditional values & pedagogy</i>	166
<i>Changing contexts of Inuvialuit material culture use</i>	169
<i>Disposition & treatment of old sites & burials</i>	173
<i>A negotiated analysis of Inuvialuit material history</i>	175
<i>The Artifacts</i>	175
a. <i>Land hunting</i>	177
b. <i>Cutting</i>	182
d. <i>Sledding</i>	195
e. <i>Fishing</i>	200
f. <i>Whaling</i>	206
g. <i>Amusement</i>	212
<i>Chapter discussion</i>	213
Chapter eight. Discussion: Inuvialuit identity & the material past.....	219
<i>Inuvialuit identity & the material past</i>	222
<i>Inuvialuit experiences with archaeologists & anthropologist</i>	222
<i>Inuvialuit critique of archaeology & anthropology & assessment of its merits</i>	224
<i>Care of cultural materials</i>	227
<i>The state of cultural heritage in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region</i>	229
<i>Inuvialuit identity & the material past</i>	231
<i>Reflexive comments on the process of building cross cultural relationships</i>	234
<i>Critique of the participatory research model</i>	234
<i>On localized critical theory & creating the ideal speech situation</i>	237
<i>On forging successful relationships between archaeologists & northern Indigenous communities</i>	240
Chapter nine. Situating Inuvialuit Archaeology on a Global Canvas.....	246
<i>Prospects for a critical Inuvialuit Archaeology in the Canadian Western Arctic</i>	247

<i>Lessons learned from elsewhere in the north</i>	251
<i>Situating the Inuvialuit experience on a global canvas</i>	255
<i>An ending</i>	259
References Cited	261
Appendix 1. Elders' biographies	311
Appendix 2. Code list of Elders' initials	320
Appendix 3. Consent forms and thematic overview of interviews	321
Appendix 4. Ethics approval and renewal	327
Appendix 5. Excerpt of an interview with Sarah Tingmiak	330

List of Figures

Figure 1. Possible snow knife handle from Kitigaaryuit (McGhee 1974, plate 12h).....	185
Figure 2. Bone snow knives illustrated by Stefansson (1919).....	186
Figure 3. Jade whetstone illustrated by Murdoch (1892).....	189
Figure 4. <i>Udlimaun</i> illustrated by Murdoch (1892).....	192
Figure 5. <i>Udlimaun</i> illustrated by Murdoch (1892).....	193
Figure 6. <i>Udlimaun</i> illustrated by Murdoch (1892).....	194
Figure 7. Tear-drop shaped ivory sinker illustrated by Murdoch (1892).....	202
Figure 8. Illustration of caulking iron.....	208
Figure 9. Frankie Stefansson's sketch of the placement and function of a 'reinforcement' in a harpoon apparatus.....	211

List of Plates

- Plate 1. Map showing location of *Qainuirvik*, Ivvavik National Park, and the communities of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region.....122**
- Plate 2. Map showing archaeological and traditional sites in Ivvavik National Park where artifacts used in this study were collected.....123**
- Plate 3. Photographs from *Qainuirvik* excavations, 2003 (Clockwise from top left) a. Fully excavated sod house structure dating to ca. 1915, b. Two unexcavated sod structures, c. Inuvialuit Elders Ida Inglangasuk (L) and Nellie Arey, d. Inuvialuit youth Northern Beattie with sled runner, e. Inuvialuit youth Jimmy Doug Meyook showing rifle.....124**
- Plates 4-8. Elders photos.....125-29**
- Plate 9. a. Mervin Joe, b. Cathy Cockney, c. Elders' luncheon in Aklavik, March 2007, d. Natasha Lyons with Bandit on the Peel Channel.....130**
- Plate 10. a. bird blunt, b. core (anmaak), c. flake (anmaak), d. fleshing knife (*Havik/Savik*), e. snow knife (*Havikpak/savikpak*).....131**
- Plate 11. a. ulu fragment (*Ulu*), b. ?whetstone (*sillin/ipiksaun*), c. wooden plug (*himik/simik*), d. scraper/adze head (*ulimaun*), e. ?sled runner fragment (*agalut*), f. ?dog whip handle (*qimmilugatim ipua/ipirauta*).....132**
- Plate 12. a. net gauge (*kuvriugun*), b. ?net sinker (*kivvigutaaq*), c. fishhook (*nikhiq/niksiq*), d. chisel, e. reinforcement for harpoon drag, f. juggling ball (*iglukisaq/iglukihaq*).....133**

List of Tables

**Table 1. L.T. Smith's 'Community-Up' Approach to Defining
Researcher Conduct.....72-73**

Chapter one. Introduction: Archaeology & the Inuvialuit

A beginning

This story begins on the edge of a lagoon called *Qainuirvik*, at the western fringe of Inuvialuit territory, along a perpetually stormy stretch of the Beaufort Sea (plates 1 & 2). This body of water is known on English maps as Clarence Lagoon, and is fed by the Clarence River, supplying Arctic charr, herring, ducks and loons, and other seasonal fish and fowl on a seasonal basis. *Qainuirvik* lies in proximity to the British Mountains of Alaska to the southeast, and to Canada's Richardson Range to the southwest, which are abundant with game, berries, and other resources that were important to the Inuvialuit and Alaskan families that produced a rich record of their lifeways in this area in the 'historic' era. From a southerner's perspective, this tiny lagoon, barricaded from the Beaufort by a thin spit of sand, feels like the remotest place in the world. Yet for Inuvialuit of the Canadian Western Arctic, *Qainuirvik* is just one stop along an ancient cultural byway between their country and that of their Alaskan Inupiat relations to the west.

In the summer of 2003, our small field crew of Parks Canada archaeologists and Inuvialuit residents of Aklavik, a small hamlet in the Northwest Territories of Canada, salvage excavated two sod structures on the southern lip of the lagoon (Lyons 2004; plate 3). It was a time of perpetual daylight, where the sun shrank to a small red ball on the southern horizon during the wee hours of the night, the animals grew fat and prospered, the plants formed a tussocky carpet on the windy coastal plain, and our young Inuvialuit excavators stayed awake all hours in accordance with an ancient circadian rhythm. One evening a boat of hunters arrived from Kaktovik, Alaska en route to the Mackenzie Delta, contributing fresh fish to our dinner fare. To a southerner like me, their emergence seemed improbable, a stroke of random chance. To Jimmy Doug Meyook and Northern Beattie, Inuvialuit youth, the arrival of the newcomers held little surprise and they quickly fell to discussing the health and well-being of their respective relations. This was the first of many instances that

illustrated how little I knew about the Inuvialuit and their land, and how much I had to learn from the community about the ties that bind the two.

Days later, Jimmy Doug's Aga (grandmother), Nellie Arey, and Elder Ida Inglangasuk arrived by float plane from their traditional whaling and fishing grounds at *Tapqaq* (Shingle Point; plate 1). Nellie and Ida had been raised in this region in the opening decades of the 20th century, a time when the livelihood of most Inuvialuit closely followed the needs of an expanding fur industry. Friendly and gracious, these Elders spent the day recounting stories and details of traditional life in an engaged and animated fashion: the landscapes they traveled; the families they knew; the foods they hunted, cured, and consumed, and; the use of what archaeologists now call features and artifacts on site (plate 3). The Elders also brought traditional foods for us to sample, including 'Eskimo' ice cream (*akutuq*), dry-fish (*bipsi*), and caribou dry-meat (*mipku*). Our field season soon drew to a close with our having collected information that allowed us to later establish the nature and date of the excavated structures, and most importantly, to make some promising connections between their occupants and descendants in modern-day Aklavik (Lyons 2004), those very Elders who would become my research collaborators in the present project.

Our time in *Qainuirvik* also sowed the seeds of transformation for me and my archaeological practice. This field season formed the beginning of my relationship with the Inuvialuit community, the beginning of a learning process that featured an ongoing commitment to mutual translation between cultures, and the beginning of what would evolve towards an Indigenous Archaeology of the Inuvialuit. The experience led me to ask a question that I had long had interest in through my work with different Aboriginal peoples across Canada, but had never pursued in a formal sense: How can Indigenous peoples and archaeologists build better cross-cultural relationships?

This question forms the crux of this study, and leads to further questions, including: how can and should archaeologists conceive of and approach working with Aboriginal groups? Can archaeologists build a set of 'best practices' for this work? Should this work focus on a product-oriented or process-oriented approach? These key methodological questions engender others at a more theoretical level, such as: what theoretical approach is best suited to working with and for Aboriginal communities? How can we negotiate or meld our worldviews and epistemologies? How can and should we theorize an Indigenous Archaeological practice? These questions are explored at length in the ensuing chapters of this dissertation.

Emerging elements of an Indigenous Archaeology

When I initiated this project in the year following our field season at *Qainuirvik*, it was framed in terms of a public archaeology study. Public archaeology is a branch of the discipline that emphasizes public outreach and involvement, through the work of academic archaeologists, museologists, and other educators (Stone 1994:15). Recent public archaeology literature endorses a participatory approach to archaeological practice, where community outreach, education, and development are embedded within rather than ancillary to the research design (Fordred Green et al. 2003). My goal was to frame and conduct this research in collaboration with the Inuvialuit community, responding both to calls for community outreach and involvement, and to the demand for an increasing awareness of the politics of working in Aboriginal communities (Blakey 1997; Bond and Gilliam 1994; Nicholas and Andrews 1997).

However, I soon began reading the Indigenous Archaeology literature that was increasingly permeating the discipline. Indigenous Archaeology can be considered one aspect of public archaeology, since Indigenous communities are one of the many publics, perhaps the most critical public we serve as North American archaeologists (Sillar and Fforde 2005; Watkins 2006). An Indigenous Archaeology is one "informed by Indigenous values and agendas"

that seeks to transform practice 'about' to practice 'by, with, and for' Aboriginal communities (Wobst and Smith 2003:211). This approach encapsulated the objectives of my study to a much greater extent than the more generic public archaeology literature, while still retaining the original focus of the study, and I began to re-frame my study in this direction. My work has concentrated on working with one specific public—the Inuvialuit of the Canadian Western Arctic. My goal, in effect, was to do archaeology by, with, and for the Inuvialuit community.

In the 1980s, Bruce Trigger made two observations that anticipated the emergence of an Indigenous Archaeology. In 1980, in his landmark article 'Archaeology and the Image of the American Indian,' Trigger averred: "The New Archaeology continues to treat native peoples as objects rather than subjects of research. It is suggested that greater concern with Indian and Eskimo history might help to correct this" (Trigger 1980:662). Four years later, Trigger (1984:356) was led "to believe that there is a close relationship between the nature of archaeological research and the social milieu within which it is practiced." From this observation, he divided different archaeological traditions around the globe into three alternative archaeologies, nationalist, colonialist, and imperialist. Colonialist archaeology was practiced in regions where Europeans had besieged and in many cases decimated Indigenous populations and come to be the governing authority. In order to sustain the new status quo, it was in the colonists' best interests to "denigrate native societies and peoples by trying to demonstrate that they had been static in prehistoric times and lacked the initiative to develop on their own" (Trigger 1984:363).

The twin observations that archaeology and anthropology have routinely objectified Indigenous peoples and suppressed their rights to self-determination form the crux of the crises that emerged as our disciplines took a self-reflexive turn in the late 1980s and 1990s (eg. Clifford 1988; Lincoln and Guba 2000; Marcus and Fischer 1986). The crises of authority and

representation sparked from a shifting social milieu, in which the anthropological disciplines were no longer seen to have the right to speak on behalf of descendant populations (Ames 1992:146; Bond and Gilliam 1994:2). Members of formerly disenfranchised groups began claiming the right to be producers—rather than receivers—of knowledge, and through this process, became socially and economically empowered and politically aware (Bond and Gilliam 1994: 3-4; Trigger 1997). These crises emerged slowly in the archaeological consciousness as archaeologists were increasingly forced to come to terms with their long-held lack of political acumen (Trigger 1997:xii). Michael Blakey (1997:142) articulated: "The traditional position, that archaeologists are equipped as apolitical individuals to discern objective truth, is materially baseless." Perhaps the most substantive outcome of the politicization of the discipline and the rejection of scientific colonialism is an increasing plurality of practice where no one paradigm takes precedence (cf. Cunningham 2003; Nicholas and Hollowell 2007).

Amidst the flourishing of feminist, community, applied, ethics-based and other postmodern archaeological practices, Indigenous Archaeology has come to the forefront of global movements in the new millennium. Many practitioners emphasize the importance of breaking down traditional us vs. them mentalities through strategies of critique and deconstruction (Bray 2003:111; Wobst and Smith 2003:212). This will not eradicate the structural inequalities that are inherent in the respective socioeconomic and institutional situations from which Indigenous people and archaeologists traditionally hail, but will instead recognize the positionality of stakeholders and help move towards community-centred goals. Wobst and Smith (2003:212; also see Bray and Killion 1994:4) ask how archaeologists can transform theory and practice so that they stop empowering the state and reproducing the structures of the dominant society and in this way do violence to Indigenous peoples. Foregrounding the interests of descendant communities represents "an explicit restructuring of power relations and a political recognition of the rights of the communities to have a

role in directing how research about their lives (past and present) is conducted" (Clarke 2000:152).

The shift in focus from archaeologists' to community-centred objectives has required substantive changes to conventional methodological practices. Negotiation, for instance, has become the essential tool for engaging the cross-cultural relationships mandated by Indigenous Archaeology praxis. In Australia, Clarke (2000) suggests that negotiating research goals, access, and design are now standard procedure for both contracting and academic archaeologists. Worldwide, participatory, collaborative, and community-based methodologies have evolved to accommodate the conceptualization and construction of mutualistic relationships (eg. Kerber 2006; Marshall 2002; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Pope and Mills 2004). Rigney (2003) underscores the importance of the development of 'culturally safe' research practices, meaning those that respect the concerns and perspectives of individual communities. This more open and fluid research atmosphere is fostered by a flourishing pragmatism, of both theoretical and methodological persuasions (McDavid 2002; Saitta et al. 2003).

A logical corollary of pragmatism is the focus on 'lived experience.' It is here that the emphasis on oral history, and the connection between traditional and archaeological knowledge, are felt most appreciably (Echo-Hawk 2000). Clarke (2002) also speaks to the lived experience of spending long stretches of time with people who live close to the land, participating in their quotidian rituals and routines, and understanding the reciprocal relations that develop between cultural insiders and outsiders. She says:

...in return for the generosity of allowing me time and space in community life, my contribution tends to be in the form of resources that people struggling to live on government pensions can ill afford. These resources include payment for work, driving people to town for shopping or to visit the doctor, providing fuel for trucks and boats, taking the project truck out on hunting and camping trips, fixing tyres and sharing food, medicines, tools, and other useful equipment. In this context archaeological activities become part of daily practice, somewhat removed from the

romanticized myth that archaeological fieldwork is characterized by the disengaged and objective collection of data [Clarke 2002:252].

In this same vein, "it can be argued that an Indigenous archaeology should derive its theory from a practice based in the material conditions of the lives of Indigenous peoples whose history it studies" (Bray 2003:111). Bray, in effect, is making the link between archaeology and development and suggesting that they are not mutually exclusive pursuits; archaeologists, by their practices, can often foster the development of infrastructure, capacity, and knowledge in source communities.

Drawing on the specific (his)stories and contemporary situations of Indigenous communities, the theoretical practice of Indigenous Archaeology is unavoidably pluralistic, contingent, and emergent. Practitioners utilize diverse bodies of thought including Indigenous epistemologies, Marxism, feminism, and interpretive approaches, which embrace reflexivity and multi- or polyvocality, and acknowledge the situated nature of individual knowledge (Nicholas, in press). Interpretations stem from multiple concepts and ideas of history, such as oral history, traditional knowledge, genealogies, folklore, song and dance, language, place names, and direct landscape experience (cf. Handsman 2003:3; Loring 2001:190; Wobst 2005:28). The emergent aspect of Indigenous archaeological theory refers to the development of working and personal relationships between archaeologists and source communities, which generate new knowledge, understandings, and positions as they unfold. This sense of discovery has led many practitioners to speak to the transformative capacities of such research (eg. Clarke 2000; Fordred Green et al. 2003; Kemmis and McTaggart 2005; Klassen 2006; McDavid 2004; Oetelaar 2006). Leslie Fordred Green and colleagues, for instance, began their work with the Palikur people of northern Brazil aiming to clarify ceramic sequences. But their project transformed into one focused on the material understandings of the past, in the Palikur's terms, 'reading the tracks of the ancestors' (Fordred Green et al 2003:377-78).

Nicholas' (in press) recent characterization of Indigenous Archaeology in the *Encyclopedia of Archaeology* on one hand demonstrates how normative this approach has become, and on the other depicts an extremely broad set of practices that eludes definition. Foremost among its objectives are: "(a) to make archaeology more representative of, responsible to, and relevant for descendant communities; (b) to redress perceived inequalities in the practice of archaeology; and (c) to inform and broaden the understanding and interpretation of the archaeological record through the incorporation of Aboriginal worldviews" (Nicholas, in press). These various endeavors are pursued through myriad strategies of decolonization, including, but not limited to, the following: repatriation (Bray 2001; Bray and Killion 1994; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2004; Echo-Hawk and Zimmerman 2006; Fine-Dare 2005; May et al 2005; Watkins 2004); bridging Western and Indigenous epistemologies (Anyon et al. 1997; Atalay 2006b; Cunningham 2003; Dartt-Newton and Erlandson 2006; Echo-Hawk 2000; Lippert 2006; Million 2003; Saitta et al 2003; VanPool and VanPool 2003; Yellowhorn 2002); representation and the production of knowledge (Conkey 2005; Hamilakis 1999; Hoobler 2006; Loring 1998); collaborative and ethical practices (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Handsman 2003; Kerber 2006; Loring et al 2003; Nicholas 2006; Nicholas and Hollowell 2007; Smith and Jackson 2006; Zimmerman et al 2003); critique of colonialist practices and knowledge systems (Bruchac 2005; Dartt-Newton and Erlandson 2006; Gosden 2001; McNiven and Russell 2005; Nicholas 2005; Schmidt and Patterson 1995; Smith and Wobst 2005; Wobst and Smith 2003); training and capacity-building (Connelly and Hammond 2003; Gonzalez et al 2006; Huculak 2003; Nicholas 2000; Two Bears 2006); self-determination and the emergence of tribal heritage programs and internalist archaeologies (Budhwa 2005; Ferguson 1999; Kuwanwisiwma 2002; Million 2003; Nicholas in press, 2001; Two Bears 2006; Yellowhorn 2002, 2006); communication and dissemination of results (Martinez 2006; Watkins 2006; Watkins and Ferguson 2005); and the ownership of cultural and intellectual property (Geismar 2005; Marks 2005; Nicholas and Bannister 2004).

The present work engages only a sliver of these issues, which are touched on in subsequent sections of this introduction and developed in ensuing chapters.

Archaeology & Northern Indigenous Peoples

Northern peoples have endured a history of near exclusion and neglect at the hands of Arctic and Subarctic archaeologists (Loring and Ashini 2000:189; Webster and Bennett 1997:247). Because of historical practices such as measuring skulls (of the living and dead), disinterring graves, and absconding with both artifacts and ancestors, many Northern Indigenous peoples developed a serious distrust and suspicion of the profession (cf. Blondin Andrew 1997; Bray and Killion 1994). Hood (2002:239-240) maintains that Arctic archaeology is among the most conservative archaeological practices in the Americas. Certainly, until recently, this practice was dominated by the demographic of middle-aged males of European descent.

Rowley (2002) has traced the history of relations between archaeologists and Inuit in the Canadian Eastern Arctic through phases of pre-contact, European contact, alienation, politicization and change, and the present. She documents a profound shift from traditional times, when Inuit parents taught their children about a common past through the material remains of their ancestors, to a time when Europeans increasingly sought control of Inuit history and its interpretation to the outside world. As archaeological interest grew and expanded in the north in the post-World War II era, its new scientific orientation "left little or no role for the Inuit and their interpretations of the past" (Rowley 2002:264). Rowley suggests that the stir of Inuit political awareness in the 1970s and 80s promulgated a new relationship with archaeologists and the beginnings of increasingly sensitive programs and practices. This timeline is roughly echoed among the Inughuit of western Greenland (Gullov 2002:92), the James Bay Cree and Inuit of Northern Québec (Loring et al 2003:45; Martijn 2002:208), and the Métis and Dene of the Mackenzie Basin (Greer 1997:148). Politicization came several decades

earlier amongst the Siberian Yupik of St. Lawrence Island and the Inupiat of the Alaskan North Slope (Hollowell 2004). And it came later to the Koniag of Western Alaska, who requested the repatriation of approximately one thousand ancestors from the Uyak site in 1987 (Bray and Killion 1994:5-6), and later still amongst Innu of Labrador (Loring 1998; Loring and Ashini 2000) and Inuvialuit of the Mackenzie Delta (see next section).

Northern Indigenous peoples are very clear about the ties between the land, their history, and their identity (eg. Hanks 1997:180; Kritsch and Andre 1997:130; Loring 1998). As the Gwich'in see it, taking control of heritage initiatives contributes to building awareness and pride, forging links between youth and Elders, and working towards empowerment and sovereignty (Kritsch and Andre 1997:130). In many of the cases cited above, changes came when Elders persuaded archaeologists to do collaborative research in and with communities, a process which in turn transformed northern archaeology into a more hybrid endeavor that incorporated place names, traditional knowledge, oral histories, and cultural landscapes into research design (eg. Andrews and Zoe 1997; Asch et al 1986; Greer 1997; Hanks 1997; Henderson 1997; Loring 2001). While these processes occurred at different timescales across the north, the net effect has been a move towards the democratization of power, where control of the production of knowledge is beginning to shift from archaeologists' into shared hands (Loring 1998).

This has not been an uncontested process. Some archaeologists have responded to northern people's demands with outright resistance to such challenges to their traditional autonomy or rejection of Indigenous explanations of the past (McGhee 2004a, 2006). Others have replied with true naïveté about the colonial critique and the inherent inequalities of historical relations (Helmer and LeMoine 2002). A growing number of archaeologists, on the other hand, have embraced this sea change with an openness and willingness to negotiate archaeological interests with Aboriginal communities.

The increasing incorporation of community goals into archaeological research has led to new areas of attention and concern. The intense interest of Aboriginal communities in the material record of the near-past has been balanced by decreasing attention to questions of deeper prehistory. As Loring (2001:187) explains, "the distant past, so dear to archaeologists, carries considerably less allure for Northerners than the stories and trails of more recent ancestors with whom the bonds of land, kinship, and animals are more tangible and more meaningful." Another area of shifting ground is the pluralization of northern archaeologies which serves to open archaeological practices to subaltern voices, as well as to instigate changes in the social dynamics and structuring of the research community (Hood 2002). Hood (2002:248-249) advocates the move towards a "joint authorship of the past," where Indigenous representations acquire equal footing with that of outside 'experts.'

Archaeology in the Inuvialuit community

The field season at *Qainuirvik* referred to at the beginning of this chapter was the start of a long process of relationship building between myself and the Inuvialuit community. The Inuvialuit have one of the longest histories of sustained contact with European newcomers among Aboriginal groups in the north. Explorers, traders, and whalers came to their territory from the late 18th century on, staying in increasing and permanent numbers by the early 20th century, when the bowhead whaling industry collapsed (Alunik et al. 2003:110). The history of relations between Inuvialuit and these and later newcomers in some ways mirrors that of other Arctic regions. Like other Indigenous northerners, they encountered outsiders who gradually stripped them of their power to administer their own laws and conduct themselves in their traditional ways. Their traditional methods of oral transmission were literally colonized by the written pedagogies of the newcomers. Traditional instruction in the language of morals, rights, skills, and obligations was supplanted by mission and government-run schools that employed their own

moral and ideological structures. Over the course of the 20th century, many Inuvialuit lost the ability to speak their own languages.

The newcomers also disconnected the Inuvialuit from their traditional ways and means of subsistence through the colonization of their particular suite of material technologies and the knowledges required to produce and use them. Material remnants of the Inuvialuit past were removed from ancestral sites, at first through the random purchase of increasingly outmoded artifacts, and later through the systematic collection, excavation, and extrication of both sites and artifacts using archaeological methods sponsored by the state. Contemporary Inuvialuit Elders, however, contend that the more invidious cultural losses are ideological rather than material (Nellie Cournoyea, pers. comm. 2006). The newcomers disenfranchised traditional Inuvialuit methods of comprehending their world, including their place in it and their understanding of history.

This attenuated history illustrates the starting point for archaeologists aspiring to forge relationships with the Inuvialuit community. As suggested above, the Inuvialuit have been slow to respond to the entreaties of archaeologists. This has less to do with their critique of the colonial roots of archaeology than to do with alternate heritage priorities of the community. In the late 1960s and 1970s, Inuvialuit leaders focused their energies on traditional land use and occupancy studies geared towards the settlement of the land claim. In the wake of the claim (Inuvialuit Final Agreement 1984), the Inuvialuit Social Development Program was created to promote the "social, cultural and educational welfare of Inuvialuit" (Alunik 1998:21). Cultural work is conducted largely under the auspices of the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, which opened in 1998, and whose attention is currently trained on language reclamation and the revival of living cultural traditions (Cockney 2006).

Inuvialuit leaders acknowledge the importance of archaeological study, but to date have been content to work with southerners who are respectful to their history rather than develop internal archaeology programs. Work in the past

two decades by such archaeologists as Elisa Hart (1994, 1995, 2001), Max Friesen (1994, 1998), and Charles Arnold (2002; Arnold and Hanks 1991; Levy et al 2004; PWNHC n.d.) has helped to re-direct energies towards Indigenous history. Parks Canada has also maintained a strong record of taking Inuvialuit and Gwich'in¹ youth on back-to-the-land programs and employing and training youth and Elders on archaeological projects (Adams 2004; Lyons 2004; Thomson 1998) and oral history studies (Cockney 2000).

I began my relationship with the Inuvialuit on their traditional lands in what is today Ivvavik National Park. Our work at *Qainuirvik* showed me the gentility, thoughtfulness, and intelligence of Inuvialuit Elders about their past, and the enthusiasm and interest of Inuvialuit youth. It led me to initiate the current project by asking Inuvialuit community leaders what kinds of heritage questions were important to the Elders and community, and if they could be addressed by a cultural outsider. The leaders responded that oral history documentation of the old artifacts, now housed in southern institutions such as Parks Canada and the Canadian Museum of Civilization, would help to fill out the life histories of the current generation of Elders, the last to be born on the land. It would inform about questions of how they were raised and educated, lived and traveled, created a network of community, and had families of their own. Such was born the present project, which has focused on collecting partial life histories of twenty-five Elders and their recollections of the material and social past. At a deeper level, this work seeks to begin the long process of redressing asymmetries in who owns the Inuvialuit past and how it has been understood and represented to the Inuvialuit themselves and to the outside world.

The starting point for relationship building between a southern archaeologist and a northern Aboriginal community was to work towards a point of mutual

¹ The Gwich'in are the traditional neighbours of the Inuvialuit, having lived upstream in the Mackenzie Basin while the Inuvialuit occupied the delta and Beaufort Sea coastline. Gwich'in were formerly referred to as Loucheux, Kutchin, and Rat Indians in the literature. Today, Inuvialuit and Gwich'in cohabit several centres in the delta, including Inuvik and Aklavik.

trust and respect. Seeking a meaningful collaborative practice meant recognizing the structural inequalities that exist between us and working towards a place of common interest and understanding. There had to be willingness and openness on both sides to listening and learning and a commitment to the translation of cultural viewpoints. For my part, I developed an increasingly reflexive practice that taught me to look at the tensions that periodically arose from a variety of standpoints, which often yielded insights into their origins. The Elders and community leaders, by contrast, engaged in the process of getting to know me, judging my intentions, overcoming suspicions, and later, creating trusting bonds and in many cases, friendships. To me, these mutual achievements are among the greatest of this project. Below, I speak to the intentions and goals of the study at a more theoretical level.

Intentions & goals of the research

- ✦ **Collaboration:** I pursued this project in the hopes of cultivating a long-term and committed collaboration with an Aboriginal community focused on cultural heritage concerns that are significant to them. Through this process, I hoped to locate, understand, and give voice to the issues and interpretations that the community raised and addressed. To me, the process of conducting the research has been as much about the process as the product. However, the products of the research are an instrumental means for giving back to the community, as they provide a forum for presenting, discussing, and negotiating our results. To this end, the documentation we have produced will be used to create culturally sensitive products for use in schools and the community in partnership with educational organizations in the NWT.
- ✦ **Reflexivity:** Throughout our collaboration, I have sought to narrate the 'process' of building a relationship between myself, a southern female archaeologist, and my Inuvialuit collaborators. In my own practice, I have tried to be honest and reflexive without betraying my

collaborators' integrity or intent. In effect, to find a balance between our respective standpoints.

- ✦ **Representation:** The Inuvialuit have been both underrepresented and misrepresented in the annals of written history. The Inuvialuit community is working to take control over the production and representation of their history and identity. However, this is a slow process due to limited person-power, funds, and capacity. I have made an effort to understand and critique historical representations of Inuvialuit through my academic work. In my interactions with Inuvialuit Elders—the historians of their community—I have sought to enfranchise them to challenge consensual histories by giving voice to their own stories, by telling their own (his)stories and (her)stories.
- ✦ **Negotiation:** Our interactions work on a fluid model of negotiated practice. I have brought certain skills and aspirations to the table; the Elders, in turn, have put their own spin, critique, and perspectives on the research design, conduct of interviews, and direction of the study. In this kind of decentralized relationship, notions of 'expertise' are both debunked and re-created in new formations. It is incumbent on me as the research facilitator to ensure that our work is always conducted in an environment of respect. In writing this dissertation, I have constantly been conscious that I am framing my collaborators' words, and have tried to represent their intent and interests by using multi-vocal writing strategies, such as dialogue and direct quotations, wherever possible.
- ✦ **Decolonization:** All Indigenous archaeologists seek to contribute to the decolonization of archaeological theory and practice. It is my hope that my actions and practices have contributed to forging positive relationships between the archaeological and Inuvialuit communities. It is my further hope that this written product does justice to the words and viewpoints of my Inuvialuit collaborators and Inuvialuit community leaders and adequately represents their thoughts, interests, and intentions.

Introduction to my collaborators: Inuvialuit Elders from Aklavik & Inuvik, NT

I have been working with twenty-five Inuvialuit Elders from Aklavik and Inuvik (populations 600 and 3500, respectively; GNWT n.d.) since the late spring of 2005. These are Elders born and raised on the land who retain the intimate knowledge of 'making a living' in Inuvialuit territory. I was drawn to this work because of the generosity, charm, intelligence, and enthusiasm of the Inuvialuit Elders I first met at Clarence Lagoon, and have been consistently impressed by these characteristics in the wider Elders community.

The Inuvialuit Elders and community historians who are my collaborators in this work are, from Aklavik, Northwest Territories: Ida Inglangasuk, Sheba Selamio, Rosie Archie, Jacob Archie, Barbra Allen, Moses Kayotuk, Alice Husky, Danny C. Gordon, Annie C. Gordon, Danny A. Gordon, Colin Harry, Hilda Irish, Nellie Arey, Sarah Meyook, Donald Aviugana and Elizabeth Aviugana. Elders from Inuvik include: Lucy Inglangasuk, Sarah Tingmiak, Billy Day, Victor Allen, Ned Kayotuk, Jimmy Gordon, Winnie Cockney, David Roland, and Frankie Stefansson. The Elders are generally either Uummarmiut or Inupiaq speakers, depending on whether their families originated in the delta or North Alaska. Many families from Aklavik and Inuvik are of Alaskan origin, but having lived in the delta for most of their lives, self-identify as Inuvialuit while maintaining close relations with their Alaskan relatives. Sadly, Ned Kayotuk, David Roland, and Winnie Cockney passed on during 2006, and Jimmy Gordon and Danny A. Gordon in 2007. The Elders are further introduced in short biographies that capture some of the events and landmarks of their lives in Appendix 1. Their respective words and ideas are referenced by their initials throughout this study, which are listed in Appendix 2. Their photographs are displayed in a series of colour plates (4-8).

In our interviews, the Elders discussed many elements of the past with me by recounting their personal life stories and discussing artifacts made by the generations before them. The Inuvialuit distinguish the ancient past, *ingilraani*

(a time long ago), from later times, *taimani*, from the present, *qangma* (GNWT 1991:1). The artifacts they enthused and puzzled over, identified and interpreted, as part of my study, were from both *ingilraani* and *taimani*, but the Elders also had plenty to say about *qangma*. These artifacts, originally collected by archaeologists on the Yukon North Slope in present day Ivvavik National Park (plate 2), are presently housed at Parks Canada's Western and Northern Service Centre in Winnipeg. The artifacts were loaned to me by joint agreement from two Parks Canada offices and the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation. As the other principal subjects of this thesis, they are depicted in plates 10-12.

In the early days of our collaboration, the Elders offered various terms related to the concept of 'archaeology' in their languages. Danny A. Gordon gave *Alahaniqsaaq* for 'old things' in Inupiaq. Frankie Stefansson translated archaeology loosely into Uummarmuit as either *Ingnilhaqnihat*, 'things from days long ago' or *Hangilhaqnihat*, 'from that time, from days long ago.' Barbra Allen built on Frankie's definition, suggesting *Ingnilgaqnihat havalgutit*, meaning 'tools that people worked with long ago.' Later, when I asked different Elders about *their* contribution to this study, they said they were making stories or histories of the past. Ida Inglangasuk translated her role with the Uummarmuit phrase 'I'm going to tell you stories,' *quliaq tohongniaq tuunga*, which seemed to perfectly capture the work of Inuvialuit Elders in this study.

Structure of the study

The study begins with an introduction to the Inuvialuit community. In chapter two, I present an account of historical changes to Inuvialuit traditional life and culture over the course of the 20th century, drawn from an external point of view. This analysis forms a counterpoint to Inuvialuit experiences of history and interpretations of the past which are developed in later chapters of the study. Chapter three outlines a critical theory tailored to the needs of Indigenous Archaeology practice. Here, I attempt to circumscribe the Critical

Archaeology endorsed by Mark Leone and colleagues to suit the needs of localized descendant communities. Chapters four and five examine questions surrounding the representation of Aboriginal Peoples. Chapter four focuses on methodological issues in representation, while chapter five forms a critique of the ways that Inuvialuit have been historically represented. Chapter six presents a reflexive account of the project design and narrative. It is here that I attempt to name my own standpoints, assumptions, and biases that inform and permeate the work. This chapter lays the groundwork for the results of the study. In chapter seven, Inuvialuit Elders are invited into the process of interpreting their own social and material history. The chapter provides a cultural context for how these Elders were raised, lived, and learned about their history and its attendant material culture, and then presents the Elders' interpretations of seventeen artifacts from the Yukon North Slope in Ivvavik National Park. Chapters eight and nine discuss and reflect on the goals of the study. Chapter eight starts with a discussion of Inuvialuit views about archaeology and cultural heritage, and closes with my own commentary about the process of building a relationship between myself and the Inuvialuit community. Chapter nine, the concluding chapter of this study, evaluates our progress towards the development of a critical Inuvialuit Archaeology in the Canadian Western Arctic. I conclude by narrating my experience of meeting with Inuvialuit leaders and other community members in the spring of 2007, when we concluded and celebrated this part of the project and made plans for our ongoing partnership.

A note on representation in this study

Throughout this study I examine questions of representation, which have become so central to the practice of archaeology (Hamilakis 1999). I draw considerably from the feminist anthropological literature and its conventions. For instance, the use of the terms (his)story and (her)story are implemented periodically throughout the study to highlight the fact that history is told from different standpoints, including those of (at least) two genders. Inuvialuit Elders have individual memories of the past that emanate from their personal

(his)stories and (her)stories, and from their experiences of negotiating relationships with newcomers, that were considerably informed by assumptions and expectations based on gender.

Note should also be made about the epigraphs that begin each chapter. These quotations also tell a story about representation. Each set of quotations is drawn from a male and female author that shares a common background or perspective. For instance, in chapter four, two Aboriginal fiction authors speak to being outsiders in mainstream Canadian society; in chapter six, two mid 20th century anthropologists speak to the difficulty of understanding Inuit cultures from an outsider's perspective. These epigraphs provide metaphorical synopses of the chapters to follow, but also present an ongoing commentary on the main theme of this study: the attempt to understand cultural 'others' and to build better cross-cultural relationships between us.

Chapter two. An external account of Inuvialuit change in the 20th century

I pray that the children can learn something from our past and make sure they work hard and be healthy and strong...I hope they learn respect and above all learn that they are special and that they can live happy lives if they choose and really try hard. Many of us elders had to do the same thing in our lives.

Ishmael Alunik (2003:159)

I want [Inuvialuit youth] to be all independent, I want them to be all educated, to the point that they can make any choice they want to make.

Nellie Cournoyea (2003)

Inuvialuit history, from an outsider's perspective, begins with the written accounts of early European explorers to the region such as Alexander Mackenzie and John Franklin. These outsiders' histories describe a trajectory of increasing interaction between the Inuvialuit and a host of newcomers, and the increasing incorporation of Inuvialuit into an external world system (Friesen 1996). They speak to a series of radical changes to Inuvialuit traditional life caused by the gradual disconnect of Inuvialuit from their land and resources. These kinds of histories and analyses are drawn from a western perspective that seeks to understand history as a linear chronology, featuring a succession of notable personalities and general events.

This approach to history is distinct from Inuvialuit conceptions of the past. Inuvialuit historical narratives are less linear and rigid, more personal and anecdotal. The Inuvialuit sense of history spans both the near and distant past. The distant past lies beyond the written records of European-derived newcomers, to the time of myth, stories, and oral traditions. Understandings of the distant past draw on a timeless sense of the landscape and the place of the Inuvialuit within it. The nearer past is recounted by contemporary Inuvialuit Elders who recall both the events of the previous century, as they experienced them, and the stories of their Elders and ancestors who preceded them. Contemporary Elders talk about the past truthfully and personally. They prefer to speak about subjects that they know, and qualify their narratives with their

relative knowledge of the subject at hand. They also recount historical events from their individual vantage points, which results in frequent variation from one person to the next in terms of emphasis and form. The two quotes above, from respected Inuvialuit Elders, refer to the importance of making history relevant to youth, and to providing them opportunities to become successful Inuvialuit. Inuvialuit feel that knowing their past helps prepare them for their future. These different means of understanding and passing on history in the Inuvialuit community are clearly distinct from western conventions of conceiving and recording history.

The present chapter focuses on external accounts of the Inuvialuit past, in order to provide the reader with a more conventional framework for understanding Inuvialuit history. The chapter focuses on the major impacts and influences to Inuvialuit culture as a result of sustained interactions with cultural outsiders. This approach is intended to show how external forces have destabilized traditional forms of Inuvialuit social and economic organization, political structures, and sense of identity. I begin the chapter with a brief account of the contemporary Inuvialuit community, and then describe the impacts of a series of chronological, macro-level events and processes to Inuvialuit culture in the 20th century. These are divided chronologically into the following periods: the commercial whaling era, the fur trade economy, the move into the delta, the new welfare state, militarization of the north, oil and gas development, the growth of pan-Inuit consciousness, and the negotiation of traditional and capitalist economies. I close the chapter by highlighting some of the experiences of the Elders who are central to this study within this external narrative of events. These Elders were born in the opening decades of the 20th century, and experienced drastic changes to their life on the land as the century unfolded. Their oral histories, which serve as a counterpoint to the external narratives, are drawn upon heavily in later chapters of this study. They provide an insider's perspective on the Inuvialuit experience of the 20th century and Inuvialuit understandings of the social and material past.

The contemporary Inuvialuit community

The Inuvialuit are the traditional inhabitants of the Mackenzie Delta and adjacent coastline and islands (plate 1). Once called the Mackenzie Eskimo, and later the Mackenzie Inuit, by cultural outsiders, the Inuvialuit began to represent themselves to the outside world as 'Inuvialuit,' meaning 'real people' (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation n.d.), leading to the pursuit of their land claim in 1984. The Inuvialuit are thought to be descended from pre-contact Thule peoples who once occupied the area. The development of the historic Inuvialuit cultural pattern is estimated to have occurred around six to seven hundred years ago, when they began to develop signature skills such as net fishing and communal beluga hunting (Alunik et al 2003:10). The traditional Inuvialuit grew and flourished in the Delta and adjacent shoreline regions for the next several centuries. Commerce and interaction consistently occurred with the Alaskan Inupiat through time, and a number of common cultural characteristics were shared between these groups. By the time of initial contact with Europeans, a concentrated population of Mackenzie peoples resided in the resource-rich delta, a stark contrast to densities of other Arctic regions (McGhee 1974:xi; Stefansson 1919:22-23).

The contemporary Inuvialuit speak Inuvialuktun, a language divided into three dialects: Uummarmiut, spoken in the delta communities of Aklavik and Inuvik; Siglit, spoken in the coastal communities of Tuktoyaktuk, Paulatuuq and Sachs Harbour, and Kangiryuarmiut, spoken in the community of Uluhaktok (Holman) on Victoria Island. Many people from this latter community now speak Inuinnaqtun, the language of their Copper Inuit neighbours to the east (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation n.d.). Inuvialuktun dialects are stronger in the more remote northern communities of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, but everywhere, are endangered by drastically decreasing numbers of speakers. Many Inupiaq speakers also inhabit the delta, having arrived during the several Inupiat migrations described below. Inuvialuktun dialects and the Inupiaq language are mutually intelligible.

There are currently about 5000 Inuvialuit residing in the six communities of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (plate 1; Inuvialuit Regional Corporation n.d.). The Inuvialuit have lived alongside the Gwich'in, a Dene Nation who was their traditional enemy (Smith 1984:348), since the move into the delta's communities in the mid-20th century. The present Inuvialuit community includes Inupiaq speakers, who, over the course of the 20th century, have intermarried locally and come to self-identify as Inuvialuit. While the nature and form of Inuvialuit life has changed significantly over the last century, many Inuvialuit still spend much time on the land harvesting traditional foods. Gas and equipment are exceedingly expensive in the north, but the land remains their main sustenance, in both a physical and ideological sense. Inuvialuit families welcome each new season and the resources it brings: waterfowl and muskox in the spring and fall; beluga whale, herring, whitefish, charr, and other fish in summer, and; caribou in the fall and winter (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation n.d.)

Commercial Whaling

The commercial whaling era brought the first sustained cultural interactions between Inuvialuit and outsiders, which dramatically challenged their way of life. This era began ca. 1889, with the establishment of Herschel Island as an economic centre for whaling in the Western Arctic. Crews were primarily drawn from Alaska and Siberia, which caused the first migration of Inupiat to Inuvialuit territory (Freeman et al. 1992:13). The whalers, however, obtained fresh game and furs through their side trade with local populations (Alunik et al. 2003:84). Inuvialuit from across the region flocked to Herschel Island between 1889 and 1907, during the height of the industry (McGhee 1974:10), causing dramatic changes to traditional economic and settlement patterns. This was a period of heightened cultural interactions between the various Inuit and Dene groups of the region, and between the Indigenous peoples and the whalers, who came from parts of Europe, America, the South Seas, and beyond. The communion of local women with whalers would introduce new elements to the local gene pool, but few of these men stayed on after the

decline of the industry (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation n.d.; Usher 1971a:176).

The whalers brought devastation not only to the bowhead whale populations, but also to local human populations and the terrestrial environment. By 1910, not only had bowhead numbers depreciated, but the intensive harvest of ungulates demanded by the whaler's fickle palate (they preferred terrestrial to sea mammals) had drastically reduced caribou populations on the North Slope (Usher 1971a:176). The repeated introduction of European diseases had equally disastrous impacts to the Indigenous populations. Epidemics starting in 1865, and carrying through the early 20th century, had widespread effects, with estimates of up to 90% mortality (Alunik et al. 2003:77, 89, 110; but also see Cockney's comments, chapter eight). After 1880, tuberculosis caused many Inuvialuit to spend large stretches of time in northern hospitals and southern facilities, such as 'Charles Camsell Indian Hospital' in Edmonton (cf. Smith 1984:348; see Taylor 1960).

The market-driven fur trade economy

The fall of the whaling industry coincided with the rise of a market-driven fur trade economy in the delta. While fur trade posts proliferated throughout the coast, the mass migration into the delta was unprecedented for the coast-dwelling Inuvialuit and Inupiat (Usher 1971a:178). Aklavik, meaning 'place of the brown [grizzly] bear,' was founded by an Inuvialuk named Pokiak and a Gwich'in named Joe Greenland, on the west shore of the Peel Channel of the Mackenzie River around 1912 (Alunik et al 2003: 210; Campbell 1987:16). Looking to split the distance between fur trade posts at Herschel Island and Fort McPherson, the Hudson's Bay and Northern Trading Companies soon followed suit, and by ca. 1919, Aklavik had become the main fur trade post of the delta, housing dozens of company and independent posts (Usher 1971b:83, 86). Aklavik rose in prominence to accommodate a population of over 1500 people, drawn from a wide range of backgrounds, by the early 1950s (Campbell 1987:22).

Fur-bearers in high demand included muskrat, marten, and mink in the delta, white fox and wolverine on the coast. Prices were subject to frequent variation due to the capricious nature of the European market: for instance, white fox rose from \$2.50 a pelt in 1915 to \$50 a pelt in 1919 (Wolforth 1971:43). The fur trade boomed through the 1920s and into the 30s, causing many entrepreneurial Inuvialuit and Inupiat to become cash and commodity rich (Usher 1971a:178; pers. comm., Danny C. Gordon 2007). However, shifts in European couture in the mid-30s caused fox prices to dip, resulting in the collapse of the coastal trade (Freeman et al 1992:15). The remaining coastal traders moved into the delta, establishing trap lines that by 1949 were registered under a system of government tenure (Wolforth 1965).

The move into the delta

Although the trapping lifestyle had radically altered traditional rhythms of life amongst the Inuvialuit and Inupiat, the people were still living on the land and practicing traditional skills, albeit with new forms of technology. However, both the creation of missionary schools and declines in fur-bearers drew Inuvialuit, Gwich'in, and an additional migration of Inupiat, into the delta communities of Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk, in the 1940s (Usher 1971a:178). While trapping continued as an economic mainstay, the crowded network of registered traplines in the delta precluded many from making a full time living. In addition, there were few wage jobs on offer to Indigenous peoples. With limited economic options available to the new town-dwellers, many Inuvialuit and Inupiat felt an acute loss of their traditional autonomy and independence (Lubart 1969:39).

The Inuvialuit also started to feel the constraining influence of government policy. The Mother's Allowance was a social program instituted in 1944 that provided a tax-free stipend to mothers for taking care of their children. It was administered differently in the north than in the south. Northern mothers were given goods in kind instead of cash, and in order to receive this donation, had

to put her children in the government Day Schools that were starting to appear (Alunik et al 2003:163). The paternalistic attitude underlying this policy suggested that northern mothers could not make good decisions about how to spend their allowance and so the choice was made for them (Morrison 1998:153). The policy had broad impacts on the Inuvialuit population, who had houses in town but still spent considerable time on the trapline. In effect, mothers were restricted from accompanying their husbands on the land, which in turn severely limited both family income and mobility (Brown 1998:28).

The new welfare state & government 'modernization'

Government social programming swung into full action in the post-War era, a time when the Government of Canada started to 'move north' (Finney 1948) as part of Prime Minister Diefenbaker's 'Northern Vision' (Alunik et al 2003:170). Until this time, the Federal Government had largely allowed northerners to govern themselves in a frontier style, through a policy of non-interference (Damas 2002: chapter 2; Morrison 1998:130). In the aftermath of World War II, the Federal Government took a firmer hold of social policy, with the aim of creating a new welfare state. The Government's vision was twofold: to administer more efficiently to northern peoples, and, to initiate the development of northern resources. While intending to be humanitarian (Damas 2002:131), the government's approach to implementing these goals was unfortunately both unilateral and paternalistic: decisions made in Ottawa flowed from a modernist stance that sought to improve the lives of Indigenous peoples through their 'protection' (cf. Alunik et al 2003:173). Mineral development, by contrast, met with greater success.

The most obvious outcome of new government policy for the Western Arctic was the building of Inuvik. Inuvik was conceived by Ottawa bureaucrats as a showpiece of Arctic modernization. Little in the way of local consultation was done (see chapter 5); the plan was instead announced as a *fait accompli* in 1953 (Alunik et al 2003:170). Government surveyors chose a site on the east side of the delta called East-3, and over the course of five years, built new

health, education, and welfare facilities. The new site, christened Inuvik, 'place of man' or 'place where people gather,' was built 58 km east of Aklavik, far from the game of the Richardson Range or the sea mammals of the coast (Brown 1998:67). The Federal Government planned to re-locate the entire Aklavik community, but protest from the old centre's inhabitants, who posted a sign on the airstrip saying 'Never Say Die,' ensured its continued longevity (Aquilina 1981:144). Several problems accompanied the development of Inuvik, not least of which was the social bifurcation of the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities (Smith 1971). The 'new relationships' in town were characterized by segregated social and settlement patterns that engendered distinct have and have-not classes (Alunik et al 2003:174).

Militarization of the north

During World War II, the Government began to see the north as a strategic region that required arming and protection. The Canadian government allowed the Americans to initiate transportation and energy projects on Canadian land to facilitate the war effort. One was the Alaska Highway, built over 2400 km of rough terrain from Dawson Creek to Fairbanks, Alaska. The other was the CANOL pipeline, which was intended to transport oil from Norman Wells to the Alaska Highway and on to refineries in Fairbanks. These efforts were supported by the labour of 40,000 ill-prepared soldiers, many of whom hailed from the American South (Morrison 1998:133-36). Canada also expanded her air routes to Europe during the war by opening new air strips, such as one at Frobisher Bay, and another later at Gander, Newfoundland (Morrison 1998:148).

But the largest military build-up occurred in the Cold War era, as the threat of competing super-powers caused unprecedented levels of armament and fear-mongering. The DEW-line (or Distant Early Warning line) was initiated in 1955 as a front guard to detect missiles crossing the pole from the Soviet Union. In total, forty-one sites were constructed across the north, including eight facilities in Inuvialuit territory, at places like Cape Parry, Shingle Point, and Tuktoyaktuk (Alunik et al 2003:167). The net effect for Indigenous northerners

was a swath of employment and training opportunities that continued the trend away from bush life and towards wage labour (Usher 1971a:181). Although northerners were paid less than their southern counterparts, Inuvialuit proved to be good employees and many learned viable trade skills that would employ them for the decades of development ahead (Alunik et al 2003:167).

Oil & gas discovery & development

Southern oil barons have long known of the potential for rich oil fields in the north. A well was drilled at Norman Wells in 1920, and seismic survey began in earnest in 1960s and 70s in the Mackenzie Delta (Alunik et al 2003:176). Strikes were so rich in the late 1960s that the Government of Canada started planning for the construction of massive pipelines, and in the early 70s, approved a highway to the delta, the future Dempster Highway. The pace of development in the early 70s was astounding, with work opportunities drawing multitudes of southerners, and Inuvialuit obtaining jobs as “equipment operators, cooks, camp attendants, roughnecks, derrick hands, bear monitors, expeditors, and truck drivers” (Alunik et al 2003:177).

However, an alternate voice was also growing in the delta communities. The newly formed Committee for Aboriginal People’s Entitlement (COPE) sought to articulate the demands of Aboriginal people in the Mackenzie Region, particularly in the face of mounting social and environmental concerns (Freeman et al 1993:37). Their concerns were enough to convince the Canadian Government to halt development and call for the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, more frequently known as the Berger Commission, to investigate the potential social, economic, and environmental impacts of development to the region. Chief Justice Thomas Berger shifted the course of Inuvialuit history by listening attentively to the local people, and after hearing testimonies in communities throughout the territory, recommending that oil and gas development be halted until Aboriginal rights and entitlement had

been settled for the region (Berger 1977). It was a momentous time and a moral victory for the Indigenous people of the delta.

The growth of pan-Inuit consciousness & land claims

Several national and international events and movements conspired to push the Inuvialuit and other Inuit groups to greater political organization and agitation in the late 1960s and for several decades hence. Trudeau's infamous White Paper of 1969, which proposed to assimilate First Nations into the mainstream of Canadian society through the abolishment of the Indian Act, spurred Aboriginal Peoples across Canada to action (Dickason 2002:385-89; Hamilton 1994:121). The general environment of protest was fostered by the American Indian Movement, the social liberalism of the 60s, and the public's increasing awareness of Indigenous issues through the popularization of accounts of American Indian history (eg. Brown 1970; Deloria 1969, 1974; Josephy 1971). The early pan-Inuit movement of the 1970s arose from individuals across international borders seeking discussion on common political and economic issues. The first Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) was held in 1977 at Barrow, Alaska, where Inuit began working towards common concerns related to conservation and protection of fragile Arctic environments, subsistence hunting rights, perpetuation of Inuit culture, and negotiating sustainable practices with the oil companies (Peterson 1984). The ICC continues its work to the present day.

In the Delta, the Committee for Original People's Entitlement began to work in earnest towards a land claim settlement in the wake of the Berger Inquiry. Like the mandate of the ICC, the Inuvialuit sought greater sovereignty on their lands, control over their lives, and continuation of their traditions (Alunik et al 2003:182; Freeman et al 1992:37). With a strong and organized rally, the claim was quickly expedited and the Inuvialuit Final Agreement signed on the 26th of June, 1984. This agreement achieved co-management of Inuvialuit lands and resources but stopped short of complete sovereignty. Currently, the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in are negotiating with the Canadian Government towards

a self-government agreement that will bring them the recognition of their ability and rights to political autonomy (Alunik et al 2003:184).

The negotiation of traditional and capitalist economies

One of the most persistent and perpetual challenges for contemporary Inuvialuit is the negotiation between traditional and capitalist economies. The Inuvialuit are proving to be astute business people (Alunik et al 2003:186-87), yet the greater challenge lies in striking a balance between internal and external worldviews and traditions. This struggle is seen nowhere more than in the economic realm. Growth in the delta via oil and gas development has resumed its former pace, with the concentration of training, infrastructure, and services in Inuvik. Many young Inuvialuit are drawn to the larger centre, partly by the employment and training opportunities situated there, and partly by the attractions of life in town. Yet time on the land hunting, trapping, fishing, and traveling is still important to many Inuvialuit of all ages. Country foods continue to be harvested at levels similar to the 1960s, though the proportions have shifted from sea mammals towards terrestrial game, and hunting is largely recreational, concentrated at weekends and holidays (Usher 2002).

Over the past several decades, there has been an increased recognition by cultural outsiders of the importance of the informal and traditional economies of the Inuvialuit and other Inuit groups. Inuit organizations have lobbied, for instance, with great success in opposing government quotas on the bowhead whale harvest (Brower and Hepa 1998). Inupiat whalers from Aklavik won the right to harvest a bowhead whale in the summer of 1991 (Freeman et al 1992). Local Indigenous groups have had more complex reactions to the question of oil development and protection of the Porcupine Caribou herd's breeding grounds (Hinchman 2001). There has similarly been recognition of the intimate knowledge that Inuit hunters hold of the behaviour and ecology of their lands and resources (Nelson 1969, and following). Both *The Barrow Symposium on Sea Ice* and *The Beaufort Sea Conference on the Renewable Marine Resources* invited Inuit hunters to share their knowledge of Arctic

environments and changing conditions with southern scientists (Ayles et al 2002; Huntington et al 2001:204). This kind of rapprochement between differing epistemologies is one step towards improved understanding across the gulf of Western and non-Western worldviews. The challenge remains, however, for Inuvialuit and other Inuit groups to find balance between their cultural traditions and the draws of wage labour, globalizing culture and economy.

The lives of Inuvialuit Elders in the 20th century

Twenty-five Inuvialuit Elders, who are my collaborators in this study, were born in different areas of Inuvialuit and Inupiat traditional territory in the early decades of the 20th century, the 1920s, 30s, and at very latest, early 40s. These Elders were born in the bush, and some, like David Roland, out on the sea ice. They witnessed and experienced the dramatic social, cultural, and economic changes of the century, accommodating each twist and turn with vigour and determination. Said Victor Allen in an interview with me, "Well you had to adapt quickly. If you don't adapt, you miss out on something that you really need alright!"

All of the Elders I spent time with spoke with nostalgia about their days on the land. Nellie Arey, like many others, referred fondly to her time with her Daduk (grandfather), who raised her: "When my Daduk was alive, we do so much work. Oh yeah, I enjoy it! I just love to do what he tell me to do!" Others were born in Alaska and migrated in the 1940s. Alice Husky was 5 or 6 years old when "we came to Canada...We go down to...Herschel Island, Ptarmigan Bay. From there we never go back. Live around here since." Asked why they left, Alice said "It's hard to live in Alaska. There's no work and you can't trap and maybe [my parents] want to trap [musk]rats [or] something. It's easy to live in Delta, just easier for them."

As this cohort of Elders was raised, they lived with their parents and grandparents, who were frequently trapping and traveling to furnish the needs

of the fur economy. Rosie and Jacob Archie shared the following exchange about their young days at the traditional coastal site of *Niaqulik*:

Jacob: The thing when we growing up, we were never hungry.

Rosie: Never. My dad was always hunting, huh?

Jacob: And mom. And I started following my mom when [she] was trapping when I was small. [I] cried sometimes when I had to walk with snowshoes...

Several of these Elders went to mission school, either at Shingle Point or later in Aklavik. As they grew into adulthood and found partners, many continued to live in the bush, building multiple camps and traveling extensively in a hunting and trapping lifestyle. Colin Harry spent a lot of his time on the Yukon North Coast: "Trapping and everything, you know, how [we] live. I used to [go to the] Yukon, I go there...every winter anyway. Four dogs, five dogs, I stay down there in the winter time..."

When this cohort of Inuvialuit had children, it became more imperative to take up residence in the growing centres of the delta, as by this time school attendance was mandatory. Ida Inglangasuk lived with her husband John in Aklavik, both working while their children went to Government Day School. Yet whenever the family had free time, they traveled by boat to their camp 20 to 30 minutes downriver: "We used to take kids with us [whenever we go]. Canoeing, hunting [musk]rat. [We had an] 18 foot canoe, 18 horse kicker. Kids sleeping in the canoe. Middle of the [night], you know, [when we travel, they] sleep, they get tired I guess, sitting." All of the Elders I have spent time with have one or several camps in the delta and on the coast, each used for a different hunting or trapping season, and many of them maintained to the present day.

As northern development heightened and the wage economy was brought to the north, these Elders engaged in the new economy and circumstances.

Winnie Cockney, like many of her female contemporaries, sewed duffle parkas

for the oil and gas companies in addition to cleaning: "I used to make lots of parkies when I used to work for Esso. In that big building. Right after...cleaning up the upstairs [of the building, I] go home and start sewing." Jimmy Gordon started a company called Beluga Transport that barged goods around the delta. He owned the company "...over ten years. I had another one at Norman Wells, another boat over there working twenty-four hours a day too. For about five years, six years. It was really good money." Billy Day and Annie C. Gordon were active members of the Committee for Original People's Entitlement and signatories to the Inuvialuit Final Agreement.

Today, many of these Elders are just as active as in their younger days. In fact, several find that the industriousness learned growing up on the land is nowhere near matched by their own children and grandchildren. They see many changes in the behaviour and interests of the younger generations and are often saddened by the loss of traditional values and pursuits. However, they are flexible and adaptable people and tend to take the best from the new technologies and opportunities. Old friends Colin Harry and Victor Allen agreed that the old days were great fun. But, Victor added, with his typical pragmatism, "We didn't know that [everything] was gonna change. If we knew it was gonna change, we probably woulda been [more] prepared. But the change went, we went with the change, and what you gonna do?"

Chapter three. Outlining a Critical Theory for Indigenous Archaeology

That which we call 'history' is not inevitable.

Carol McDavid (1997:128)

While the colonizers had every reason to glorify their own past, they had no reason to extol the past of the peoples they were subjugating and supplanting. Indeed, they sought by emphasizing the primitiveness and lack of accomplishments of these peoples to justify their own poor treatment of them.

Bruce Trigger (1984:360)

Critical theory is a powerful vehicle for the study of the past. Moreover, it seems a particularly apt tool for examining the past of those who have been disenfranchised by the production of consensual narratives, including Indigenous peoples worldwide. Indigenous peoples have suffered at the hands of grand and linear narratives of history produced by colonizers that serve to homogenize difference and make that history appear uncontested and inevitable (cf. Delle et al. 1999; Leone 1995:254; Schwartz 1982; Shackel 2002:159). Critical theory can serve as a bridge to help bring these marginalized histories to light under the auspices of archaeological practice. Russell Handsman (2003:30) has identified key components of a critical approach to Indigenous history and archaeology, including: "the identification and interrogation of the silences in disciplinary models and methods, a reconstruction of those models and methods, and then an exploration of what might be called counter-factual histories." By counter-factual histories, Handsman (2003:30) is referring to those that "challenge and confront conventional silences and misunderstandings."

This chapter aims to develop a critical theory for Indigenous Archaeology practice. While Indigenous Archaeologies are by nature critical endeavours, they are rarely explicitly theoretically framed. My hope is to formulate a critical approach that represents a scaled down version of the global critiques of capitalism produced by Mark Leone and colleagues that is developed to suit the needs of localized descendant communities and their struggle for

recognition against the hegemony of regional and national powers. Above, Carol McDavid and Bruce Trigger remind us that histories are always written from a certain viewpoint, which either consciously or unconsciously serves particular ideological and sociopolitical ends. I begin this chapter by outlining the history and tenets of critical theory, and then summarize its applications to archaeology. I discuss the challenge of Indigenous scholars to claims for post-colonialism and their attempts to re-frame this discourse. Finally, I propose an intersection of criticalist and indigenist theories in the form of a localized critical theory. I close by presenting the theoretical intentions of this study.

History & tenets of critical theory

Critical theory has its roots in the social thought of a selection of early 20th century philosophers, most prominently the Frankfurt School, who sought to adapt Marxism to then contemporary conditions. The Frankfurt School came together in the 1920s as a group of primarily Jewish intellectuals who sought to develop a political philosophy that would map the rise of global capitalism, and counteract the threats of nationalism and totalitarianism in Europe. Its main proponents included such figures as Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Walter Benjamin and Max Horkheimer, whose central projects focused on identifying issues of power and inequality in society through the analysis of such fields as ethnicity, economy, ideology, communication, education, mass media, and other social configurations, and to seek social justice through the struggle for truly democratic societies (cf. Kincheloe and McLaren 2000:281).

Critical theory has evolved over the course of the 20th century, particularly under the influence of Jürgen Habermas, and more latterly through the effects of postmodern schools of thought, especially the works of Foucault and Derrida. While constantly evolving, and variously applied in the social and humanistic disciplines, the tenets of a critical approach have remained relatively constant. Critical theory is concerned with the production of knowledge and how this knowledge is historically situated (McDavid 1997:117). It recognizes that all research enterprises are inescapably

embedded in a social context which must be considered and treated as part of the research question. This perspective transcends the more object-centred approaches of traditional positivism, instead arguing that science is not value-free (Held 1980:202). It builds on Marx's observation "that knowledge and knowledge producing enterprises" are core attributes of human endeavor that cannot be considered above or outside of cultural practices (Wylie 1985:135). Critical theory does not reject positivism outright, but instead acknowledges that it is a partial and singular way of viewing the world (cf. Held 1980:31; McDavid 1997:118). And, "within this understanding, critical theory places a high value on empirical research" (Potter 1994:32).

One of the most substantive critiques of positivism is its lack of capacity for self-reflection, a tenet derived from the purported value-neutrality of the positivist viewpoint (Held 1980:167). Critical theory endorses a reflexive practice that aims to locate scholarship in a sociopolitical context, and asks to what extent our knowledge claims "serve the interests and beliefs that comprise this context" (Wylie 1985:137). This practice requires the researcher to situate her/himself within the research process, and to identify and reveal her/his assumptions and biases. In an ideal setting, other stakeholders to the research process will similarly disclose their intentions and positions (McDavid 1997:117). This kind of revelation also reveals potential conflicts of stakeholders in the research setting as well as the social and political constraints to interpretation that may arise (Leone et al. 1987).

The broader goal of a reflexive practice is to discover the extent to which "this self-consciousness reveals the form of a dominant ideology and social order as mediated by the scientific production of knowledge" (Wylie 1985:137). Ideology is considered a misrepresentation of social reality that masks or naturalizes social inequality (Potter 1994:34). It is defined as "those belief systems which can maintain their legitimacy despite the fact that they could not be validated if subjected to rational discourse" (Schroyer 1973:163 cited in Held 1980:256). Ideology drives individuals, populations, or social classes to

act in ways that they might not otherwise, if it were not for the naturalization of the social order by hegemonic regimes. At a practical level, critical analysis forms a platform for social critique and emancipatory action by exposing knowledge that leads to freedom and enlightenment (Potter 1994:34). History is not viewed as inevitable: individuals have the ability to make choices and to right past wrongs. The telling of the past, as such, is always rendered through the lens of the present (Mullins 1998:10).

Present-day formulations of critical theory reject the goal of emancipating others from their social circumstances as patronizing and arrogant, because this standpoint assumes that one interest group knows what is best for another (Kincheloe and McLaren 2005:308). The more recent position is that individuals can be alternately empowered and marginalized by the workings of society, and that they must choose a conscious path, either individually or collectively (Kincheloe and McLaren 2000:283). Current critical approaches also debunk the idea that people are passive receptors of propaganda in place of a more nuanced view of how hegemony and ideology are formed and operate within society (Kincheloe and McLaren 2000:283).

Critical theory in archaeology

Despite its great potential, critical theory has been sparingly adapted to the needs of archaeological research. The project has been taken up most fervently by historical archaeologists of what Wilkie and Bartoy (2000) have called 'The Annapolis School.' Early work by Leone (1981) and Handsman (1980) laid the groundwork for establishing the utility of the approach to questions of archaeological interpretation and public presentation. In a seminal piece entitled 'Putting Shakertown back together,' Wylie (1985) takes stock of the critical approach in archaeology and evaluates some of its early applications. Her title is an allusion to Leone's work with the Shakers, in which he exposed how historical representations of this group reflect present political ideologies rather than those of the community's past (Wylie 1985:139). Wylie suggests that there are two levels to an effective critical practice: self-

reflexivity followed by social criticism and action. At the time of her writing, Wylie felt that the goals of social criticism and action, the more challenging of the two projects, had not been broached in any meaningful way in archaeological study.

In later works, Leone, Potter, and Shackel (1987) and Handsman and Leone (1989) continue their efforts to develop a critical archaeology (also see papers in Pinsky and Wylie 1989 and Shanks and Tilley 1987). The authors of the first article define their objective as an effort "to achieve less contingent knowledge" by seeking to unpack the point of view from which the conclusions are formed (Leone et al 1987:284). A primary concern is the focus on exposing the ideological framework within which any given interpretations are shaped. This entails the de-mystification of ethnic, class, and individual interests embedded in the research (Handsman and Leone 1989:118). Handsman and Leone (1989: 119-120) provide a four-step methodology for conducting this type of analysis. In the case studies provided in these two articles, capitalism and individualism form two parallel ideologies which inform the class interests of the early industrial age in America. Knowledge of this ideological structure, as well as our present-day sociopolitical formations, is meant to critique and re-construct interpretations of the past.

These early efforts precipitated into the more consolidated program of 'The Annapolis School' in the late 1980s and early 1990s, so called after its focus on the historical port city of Annapolis, Maryland. Although the proponents do not consider their work to comprise a unified school (Delle 2000; Mullins 2000; Shackel 2000), the group has developed its scholarship along several recognized lines. First is the study of the evolution of capitalism, and its attendant social practices and class relations, asking how and why contemporary socioeconomic systems have come to be (Shackel et al. 1998:xvi; also see Delle et al. 1999; Leone 1984, 1988, 1989; Leone and Little 1993). Second is the concerted effort to expand public interpretation efforts, and to infuse them with a critical bent that allows the viewer to critique the

material record and come to their own conclusions about the origin of modern day circumstances (Shackel et al. 1998:xvi-xvii; also see Leone and Potter 1996; Potter 1994). This body of work has consistently been informed by a critical perspective that has evolved and developed over the two decades of the project. Recent studies have responded to critiques of a top-down, elite-centred approach (see Mullins 1998; Wilkie and Bartoy 2000) by delving into theoretical issues surrounding gender, agency, and racial tensions (Shackel et al. 1998).

The public focus of the Annapolis project has also resonated across other critical projects in archaeology. The reasoning is clear: "Archaeology is centrally involved in the ideology-constituting process of interpretation: its results are widely reported in the media and enormously popular subjects of museum displays, outdoor reconstructions, and re-enactments in living historical presentations" (Handsman and Leone 1989:118). Indeed, critical approaches are currently widespread in the public archaeology literature as well (eg. Bond and Gilliam 1994; Gero and Root 1996; Hurst Thomas 2002; Leone and Little 1990; McGhee 1997; Shackel 2002), though few are as explicitly formulated or self-reflexive as the cases cited above. Some approaches combine a critical perspective with other theoretical strands, such as Hall's (1994) use of a structuralist-semiotic approach or McDavid's pragmatism (2000, 2002; also see Saitta et al 2003; Saitta in press). A great number of critical archaeology projects focus on the African diaspora and historical plantations and slave settlements across the New World (eg. Franklin 2004, 2005; Franklin and McKee 2004; Funari 2006; McDavid 1997, 2002, 2004; McKee 1994, 1998; Thomas 1998; Wilkie 2000, 2001). Others are moving towards a more applied practice that seeks to empower subordinated groups and non-traditional communities through cultural heritage initiatives (see papers in Shackel and Chambers 2004, this study).

A concerted direction in this vein, which is anticipated by earlier critical archaeology works, is a focus on the disenfranchised (see Scham 2001). This

project moves critical archaeology away from the historical era to encompass a broader range of time depths, geographies, and descendant and ethocultural communities. In their seminal volume 'Making Alternative Histories,' Schmidt and Patterson (1995) sought to tell the histories of cultural groups in underdeveloped nations—including those of Aboriginal people living in First World societies or the so-called 'Fourth World'²—that have been silenced by state and other hegemonic authorities. Such directions in archaeology build on critical, self-conscious traditions that grew out of the postprocessual movement in archaeology, including gender (Conkey and Spector 1984; Conkey and Gero 1997; Gero and Conkey 1991; Walde and Willows 1991), Marxist (McGuire 1992; Orser 1996; Paynter 1988) contextual (Hodder 1987, 1998, 2000), and reflexive (Shanks and Tilley 1987, 1992) practices. The atmosphere generated by such criticism and growth in the discipline formed a gateway for the introduction and application of post-colonial theory to archaeology. It also formed the genesis point of Indigenous Archaeologies worldwide. These topics are discussed in turn below.

Archaeological theory & the post-colonial critique

Much current debate in the anthropological and wider humanities literature surrounds the concept of post-colonialism (eg. Bhabha 1994; Meskell 1998; Said 1988, 2003, 2004; Spivak 1999). Post-colonialism can be defined along two separate lines. The first is that political independence has freed former European colonies from foreign rule, and these colonies are hence now governing in a post-colonial condition. The second is that an understanding of the colonial histories of these nations through critical and humanist study can emancipate research in these settings from its essentialist tendencies (Gosden 2001:241; Lydon 2006). In archaeology, Gosden (2001:242) has noted a wide chasm between theory and practice in this latter regard. Although post-colonial theory is consistently being adapted by 'sensitive' archaeologists to suit the

² The term 'Fourth World' was originally coined by Canadian Aboriginal leader and author George Manuel (Manuel and Posluns 1974), who suggested that Aboriginal Peoples worldwide, including those living in so-called developed nations, lived in more appalling sociopolitical, economic, and physical circumstances than third world populations.

needs of various projects (eg. Lilley 2000), the practical corollary that Indigenous peoples will gain increasing control over archaeological resources and the telling of their own histories is largely not being met. One outcome of this situation, not surprisingly, is that Indigenous scholars do not view post-colonial theory in the same light as non-Aboriginal theorists do. Says Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999:14), "Many Indigenous scholars actively resist participating in any discussion within the discourses of post-coloniality. This is because post-colonialism is viewed as the convenient invention of Western intellectuals which reinscribes their power to define the world."

The question remains: How can and should archaeologists develop appropriate approaches to archaeological discourse and theory in Indigenous communities? The remainder of this section summarizes the Indigenous critique of the positivist paradigm and explores some of the theoretical directions that Indigenous scholars have taken in developing their own research programs, as a source of inspiration for archaeological practitioners.

Many Aboriginal scholars reject positivism outright as a close adjunct to imperial authority (see discussion in Tuhiwai Smith 1999:42, 163-68). Positivism or essentialism is criticized for its tendency to classify subjects of inquiry into static and homogeneous categories that effectively freeze them in place and transform them into an unalterable 'truth' (Grande 2000:248-350). In social research, essentializing practices have been widely used as a basis to criticize contemporary Aboriginal people for looking or acting in ways that are said to be inauthentic to their roots. Aboriginal people have been criticized when, just like other members of a globalizing society, they partake in the consumer economy or appropriate behaviours from across (permeable) cultural boundaries. Such practices not only serve to reproduce colonial structures in social research situations, but reify a static image of Indigenous people in myriad institutional contexts such as the academy (Grande 2000; Mihesuah and Wilson 2004; Pyburn 1999:363), the judicial system

(Cruikshank 1992; Fisher 1992; Hirsch and Lazarus-Black 1994) and government bureaucracy (Handsman and Lamb Richmond 1995; Miller 2003).

The political and ideological constraints of the positivist program have led Indigenous scholars to explore more emancipatory and deconstructionist paradigms. Many Indigenous scholars have adopted the liberatory frameworks of Paulo Freire (1970), Frantz Fanon (1963, 1965), and Albert Memmi (1965) in their quest to create internalist (*sensu* Yellowhorn 2002³) research programs. Freire promotes a commitment to praxis through pedagogy that embraces both reflection and action in creating sociopolitical transformation (Wilson 2004:69). Fanon (1963) advocates the decolonization of colonial structures in order to free the oppressed from domination. He underscores the need for oppressed groups to find their "own particular values and methods and a style which shall be particular to them" (Fanon 1963:99). Memmi (1965:128) agrees that "the colonized's liberation must be carried out through a recovery of self and of autonomous dignity." This program "is the indispensable prelude to self-discovery" and the road to emancipation (Memmi 1965:128). Such organic and grassroots approaches to questions of theory and praxis have been widely adopted by Indigenous scholars in both academic (Grande 2000, 2004; Mihesuah and Wilson 2004; Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2005) and community settings (Birt and Copley 2005; Bishop 2005; May et al 2005; Tuhiwai Smith 2000; Wiyonjorroc et al 2005).

Other forms of emancipatory and deconstructionist theory taken up by Indigenous scholars include derived forms of critical theory, feminism, and Marxism (Grande 2000, 2004; Handsman and Lamb Richmond 1995; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). But rather than adapting these theoretical positions wholesale, Indigenous researchers tend to create approaches based on specific cultural histories and epistemological frameworks, adapting elements of western paradigms that suit their needs. Wilson (2004:71) suggests that the process of

³ Blackfoot archaeologist Eldon Yellowhorn (2002) has made the argument that it is incumbent on Aboriginal people to develop 'internalist' or emic programs of archaeology, which seek to interpret the material record through cultural concepts drawn from oral history and tradition, language, place names, etc.

“decolonization requires auto-criticism, self-reflection, and a rejection of victimage,” and that Indigenous research pursuits entail “a reaffirmation of Indigenous epistemological and ontological foundations.” An example of a well-developed Indigenous research program is Kaupapa Maori research in New Zealand, which, though derived from critical and feminist approaches, rests on the distinctly Maori “concept of *whanau* as a supervisory and organizational structure” (Tuhiwai Smith 1999:185, also 2005). Other Indigenous research programs are following this hybrid model of theory and practice (Atalay 2006b; Mihesuah and Wilson 2004; for an overview, see Denzin 2005).

Critical theory & Indigenous Archaeology

The critique of post-colonial theory by Indigenous scholars led me to ask what theoretical approach(es) were most appropriate to an Indigenous Archaeology. I was attracted to critical theory for a number of reasons, which are outlined below. The use of a critical approach is not new to investigations of the relationship between Indigenous peoples and archaeologists. Early on, Bruce Trigger (1980, 1984) identified nationalistic and universalizing tendencies in the processual program and called attention to the need for ‘Alternative Archaeologies,’ and by extension, theoretical approaches. The postprocessual movement gave rise to a swath of studies that interrogated the role of colonialism in structuring these relationships and called for methods to decolonize our long-standing interactions with cultural ‘others’ (eg. Blakey 1997; Mazel and Ritchie 1994; McGuire 1992; Miller et al 1989; Ucko 1994). This critique drove individual archaeologists and national-level archaeological associations to a substantive review of ethical practices of the discipline and the development of a series of best practices (eg. Canadian Archaeological Association 2000; Ferris 2000; Goldstein 1992; Lilley 2000; Leone and Potter 1992; Leone and Preucel 1992:130; Lynott and Wylie 1995; Stone 1994; Swidler et al. 1997; Wylie 1997, 1999; Zimmerman et al. 2003). These studies, while couched in the rhetoric of criticism, are for the most part only implicitly informed by a critical theory approach. This is also the case with the

burgeoning field of Indigenous Archaeology (but see exceptions in Leone and Preucel 1992; Smith and Staniforth 1999).

I believe that the use of an explicit critical theory approach provides a powerful entryway to delve into the questions of creating an engaged and critical Indigenous Archaeology. Outside of its novelty to archaeology (Potter 1994:13), critical theory holds great appeal due to its unique set of tenets and concepts. First, critical theory rests on the dual notions of social critique tied to the raising of awareness in a community that collective actions can lead to positive social change (Lincoln and Guba 2000:177). These kinds of empowering principles have attracted Indigenous scholars to this body of theory, as seen in the foregoing section. Second, critical theory focuses on particular cultural and historical processes and structures which can help bring marginalized histories to light (Potter 1994:27-28). This strategy runs counter to the universalizing tendencies of the New Archaeology that were so anathema to Aboriginal peoples (Trigger 1997). Third, critical theory is a varied and evolving body of theory that is complementary to other theoretical approaches, thereby lending itself to theoretical pluralism (Handsman 2003; Kincheloe and McLaren 2005; Pinsky and Wylie 1989; Wilkie and Bartoy 2000; Wylie 2002). This aspect of critical theory is especially key to archaeological practice, since archaeology is a field that focuses on the materiality of the past (Hall and Silliman 2006), a pursuit that was not originally formulated by the Frankfurt School.

In order to adopt critical theory as a basis for this study, however, it must be somewhat re-tooled and re-scaled for the needs of an Indigenous Archaeology. While this process will be distinct in each research situation, I see this shift generally operating along two lines. First, there needs to be a de-centering of interest in the global processes of capitalism in favour of the local processes of community dynamics. Second, there needs to be a more concerted focus on the individual. Critical archaeology has often championed various class-based interests to the detriment of individual cultural actors (Wilkie and Bartoy

2000). The goal here is to develop a dual focus on the individual and the collective, representing two scales of social action that operate in a dialectic with each other. The following paragraphs attempt to theorize this re-shaping of critical archaeology into a more localized form.

Following the lead of the Frankfurt School, Mark Leone and others have suggested that understanding and exposing the ideological constitution of a society is the central focus of a critical archaeological practice. Many critical archaeologists, especially critical historical archaeologists, have given primacy to the role of capitalism in creating the present world order, and the structural relationships within and between nation-states (Delle et al. 1999; Johnson 1995; Leone and Potter 1999). This interest closely mirrors the work of Habermas in trying to understand the core structures, crises, and contradictions of 'advanced' capitalism (Held 1980:258). The trend toward community, or Indigenous, archaeologies shifts the focus of critical archaeology from global phenomena to questions of local power and hegemony (*sensu* Gramsci 1971). A more localized reading of these questions unites these abstract pan-global objectives with concrete, local concerns and gives greater agency to collaborators from descendant communities. While Palus and colleagues (2006:92) assert that the increase in public dialogue surrounding archaeological interpretation might be the most important value of critical archaeology efforts to date, these authors, in turn, acknowledge that public archaeology has in most cases not attained the promised outcome of greater public consciousness. Here they are speaking of consciousness as an understanding of "how our present circumstances, contradictory and deeply unfair and unequal, were [historically] reached" (Palus et al. 2006:92-93, following Lukács 1971).

Achieving this kind of knowledge, or some would say enlightenment (Potter 1994:38), has been more successful in projects which address individual publics, comprised of smaller social formations such as ethnocultural groups, descendant communities, and the like. In these settings, there is more at

stake than in the general public and a greater concern for 'getting it right' in the face of historical wrongs. This is likely the reason why grassroots initiatives such as historical plantation studies have evolved into successful collaborations informed by critical practice (see Franklin 2005; McDavid 1997, 2000; Wilkie 2000, 2001). Here, the desire of certain segments of diverse and sometimes divided communities to de-construct consensus narratives in favour of more contingent and fragmented readings has led to significant changes in local consciousness (Leone et al. 1995; Palus et al. 2006:100; Wilkie and Bartoy 2000:755-6). And while this burgeoning knowledge may not lead to outright changes in the social relations and structuring of a community, at a more subtle level, it can build confidence, capacity, and recognition in individual members that may collectively lead to greater consciousness.

Collaborative engagement allows descendant communities, or groups of stakeholders, as the case may be, to challenge ideologies that naturalize the structures and processes of inequality in which they live (cf. Wilkie and Bartoy 2000:747). This approach is a direct reflection of the idea that the past is always constructed by, and understood within, the constraints of the present (Hall and Silliman 2006:14; Leone et al. 1987; Mullins 1998:10; Shanks and Tilley 1992). The past is of critical importance to communities whose identities are indelibly marked by their historical narratives. In its most collaborative form, critical archaeology is driven by motivations to re-visit, re-tell, or revise community understandings of past narratives, sites, and events. The archaeologist often, but not always, represents an outsider who facilitates the representation of individual or collective (his)stories of community members, who in other cases, might not have the means, skills, or capacity to represent themselves (McDavid 1997). This situation forms a kind of dialectic between insider/outsider knowledge which is negotiated through the processes of interpretation and public presentation. The process forms a two-way dynamic, or as Wilkie and Bartoy (2000:755-6) suggest, a discursive relationship, within which "critical archaeological narratives" can be constructed.

The introduction of more agent-based approaches⁴ to critical archaeology is a welcome addition to the material aspects of community studies (Wilkie and Bartoy 2000). Many community research programs, such as the present one, document oral histories of contemporary Elders who recount memories of their forebears by interpreting the material culture that they left behind. "Objects of the past" become cultural symbols that "create the basis for communities of shared memory" which, William Shack (1994:115) suggests, allow the voices of cultural others—including Indigenous peoples—to come to the fore. Wilkie and Bartoy (2000:749) emphasize the role of commonplace artifacts in providing glimpses of "social being in the past." Various experiences are encased in individual objects that can serve as a mnemonic to times, places, emotions, and memories for contemporary Elders (cf. Tarlow 2000). Artifacts may evoke singular or myriad memories for each user, from the present-day descendant who handles an ancient object to the original maker who is connected to them by blood relations.

Interestingly, as I attempted this circumscribing of critical theory to suit more localized ends, I came across recent iterations of Kaupapa Maori research. This approach makes use of a 'localized critical theory' (as described in Denzin 2005:945), that in many ways mirrors the directions that I am attempting to map out here. Linda T. Smith (2000) and Graham H. Smith (2000) have situated this brand of critical theory within the specific social, political, and cultural milieu of Maori society, while retaining its emancipatory framework and call to action. The research—whether conducted by a cultural insider or an allied outsider—is tailored to benefit the Maori community, and is contingent on a series of guiding criteria that provide a 'moral lens' for answering to Maori concerns (Denzin 2005:945). The objectives are ultimately to achieve self-determination and well-being among the Maori. Bishop (2005:112) equates success in Kaupapa Maori research practices with achieving representation, legitimacy, and accountability to Maori people.

⁴ Echoing the endorsement of agent-centred approaches in the wider post-processual literature in archaeology (eg. Barrett 2000, 2001), Wilkie and Bartoy (2000) argue that critical archaeology needs to move away from its emphasis on classes and groups and toward the focus on individual actors.

Bridging worldviews & establishing effective communications

Some of the most significant challenges to practicing Indigenous Archaeology are bridging the worldviews of respective cultural groups and establishing effective communications (see Anawak 1996; Goldstein 1992; Leone and Preucel 1992; Hamilton et al 1995; McGhee 1997, 2004a; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Tallbull 1994 in Hurst Thomas 2002). In the following section, I outline a series of theoretical ideas drawn from the critical theory literature, especially the work of Jürgen Habermas, which attempt to develop these subjects.

Habermas's work is summarized, and in places re-translated, by David Held, who suggests that Habermas's project is "to develop a theory of society with a practical intention: the self-emancipation of people from domination" (Held 1980:250). Habermas's focus has been on advanced capitalist industrial society, but the strands of his work developed below examine the ways that societies and their members interact and work towards consensus on sociopolitical issues, both within and beyond the state. Several of these ideas have been applied to anthropological problems by the 'Annapolis School' and others; these works are alluded to throughout the section. I present these ideas in the hopes of charting a route towards more effective cultural translation and communication in the practice of Indigenous Archaeology.

A fundamental step in establishing good relations is working towards a mutual understanding of the worldviews of respective stakeholders. Leone and Preucel (1992:120) adopt Habermas's (1984) notion that humans see their world in one of two fundamental ways. A *systems* perspective prevails in industrial society, where society is construed as "a self-regulating system in which social actions are regarded as functionally related to their consequences" (Leone and Preucel 1992:120). Adherents to this perspective rely on concepts of system maintenance, rational thought, and strategic action. In most traditional societies, a *lifeworld* perspective is maintained that sees "society as being

coordinated by harmonizing actions" (Leone and Preucel 1992:120). Adherents to this perspective unite emotions, dreams, myths, and feelings into their daily practice of living (Leone and Preucel 1992:121). Those who view reality through a lifeworld perspective may include many people who live within the rubric of 'modern' societies. These two perspectives operate best when they function together; that is, when neither the systems nor the lifeworld takes precedence. However, Habermas suggested that the lifeworld has been overtaken by the systems perspective in modern society. Leone and Preucel (1992) propose that the use of Habermas's Theory of Communicative Action (also translated by Held [1980:256] as the Theory of Communicative Competence) can bring these differences into clear view and help to reconcile them.

Habermas's theory entails creating an 'ideal speech situation'. With the goal of achieving consensus, this process relies on four types of claims or requirements for speech acts: comprehensibility, truth, rightness or correctness, and truthfulness or sincerity. Held (1980:333) follows that "communicative interaction can be continued only to the degree which participants credibly sustain these four types of validity claim[s]: that the utterance is comprehensible or intelligible; that its propositional content (or its existential presupposition) is true; that it is legitimate and appropriate in the context and that it is sincerely spoken." Leone and Preucel (1992) applied this theory to the NAGPRA⁵ issue, in order to locate it within the realms of archaeology and politics, and to illustrate its potential for action. They saw early on that NAGPRA created an unequal environment of dialogue, and they recommended courses of actions that might help level the playing the field (Leone and Preucel 1992:130-31).

⁵ NAGPRA is the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, which was passed by the United States Government in 1990. The focus of the Act was to mandate and facilitate the repatriation of human remains from museums and other cultural repositories back to Native American communities (see Hutt et al. 1999; Trope et al. 2000; Bruning 2006).

Critics of Habermas's theory have suggested "that it severely underestimates the roles of ideology, false consciousness and power differentials in dialogue" (Preucel and Hodder 1996:608). The critique continues that an ideal speech situation can rarely be obtained because of pre-existing power structures, conduct in the language of the dominant party, and the imposition of a written discourse on non-literate cultures. Habermas, however, has always maintained that the Theory of Communicative Action is an ideal that will likely never be met. He also anticipated such criticism and has worked towards resolving the issue of systematically distorted communication (Crossley 2004). In his view, this process requires sustained reflection and criticism through which varying forms of domination can be exposed (Held 1980:256).

Despite these ideals, in advanced capitalist societies, the primacy of technology and science has eclipsed the role of ethics and self-reflection in research practices. Preference is given to the knowledge of politicians, scientific experts, and government administrators, which in turn legitimizes their powers to make decisions on behalf of much wider constituencies (Held 1980:264). Critical theory is a mode to re-install ethical and reflexive concerns into the knowledge-producing enterprise. Self-reflection "leads to insight due to the fact that what has previously been unconscious is made conscious in a manner rich in consequences: analytic insights intervene in life" (Habermas 1974:22-23 in Held 1980:317). In research, this practice bridges the subject/object divide and leads to a more nuanced understanding of the researcher's or analyst's position within a social matrix. Habermas's critique also reveals the extent to which contemporary research, and its attendant methodologies, is informed by the ideology of positivism. He traces the roots of positivist practices from a time when it was one among many ways of examining the world to its modern position as a form of scientism. "Scientism means...that we no longer understand science as *one* form of possible knowledge, but rather identify knowledge with science" (Habermas 1971:4 in Held 1980:296).

The critique of the scientific framework leads us directly back to questions of effective communication with descendant communities. One response to this critique is to open the door to a pluralist research practice. Pluralism can inform a critical Indigenous Archaeology at a number of levels. First, as Habermas specifies, all interpretations should be given the status of hypotheses, "as they can be tested and changed in light of further information" (Held 1980:309). Second, a related dimension of pluralism is to allow the emergence of multi- or poly-vocality, in which a broader range of voices can be heard in the research enterprise (Hodder 1992, 2003). Rather than being relegated to the status of 'informants' or practical bystanders, pluralism invites Indigenous collaborators into the process of knowledge-production. In this way, "knowing subjects play an active role in constituting the world they know" (Habermas 1975:158 in Held 1980:300).

There is much current debate over the form and direction that a multi-vocal approach should take in archaeology. It is widely agreed that the movement towards pluralism lays the groundwork for reconciling disparate viewpoints, finding ethical common ground, and promoting mutual respect (eg. Goldstein 1992; Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Zimmerman et al 2003) by creating a space for the stories of different stakeholders (Schmidt and Patterson 1995; Wylie, public communication, 2004). The following statements are drawn from the discussants of the 2004 Society for American Anthropology symposium 'Beyond Nationalist, Colonialist, and Imperialist Archaeologies: Evaluating Multiple Narratives,' whose title alludes to Bruce Trigger's (1984) seminal paper on the subject. Wylie indicated that multi-vocality should always be oppositional and anti-hegemonic in nature, rather than becoming the new hegemony (Wylie public communication, 2004). It follows that this approach be conflictual rather than consensual, context-specific, and fluid rather than fixed. Hodder (public communication, 2004), similarly, called for a questioning of authority, and a de-centering of traditional knowledge structures. In this anti-hegemonic spirit, Trigger (public communication, 2004) argued that no group should have singular control of the telling of their past. Instead, he

asserted that alternative narratives should be produced that can be tested within the discipline, and that approximate the 'multiple working hypotheses' of old, an idea that echoes Habermas' assertion that all interpretations be considered hypotheses. The articulation of multiple voices does not, however, mean a descent into relativism, as some level of constraint is necessary (Wylie public communication, 2004; also see Harding 2004:10-12; Wylie 2000).

Multi-vocal research tends towards two types of projects in archaeology: at the larger scale, those that critique the colonialist system, and at the smaller, those that represent de-colonized world views (Hodder, public communication, 2004). An example of the latter is found in Kojan and Angelo's (2005) critique of exclusionary narratives presented by the Bolivian government. The authors found that a two-tiered strategy has been used to naturalize the political order in modern-day Bolivia. On the one hand, Indigenous heritage of the long ago past, exemplified by early centres such as Tiwanaku, is homogenized into a linear narrative of progress that culminates with the current political situation. On the other, contemporary Indigenous peoples, particularly poor minorities such as coca farmers, are left out of the telling and their landscapes form "narratives of emptiness" which makes their demands easy to dismiss (Kojan 2002). The authors emphasize the need to identify, expose, and critique uses of the past that foster social hegemony or economic gain (Kojan and Angelo 2005).

It is these latter processes that can be so fruitfully informed by critical theory practice, as suggested in the final section of this chapter.

Theoretical intentions of the study

Although the Frankfurt School never specified an ontology for conducting critical analyses (cf. Kincheloe and McLaren 2005:303-304), some parameters for practice can be identified in their doctrine (see Held 1980:353). By its definition, critical theory makes extensive use of critique to illuminate situations of systematic social, political, economic, and other types of

inequalities and reveal the nature and extent to which these are informed by ideology. While differing in approach and scope, the major theorists of the Frankfurt School also shared the goal of self-reflection as a method of locating oneself in a social milieu (ie. the research process) and understanding the constraints of that situation. Praxis, as formulated by Habermas, is a combination of (theoretical) work and (communicative) interaction leading to consensus building (Held 1980:257). The processes of communication and interaction, as outlined in his Theory of Communicative Action, lay the groundwork for interpretation and analysis. Finally, an assessment of the prospects for social action is implied in all critical theory analyses. However, both the original Frankfurt School members and Habermas were somewhat ambiguous in their formulations of how this was to occur (Held 1980:395, 399). Contemporary critical theorists have adopted ideas from emancipatory thinkers such as Freire and Fanon, whose visions of emancipation take such forms as outright political action, and more subtly, the involvement of research participants as collaborators who come to think more critically about the circumstances they see around them (cf. Kincheloe and McLaren 2005:305). These theorists led to the union of criticalist research with participatory action methodologies (Kemmis and McTaggart 2005).

The theoretical intentions and structure of this study, which are drawn from the ontology sketched out above, are as follows:

1. Theoretical objectives

The primary motivation for this thesis is to understand the relationships of inequality constructed within the Canadian nation-state through the eyes of an Indigenous community and its individual members who both reproduce and resist that imposed order. This goal is admittedly broad in scope and idealistic in nature. However, the question is pursued within the specific social context of the self-identified Inuvialuit community of the Canadian Western Arctic and within the specific realm of conducting a material culture study in that community. My goal is to create a conscious dialogue with community

members about the archaeological process as a form of critique of and challenge to pre-existing and authoritative constructions of the past that have been produced largely without their input and consent. The Inuvialuit, like many Indigenous communities, view their historical narratives and identities not as a secondary pursuit to more utilitarian concerns of health, education, and economy, but as a central and identity-constituting part of themselves (cf. Friedman 1992; Scham 2001:189-190). The central importance of cultural heritage and historical narratives of the past to Inuvialuit identity is a theme that will re-surface throughout this thesis.

A related theoretical goal of this thesis is to begin to unravel the complex histories of commonplace artifacts made by the forebears of present-day Inuvialuit. Elders in the Inuvialuit community have distinct ideas about the function of cultural objects, and perceive them according to their own cultural values and life experiences. This broadens, and occasionally conflicts, with the long-standing interpretations constructed by cultural outsiders (in this case, archaeologists). The re-naming, re-interpretation, and re-categorization of select artifacts by Inuvialuit Elders contributes to a larger narrative that forms a kind of a situated re-telling of Inuvialuit history from a negotiated insider/outsider perspective.

2. Reflection & critique

Critique and self-reflection are incorporated throughout this thesis, but most particularly in chapters four, five, six and eight. The methods are divided into two major parts: a theoretical consideration of issues in representation in the anthropological disciplines generally and Indigenous Archaeology more specifically (chapter four), and; a practical application of these ideas to the present project (chapter six). It is here that I attempt to name my own assumptions, biases, and circumstances, in order to locate myself in the research process. In chapter five, I critique how the Inuvialuit have been represented by outsiders as a route to laying the groundwork for Inuvialuit re-tellings of their own histories. In chapters six and eight, I describe the

development of my relationship with the Inuvialuit community and discuss both the road-blocks and straight-aways that are part of that ongoing process.

3. Communication & interaction

The methods, results, discussion, and conclusions reveal the form and outcomes of my communication and interaction with the Inuvialuit community in pursuit of the specified research goals. These goals have evolved over the course of the research due to my interactions with community leaders and Elders. These interactions have most notably included periods of residence in Inuvialuit territory, oral history interviews with Elders, sustained communication with a variety of community decision-makers and interviews with several of them, and teaching Inuvialuit youth about archaeology in on-the-land settings. These interactions have helped me to examine the extent to which we have achieved an 'ideal speech situation' (chapter eight) and a localized critical practice (chapter nine).

4. Construction of an interpretation

The above forms of 'data collection' formed the basis for constructing an 'Inuvialuit' interpretation of a series of traditional and historic period artifacts that were collected by archaeologists on the Yukon North Slope, representing the western reaches of Inuvialuit traditional territory. My interviews with Elders and interactions in the delta communities informed the negotiated analysis of Inuvialuit material history that appears in chapter seven. They also inform my observations about the state of cultural heritage in the present-day Inuvialuit Settlement Region that appears in chapter eight.

5. Further reflection, critique & prospects for social action

My discussion and conclusions (chapters eight and nine) allow me to reflect on the process of building a relationship with the Inuvialuit community and the outcomes of our collaboration to date. In my conclusions, I re-visit the theoretical goals and intentions of this study and evaluate our progress. Here, I compare progress towards an Indigenous Archaeology in Inuvialuit territory

with situations in other parts of the Arctic and the world. This is not an exercise in denigrating the pace of work in Inuvialuit territory, but a chance to seek inspiration towards social change from events elsewhere.

Chapter four. Methodological Issues in Representation

I know the story of the Japanese internment in Canada. I know it as most Canadians know it. In pieces. From a distance. But whenever I hear the story, I think about Indians, for the treatment the Canadian government afforded Japanese people during the Second World War is strikingly similar to the treatment that the Canadian government has always afforded Native people, and whenever I hear either of these stories, a strange thing happens. I think of the other.

Thomas King (2004:158)

...Canada must face its history through the eyes of those who have been excluded and disadvantaged as a result of it.

Lee Maracle (2004:204)

These Aboriginal authors make poignantly clear the fault lines emanating from traditional narratives of Canadian history. Despite being able to claim original ancestry on this continent, Indigenous people in Canada have been demoted to the status of 'other' in cultural representations. Others are not privileged to tell their stories in ways of their own choosing, in ways that will be heard by the dominant culture. Others' histories are often untold or relegated to the status of folk tales and myths. Yet despite centuries of unjust treatment, there is a movement afoot by Indigenous peoples to find ways to tell their (her)stories from their distinctive perspectives, on their own terms.

In the present research, I have chosen to work with an Aboriginal community to help bring aspects of their (his)stories to light. I claim no Aboriginal ancestry myself. I am a third generation Canadian of predominantly Irish Protestant descent, raised in a middle class southern Canadian home by cosmopolitan parents, who encouraged us kids to travel and experience the world. My experiences brought me to study Anthropology, with a focus on the Indigenous Peoples of North America. I entered Anthropology, and later Archaeology, with a clear conscience about doing cross-cultural work. Yet I have always felt a tension between the guilt engendered in being a non-Aboriginal person implicated in the 'Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee' narrative

of Aboriginal history (Brown 1970), and alternatively, in celebrating being a part of the beauty and richness of Canadian culture and society.

I have subsequently come to understand the power politics that resonate through the anthropological disciplines and mark our relationships with cultural others. In light of a constant weighing of the issues, however, I still feel that it is possible to ask critical questions, place them in context, conduct dialogue about them, try to understand their implications, and carry on with the work at hand. This, in effect, is what this chapter is about: the quest to identify and develop a culturally sensitive and action oriented methodology with which to conduct anthropological research in an Indigenous community.

This chapter describes issues in anthropological research that inform my methodological standpoint. These discussions are general to both ethnographic and archaeological research since the primary methodology adopted in this study is ethnographic but the subject matter is archaeological. I discuss a range of relevant issues, including: contemporary issues in representation; the decolonizing of research methodologies; the articulation of a critical approach with a participatory method, and; reflexivity and dialogue.

Issues in representation: contemporary crises

From the inception of the discipline, anthropological⁶ research methods have continuously evolved to meet the needs of changing sociopolitical conditions. At different historical junctures, the discipline has been hailed as the salve of cross-cultural inquiry, and at others, has come under fire for its misstep with political conditions or epistemological stance (Asad 1991; Stocking 1992:342-361). Early approaches to the study of and reporting on non-Western cultures were often set in a realist mode of inquiry, which rested on Enlightenment ideas about science (Appleby, et al. 1994; Ruby 2000:161). The crisis of representation in the anthropology of the 1980s brought this research

⁶ In this chapter, 'Anthropology' is used in the broadest sense, to incorporate all four fields of the discipline. The sub-discipline of Archaeology is singled out for methodological attention where applicable to the discussion.

framework under sharp scrutiny, targeted with accusations of false claims to objectivity and representative authority. Notes Christians (2000:141): "a positivistic philosophy of social inquiry insists on neutrality regarding definitions of the good, and this worldview has been discredited." Positivism's attendant claims to objectivity have been further critiqued by feminist proponents, due to its disregard for the subjective of lived experience, and its denial of relational and emergent aspects of cultural interaction (eg. Bell 1993; Harding 1986; Stacey 1991).

At the very heart of this debate is the question of who has the right to represent other cultures, either past or present. Anthropological pursuits have been closely associated with imperialistic endeavors, particularly due to anthropologists' historical assumption of the right to interpret non-western cultures (Clifford 1988:22-23). The exposure of this situation sent the discipline of anthropology headlong into a period "of political upheavals" marked by a "strong reassertion of the alternative discourses...of subjugated peoples" (Bond and Gilliam 1994:2). In the wake of this so-called crisis of representation, members of formerly disenfranchised groups are claiming or re-claiming, as the case may be, their right to be producers—rather than receivers—of knowledge. Through this process, many are becoming both socially and economically empowered and politically aware (Bond and Gilliam 1994:3-4; Trigger 1997).

Anthropological practitioners, in their stead, are being prompted to act in a more public and politicized sphere (Blakey 1997). A major implication of this coming of age is the collapse of the 'us versus them' mentality which has long characterized the relationship between anthropologists (and archaeologists) and their subject communities (Shack 1994). The concept of an ethnographic 'other' has been de-constructed as a convenient ploy used collectively by the discipline to objectify and de-politicize both living and ancient Indigenous populations (Fabian 1983; Preucel and Hodder 1996:602). The gradual inclusion of these 'others' into the discipline proper forces us to re-assess

whose right it is to represent other cultures and how we should proceed in this enterprise. The weight of present politics on our interpretive endeavors underscores the fact that representation is a political tool, replete with the power to be inclusive or exclusive, contradictory or sanitized (Little 2002:7).

Several experiments, beginning in the 1980's and continuing through the present, have sought to redress anthropology's problematic relationships to subject communities. This project has most prominently involved experimentation with literary forms (eg. Clifford 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus and Fischer 1986), but has also encompassed a movement towards more critical and self-reflexive practices (eg. Lincoln and Guba 2000; Ruby 2000:154-5; Stacey 1991:115). These latter practices span all activities of the discipline, from fieldwork to publication to the reader's reception of our publications (Olson and Shopes 1991; Ruby 2000). In archaeology, the shift towards more reflexive and inclusive practices has been slower, often promulgated by the force of legislation and ethical standards that have pushed archaeologists to increase their involvement with descendant communities (Pyburn 1999; Watkins 2000; Wylie 2002:242-4).

Representational issues have spurred anthropologists to ask timely questions about their subject matter, such as: Who is our audience? Under what sociopolitical conditions do we construct our interpretations? How can we best represent others (and their respective pasts), replete with the tensions, gaps, and conflicts in our 'data'? One concerted direction has been towards the telling of alternative, marginalized, and excluded histories (Delle, et al. 1999; Leone 1995; Schmidt and Patterson 1995; Shackel 2002; Stone and Molyneaux 1994). This stance is adopted for moral and critical reasons: the telling of marginalized pasts allows us to interrogate our ideological standpoints both within and outside of the discipline.

Certain tensions, such as the battle over authority *versus* authenticity, reside in the process of telling unrepresented histories. The traditional authoritative

voice of the academic 'expert' has been debunked in favour of inviting a multiplicity of voices into interpretive contexts (Bond and Gilliam 1994:12; Christians 2000:145). The implications of this shift rest in the development of new ways of hearing and acknowledging different voices represented in research contexts. These voices include those of the anthropologist(s), research participants, and other stakeholders, which are in turn found in several dialogic contexts including fieldwork and consultation, public forums and performances, and the more traditional ethnographic and archaeological texts (Lincoln and Guba 2000:183).

This emergent multi-vocality need not produce a situation of abject relativism, as some parties fear, but does welcome the incorporation of previously subjugated sources, particularly oral traditions, into research methodologies and textual accounts (Holl 1995:192-193; Tonkin 1992:15-16). Raising the status of oral history has involved a challenge to the rules of western history, which, traditionally, tended to privilege written accounts while dismissing oral accounts as irrelevant myths or some such folk tales (Schmidt and Patterson 1995:13; Tuhiwai Smith 1999:28-29). In many Indigenous contexts, oral information serves as the primary source of 'genuine' history (Holl 1995:192), and in research contexts, constitutes a "culturally appropriate way of representing the 'diversities of truth' within which the storyteller rather than the researcher retains control" (Bishop 1996:24 in Tuhiwai Smith 1999:145). Oral history is increasingly seen as a method of investigation in its own right, attended by its own rules of recording, analysis, and interpretation.

Representational issues in anthropology and archaeology presently constitute an intricate and evolving discourse. The emergence of voices from previously silent corners has largely been embraced as a positive turn for the discipline. In Canada, Indigenous Archaeology sits in a prime location to reflect and refract these movements. Trigger (1997:viii) has suggested that the inclusive goals and culturally and historically situated nature of a post-processual archaeology are more in line with the interests of both Aboriginal Peoples and

the Eurocanadian public than was the ecologically-minded approach of the New Archaeology. This should be heartening news to archaeological practitioners, as it creates a clear entryway to delve into the theoretical and methodological issues of working with Indigenous communities.

Decolonizing methodologies

The crisis of representation had disciplinary-wide effects on the practices of anthropology. With knowledge of the destructive legacy of colonial relations, anthropologists and archaeologists are currently asking how best to approach working with Indigenous peoples. They are also asking what methodological tools are appropriate to this task. Many of the answers are emanating from Indigenous communities themselves, where *research*, traditionally, was a dirty word associated with oppression, mistrust, and bad memories (Tuhiwai Smith 1999:1). The Indigenous scholarly community has turned to the process of decolonization as a means of transforming perceptions of research, and empowering communities who once served as the cultural other (Wilson 2004:71). A new, more collaborative environment of research appears to be emerging that is tentative and more respectful. Below I discuss some of the main methodological trends in this discourse, focusing on the development of strategies to de-colonize research and attendant methodologies.

It is widely agreed in Aboriginal circles that colonialist tendencies are alive and well, entrenched in academic and wider institutional relationships (eg. Deloria 2004; Grande 2000; Mihesuah 2004). As noted in the previous chapter, Grande (2000:350) suggests that the term 'post-colonialism' is a convenient relativizing and sanitizing device used by academics to mask extant and systemic racial inequalities. Aboriginal academics, in response, have turned toward the linked projects of indigenizing the academy and decolonizing research practices. A central metaphor of this work is the question of whether the master's tools are adequate to dismantle the master's house (Lorde

1981⁷). Much of this debate centres around the role of positivism in traditional western research, an issue also addressed in the previous chapter.

Despite promising directions, there are numerous challenges faced by Indigenous scholars developing research programs. Some of the more blatant include racism (Deloria 2004), gatekeeping (Mihesuah 2004), identity politics (Grande 2000), and the continual imposition of proving that Indigenous research practices are valid and viable (Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Other challenges are more logistical. For instance, while many Indigenous communities would prefer to do their research—be it for healthcare, education, or land claims—in house, the small number of trained personnel places substantial burdens on community needs. Partly for this reason, non-Aboriginal researchers continue to work with and for Indigenous communities, but under evolving protocols of conduct (Tuhiwai Smith 1999:184-85; also see Bishop 2005). The anthropological disciplines, which have had an especially checkered research history with Aboriginal peoples, are increasingly required to demonstrate their commitment to power-sharing and the development of ethical standards, in order to work with Aboriginal communities (eg. Blakey 1997; Goldstein 1992; Hodder 2003; Leone and Preucel 1992; Nicholas and Hollowell 2007; Pyburn 1999; Trigger 1980, 1997; Zimmerman et al 2003).

The products of this emergent discourse have been rewarding. The literature of decolonization is popping up across the humanistic disciplines, producing interesting debate alongside a barrage of methodological tools and stances. While there is some disgruntlement and disillusionment in both the archaeological and Aboriginal communities (eg. Deloria 2004; McGhee 2004a, 2006), there is equally a renewed sense of commitment to partnership and collaboration in certain quarters (eg. Kerber 2006; Marshall 2002; Nicholas 2001, 2005; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Smith and Wobst 2005). This movement has been led by Australian and Oceanian archaeologists who have

⁷ Lorde's (1981) reference to the master's tools speaks to the question of whether Indigenous peoples should use the research protocols developed by their colonizers to fight colonization. Her metaphor is much-cited in both the feminist and indigenist literature.

worked closely with Aboriginal peoples to create more appropriate ways to develop equitable working relations and to de-colonize research methods and agendas (eg. Lilley 2000; McNiven and Russell 2005; Roberts 2003, Smith 2004; Smith and Jackson 2006; Torrence and Clarke 2000). Community-based projects have had great success in Australia, perhaps due to the closer alignment of academic and cultural resource management interests and the applied nature of much of the archaeological scholarship in that country (see Birt 2004; Birt and Copley 2005; Clarke 2000, 2002; Colley 2002).

In Canadian archaeology, the theorizing of decolonization has most been fervently tackled by George Nicholas (2000, 2001, 2005, 2006, in press; Nicholas and Andrews 1997). His colleague at Simon Fraser University, Eldon Yellowhorn, has developed the paradigm of an Internalist Archaeology, or one that is envisaged from an indigenist perspective (Yellowhorn 2002, 2006). The vast majority of applied work towards decolonization, however, has occurred in the course of cultural resource management pursuits. While significant, this work goes largely unrecognized by the wider archaeological community because of the lack of published documentation, and further, the disconnect between academic and consulting archaeological circles in Canadian archaeology (Ferris 2000).

Nevertheless, there are several indicators of changes afoot on the Canadian archaeological scene. One is the ever-increasing entry of Aboriginal individuals into the academy (as undergraduates, graduates, and faculty), who represent their communities, foster relations between those communities and the academy, and take an active role in mentoring Aboriginal students. Another is the heightened concern with ethics and best practices related to source communities within both the Canadian Archaeological Association (Canadian Archaeological Association 2000) and the largest CRM institution in Canada, Parks Canada (2000a,b). Finally, the Chacmool Society of the University of Calgary, which often forms a leading edge in Canadian archaeological theory, hosted a conference entitled 'Decolonizing Archaeology: Archaeology and the

Postcolonial Critique' in November 2006. Several sessions were dedicated to exploring theoretical models for decolonizing methodological and practices within the Canadian context (and beyond), while others focused on applying these ideas in collaborative research settings. These various directions reflect a growing sensitivity amongst a committed contingent of archaeological researchers in Canada, and efforts to push the discipline in new directions.

Critical theory & participatory research⁸

The turn away from positivist and post-positivist paradigms by many philosophers of science and social scientists has spurred an expansion of interpretive, postmodern, and critical paradigms (cf. Christians 2000:141; Kelley and Hanen 1988). The theory and practices of these evolving research approaches are increasingly found in hybrid forms, consistent with Geertz's blurred genres (Lincoln and Guba 2000:164). Tuhiwai Smith (2005:90-91) makes the point that indigenist research agendas emerged from this "blurred and liminal space" in social research and was concurrent with "the rise in Indigenous political activism, especially in places like Australia, New Zealand, Norway, and North America." The criticalist paradigm is well-aligned with an action-oriented methodology (Foley and Valenzuela 2005; Kemmis and McTaggart 2005); below I illustrate the benefit of this approach for working in Indigenous settings.

Due to its focus on social critique and consciousness-raising, the criticalist program endorses an action-oriented or participatory method. Lincoln and Guba (2000:175) suggest that such action may take the form of "fostering emancipation, democracy, and community empowerment, and of redressing power imbalances such that those who were previously marginalized now achieve voice." Kemmis and McTaggart (2005:563) specify a series of cyclical processes attached to action research: "planning a change; acting and observing the processes and consequences of the change; reflecting on these

⁸ Participatory research spans various permutations including participatory research, action research, participatory action research, and emancipatory research (Kemmis and McTaggart 2005). The generic term participatory research is used here to refer to this family of research, from which I draw my methodology.

processes and consequences; replanning; action and observing again; reflecting again, and so on....” These authors also suggest that approaches to action research exist along a spectrum of political intention, from the internal critique of organizations to more overtly public and political engagement, as in the alignment with social movements (Kemmis and McTaggart 2005:559-560).

Whatever the orientation, a participatory methodology seeks to engage the subject community in meaningful research where both processes and products are collaboratively created by researcher and community. Practitioners of the participatory video movement have especially emphasized the self-advocacy and communicative aspects of this model, which allows communities to reach out and articulate their messages in ways that can be heard, often to outside political audiences (Johansson, et al. 1999/2000:35). Participatory video has been used widely in Africa by non-governmental organizations. For instance, the NGO Maneno Mengi, of Tanzania, has used participatory video in development contexts to promote grassroots projects, communicate between local communities and political administrations, and to share results horizontally between regions (Johansson et al. 1999/2000). The growing mandate for social action in contemporary research cannot be understated: Wylie (1995:267) makes the point that research in formerly subjugated communities “will be effective only if those whose lives are affected are directly involved in the research enterprise from the outset, as partners, not merely as subjects, as sources of insight, and as progenitors of new lines of evidence.”

Many Indigenous scholars, while critical of western research paradigms, have appropriated aspects of critical and action-oriented programs to their own ends. Tuhiwai Smith (1999:167) points to the widespread use of Freirian-inspired participatory action research among subjugated peoples, which tend to be developed on the basis of Indigenous value systems (also see Christians 2000:146). For example, Wilson (2004:70) notes that respect for the living world is a fundamental source of Aboriginal thought, a place from which “a

new libratory framework for the future” may be derived. Grande (2000) articulates several related themes in a comparison of the common and divergent ground between critical and indigenist perspectives. Indigenous epistemologies specify spirituality (rather than economy) as a source of the present global crisis, sovereignty and self-determination (rather than democracy and equality) as central issues in education, and the mind-body-spirit connection (rather than a political-intellectual or aesthetic-affective centre) as a basis for libratory theory (Grande 2000:356).

While the gap in understanding between indigenist and critical perspectives is notable, the conversation is growing. A case in point is Grande’s (2000, 2004) *Red Pedagogy*, a research approach derived from a critical perspective which is adapted to suit the needs of American Indians. Another is the conception of a ‘localized critical theory,’ described in the previous chapter, which is situated within the concerns of Kaupapa Maori research (Smith 2000; Tuhiwai Smith 2000). The widespread use of action and participatory methods by Indigenous communities speaks to their regard for emancipatory social research methods. I argue in the context of the present study that such an approach has particular import for archaeological research in Canadian Indigenous communities. In Canada, participatory research has been developed most extensively by researchers at the Arctic Institute of North America (eg. Hoare et al 1993; Robinson et al 1994; Ryan and Robinson 1990, 1996), though seldom in the context of archaeology (but see Robinson 1996). However, the growth of collaborative and community archaeologies in Newfoundland (Pope and Mills 2004), Nunavut (Rowley 2002), Labrador (Loring 1998, 2001; Loring and Ashini 2000), the Canadian Subarctic (Greer 1997; Greer and Beaumont 2006; Kritsch and Andre 1997; Hanks 1997) and elsewhere in the circumpolar north, is a sign of the changing tides in research methodologies.

Reflexivity & dialogue

The crises of representation and authority caused resounding changes in the way that social researchers both relate to and write about subject communities

and research participants. Central issues surround how best to situate oneself in a research setting, give voice to participants in source communities, and represent their perspectives in textual practices (Lincoln and Guba 2000:182). This section considers two aspects of this debate, including the role of reflexivity and dialogue in anthropological and archaeological research. Reflexivity and dialogue are discussed in terms of the process of doing anthropological fieldwork and the production of written representations of those interactions.

The practice of reflexivity is as old as culture itself. It reflects the ability of individuals and collectivities to gaze at an arm's distance upon the self, the society, or the other, with a view to understanding their coming into being in a wider context (Myerhoff and Ruby 1982). Storytelling is an example of an ultimately reflexive activity, where teller and audience may question the notions of reality and fantasy, fairytale and frame (Myerhoff and Ruby 1982). This is a form of representation, like others, that affords a society an opportunity to reflect upon its values and beliefs. A more specific form of reflexivity is found within texts that self-consciously include accounts of their own construction as a way of drawing attention to the viewpoint of the author(s) embedded within.

In anthropological practice, reflexivity begins with a consideration of the self, the producer, of a message, who initiates a process which involves a cultural interaction (Ruby 2000:154-55). This interaction results in a product, which is actively received and interpreted by a reader/viewer. At each of these stages, the producer must be aware of how they are shaping the message and encode that knowledge within the structure of the text. Put another way, Hodder (2003:6) suggests that being reflexive implies a consideration of the investigator's 'positionality' or standpoint "and thus reflexivity involves recognizing the value of multiple positions, and multivocality. It also involves a critique of one's own taken-for-granted assumptions, not as an egocentric

display, but as an historical enquiry into the foundations of one's claim for knowledge."

The understanding of a research context, and how the anthropologist views her role within it, is heavily influenced by the level of dialogue and interaction between the researcher, participants, and other stakeholder groups. This interactional approach to fieldwork is a radical re-positioning from more traditional anthropological models (eg. Conquergood 1991; Cruikshank 1990; Gluck and Patai 1991). Conquergood (1991:184) identifies "a rethinking of identity and culture as constructed and relational, instead of ontologically given and essential." Fieldwork in the postmodern world is viewed by both feminists and critical ethnographers as a collaborative project, devoid of an objective viewpoint, that the researcher cannot completely control (Stacey 1991:115). The intersubjective approach situates the anthropologist in a triangle of social relations, between researcher, participants, and the broader social context (Olson and Shopes 1991:198).

Criticalist research involves the active role of participants in shaping and directing the research project and is particularly committed to a dialogic practice (Lincoln and Guba 2000:168, 175). Ian Hodder's recent book 'Archaeology Beyond Dialogue' (2003) acknowledges the need to understand our founding assumptions for research and to move beyond these to hear subaltern voices. Hodder (2003:4) suggests that in the dissolution of validity of the positivist position, it has become increasingly incumbent on archaeologists to hear alternate perspectives and to incorporate them into our representations, be they textual, filmic, web-based, or otherwise.

Another archaeologist, Carol McDavid, has made considerable inroads in this direction in her construction of a website representing research with the descendants of a plantation community in Brazoria, Texas (McDavid 2002, 2004). McDavid initiated interviews and conversations with community members by acknowledging her outsider's status and identifying her interests

in doing collaborative work. McDavid focused on *process* as the centre of inquiry, and though her voice was among the strongest in propelling the project forward, other voices were able to be heard with increasing clarity and intensity as time passed and relationships developed (cf. McDavid 2004:41). The aims of the website were to be reflexive, multi-vocal, interactive, and contextual, aims whose outcomes have shown great promise, and are continuing to evolve. To my mind, this project comes closest in the archaeological literature to creating a working version of Habermas's (1984) 'ideal speech situation,' where all parties contribute to and are heard within—though perhaps not equally—a public context (in this case, a public archaeology context).

It is just these kinds of multi-vocal ideals that can and should be transported from dialogic to textual practices. Decades ago, Shanks and Tilley recognized that an objective rendering of a cultural context can never be produced, and that archaeology "is a practice producing its own objects—*texts*" (Shanks and Tilley 1987:18, emphasis theirs). More recently, Hamilakis (1999) has asserted that the ultimate objective of archaeology is not to record and preserve the remnants of a concrete 'record' but to produce *representations* of the past associated with these material remains. These are fundamental re-posturings of conventional archaeological doctrine.

Anthropology, of course, has long observed that we can only provide interpretations based on our experiences. Pink suggests "that ethnographic texts cannot communicate the 'truth' about any one culture or society, but are inevitably, like any other visual or verbal narrative, representations" (Pink 2002:121). The concern with textual practices is perhaps most cogently argued by Clifford (1988), who early on called for a complete overhaul of how anthropologists conceive of and write about other cultures. This call stimulated an experimental period in anthropological writing, where concerns with voice, reflexivity, and representation were brought to the fore. According to Lincoln and Guba (2000:182), such concerns are most evident "in the shift toward

narrative and literary forms that directly and openly deal with human emotion." As indicated earlier, one area of concerted attention is with the representation of multi-vocality in texts.

Multi-vocal and pluralist approaches call for both the democratization of knowledge and the sharing of power by creating a space for the stories of various interest groups. Multi-vocal texts require the commitment of stakeholder groups to promoting mutual respect, finding ethical common ground, and reconciling or at least representing different viewpoints (Goldstein 1992). Reflexive and dialogic practices are intrinsic to this process. In recent writings, Hodder (2000, 2003) has documented the challenges associated with producing multi-vocal accounts of his project at Çatalhöyük, Turkey. He notes, for instance, how the involvement of the local community at Küçükköy has been limited to the employment of (non-excavating) workman on site, and the participation of community members in interpreting site findings. While these interactions are insufficient to the goals of an inclusive program of archaeology, the local people have nevertheless influenced and aided site interpretation, and their 'voices' are included in site publications as direct quotations transcribed from meetings (Hodder 2003:27). Hodder concedes that this situation does not hold to the ideal of a truly democratic representation of voice, yet he feels it is an honest and ongoing attempt to account for the voices of 'others' within the existing social matrix of power and inequality in this research setting.

Consistent with the movements cited above, there is a current and ever-expanding literature concerning ethical practices and research conduct in the humanist disciplines. One particularly compelling model comes from Kaupapa Maori research in New Zealand (Bishop 2005; Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2005).

Tuhiwai Smith (2005:97) articulates the rationale for this model as follows:

For Indigenous and other marginalized communities, research ethics is at a very basic level about establishing, maintaining, and nurturing reciprocal and respectful relationships, not just among people as individuals but also with people as individuals, as collectives, and as

members of communities, and with humans who live in and with other entities in the environment. Tuhiwai Smith elaborates a 'community-up' model that counters the more traditional 'top-down' version. She specifies a series of cultural values using Maori terms which have been developed into research guidelines by Cram (2001). This model is reproduced in full below because it is worth close attention (Table 1).

Table 1. L.T. Smith's 'Community-Up' Approach to Defining Researcher Conduct¹

<i>Cultural Values (Smith 1999)</i>	<i>Researcher Guideline (Cram 2001)</i>
Aroha ki tangata	A respect for people—allow people to define their own space and meet on their own terms.
He kanoahi kitea	It is important to meet people face to face, especially when introducing the idea of the research, 'fronting up' to the community before sending out long, complicated letters and materials.
Titiro, whakarongo...korero	Looking and listening (and then maybe speaking). This value emphasizes the importance of looking/observing and listening in order to develop understandings and find a place from which to speak.
Manaaki ki te tangata	Sharing, hosting, being generous. This is a value that underpins a collaborative approach to research, one that enables knowledge to flow both ways and that acknowledges the researcher as a learner and not just a data gatherer or observer. It also facilitates the process of 'giving back', of sharing results and of bringing closure if that is required for a project but not a relationship.
Kia tupato	Be cautious. This suggests that researchers need to be politically astute, culturally safe, and reflective about their insider/outsider status. It is also a caution to insiders and outsiders that in community research, things can come undone without the researcher being aware or being directly told.
Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata	Do not trample on the 'mana' of dignity of another person. This is about informing people and guarding against being paternalistic or impatient because people do not know what the researcher may know. It is also about simple things like the way Westerners use wit, sarcasm, and irony as discursive strategies or where one sits down. For example, Maori people are offended when someone sits on a table designed and used for food.
Kaua e mahaki	Do not flaunt your knowledge. This is about finding

	ways to share knowledge, to be generous with knowledge without being a ‘show-off’ or being arrogant. Sharing knowledge is about empowering a process, but the community has to empower itself.
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1. Reproduced from L.T. Smith 2005:98, table 4.3

Some of the lessons drawn from Smith’s research are basic to respectful human interaction, yet they are worth repeating here because of their import for working in and with Indigenous communities. She instructs outside researchers to: let people name the space and terms upon which they will meet; meet face to face with community members before sending out research and related materials; watch and listen before speaking; share and be generous, the core of collaborative research; be mindful and reflective of your insider/outsider status; understand cultural differences and respect other’s dignity by observing (their) cultural practices and norms; share knowledge rather than flaunt your own, a fundamental practice to empowering others.

At a more operational level, Ren (2003:3-4) has specified a series of ways to develop a sensitive approach to a pluralist and collaborative program of archaeological research, from design to finished product. First is the incorporation of the experience of insiders, which lends itself to greater validity within the community. Second is respondent validation, where the archaeological product is vetted in a draft stage by the subject community. This gives the community a chance to digest and respond to the interpretations of the archaeologist, and to suggest alternatives as per their own systems of knowing. Third is feedback from outsiders, which entails vetting by an array of outside scholars, which may include Indigenous scholars, feminists, or others deemed appropriate to the context of the project. While the process of producing multi-voiced texts takes a great deal of humility and time, it is well worth the effort in terms of relationship building and material outputs (Pohl 1998; Ren 2003).

The importance of reflexive and dialogic practices cannot be underestimated in contemporary anthropology. In archaeological circles, such ideas have been

slower to find footing, although the foregoing examples demonstrate the unfolding of new and more respectful practices. Echoing the reflexive mantra laid out above, archaeologist Mark Leone (2003) tells us that a critical perspective demands that the researcher name their biases from the outset, an idea still radical in many though perhaps diminishing archaeological circles. The present concentration on ethical standards in archaeology (eg. Meskell and Pells 2005; Saitta in press; Scarre and Scarre 2006; Zimmerman et al. 2003) is a reflection of this burgeoning reflexivity and growing sensitivity, especially in relation to formerly disenfranchised communities. The experimental period initiated by Marcus and Fischer (1986) appears to still be unfolding (Guba and Lincoln 2005:210-211), suggesting that both anthropological and archaeological theory and methods will continue to negotiate ever-changing social conditions.

Chapter five. A critique of the historical representation of the Inuvialuit

While waiting for the sailing ships the Inuit hunted white whale [beluga] and duck. The young men in particular always had an expedition afoot. I loved to join them, to learn their skill. In fact I became a good hunter at their school. (c. 1907)

Nuligak (Bob Cockney; 1966:49)

Each year, as my reading got better, I found that books held a vast store of information and could take me away to distant times and places. I learned that Ottawa was our capital city in Canada. That was where our Prime Minister lived. He was the one who told everyone else how to live. (c. 1937)

Masak (Alice French; 1976:38)

It is well known that before the arrival of Europeans, Indigenous peoples of the north, as elsewhere, passed on their stories, histories, lineages, remembrances, and other pertinent information by way of an oral tradition. The newcomers, as is also well known, had in the course of their own histories, virtually shed the oral tradition in favour of a heavy reliance on the written word. From the contact period forward, records and accounts of northern Aboriginal peoples written from European perspectives came to comprise the primary means of historical representation, as the written words of these newcomers literally colonized the Natives' traditional method of oral transmission. With the advent of residential schools, Inuvialuit and other northern peoples learned to read and write, and hence was born an era where they could represent themselves within the now dominant mode of communication (McGrath 1984). To say that these historical processes have dramatically affected the representation of the Inuvialuit in the annals of written history would be a great understatement. Suffice it to say that the Inuvialuit contribution to written historical records about themselves is scant, but has grown exponentially over the latter course of the 20th century.

This chapter forms a critique of the ways that the Inuvialuit have been historically represented. As discussed in chapter three, critique is a necessary

component of critical practice. McDavid (1997:128) reminds us “that which we call ‘history’ is not inevitable,” pointing to the fact that all (her)stories are constructed from a certain viewpoint for a particular audience. It is our job to de-construct such narratives and to try to understand them from the point of view of the maker. Part of this effort involves the active attempt to identify and understand the literary conventions used in these narratives, as well as in the ones we employ ourselves. Clifford (1986:5) suggests that we counter the positivist tendency towards ‘univocity’ in writing about cultural others, referring to the “purportedly unambiguous [style of] accounting of natural science and professional history.” In this chapter, my goal is to examine some of the different literary genres that are used in writings about the Inuvialuit, and to unpack the standpoint(s) from which these authors write. Pratt (1992) asserts that a ‘contact’ perspective or relationship is implicated in cultural writings about the ‘other,’ whether colonizers writing about the colonized, travelers about travelees, ethnographers about others, etc. Following her lead, I suggest that the perspectives that respective authors hold of Inuvialuit life and culture are themselves structured by the interactions they have shared with the Inuvialuit community.

Until recently, Inuvialuit (his)story has largely been told by cultural others, others whose interests did not always align with the perspectives of Inuvialuit themselves. In fact, the two Inuvialuit authors cited at the beginning of this chapter are among the first and only to publish accounts of their experiences of changing conditions to traditional lifestyles in the early to mid-20th century. Flowing from the goals of a critical analysis outlined above, this chapter asks the following questions: who has produced written representations of the Inuvialuit? How have they been represented in historical documents produced by these others? And, what were the interests or standpoints of these authors? Revealing the biases and standpoints from which representations of the Inuvialuit have been constructed is a starting point for the production of

increasingly multi-vocal and representative texts in the present.⁹

A few general statements should be made about the history of Inuvialuit representation before proceeding. First, as Nellie Cournoyea¹⁰ says in the forward to the “first book that attempts to present an overview of Inuvialuit history,” Alunik, Kolausok, and Morrison’s *Across Time and Tundra*, “...Ishmael [Alunik] and Eddie [Kolausok] are two of the few Inuvialuit who have put their knowledge into print” (Alunik et al. 2003:ix). Inuvialuit history is vastly underrepresented in the words of the Inuvialuit themselves; it is also generally underrepresented in northern and anthropological scholarship in comparison to other groups. Second, historical characterizations of the Inuvialuit have suffered a common fate with other northern hunting peoples, in being chronically misrepresented through the stereotypes of outsiders. Hugh Brody (1987:xv-xvi) outlines the nature and consequences of such misrepresentations for northern cultures:

Their ways of living and thinking are regarded as primitive, their wealth is characterized as poverty. This denies northern peoples their rights to land, challenges their freedom to hunt, fish and trap in ways of their own choosing; it questions parents’ responsibilities for their own children, and obscures the viability of their ways of life.

One step en route to producing more palatable representations is through criticism of what has passed. This chapter provides a critique of the way that the Inuvialuit have been historically portrayed. Its object is to expose and scrutinize the nature of these representations in the hopes of producing more balanced portrayals in the present.

This chapter is organized in a loosely chronological fashion. I trace the production of knowledge about the Inuvialuit through the lens of a series of interest groups. These groups vary from rather loose historical constructions to

⁹ While this chapter focuses exclusively on written representations of the Inuvialuit, representations have also been developed in other media. The Inuvialuit Communication Society, for instance, is actively producing a wide variety of powerful historical representations of Inuvialuit history in film documentary and television.

¹⁰ Nellie Cournoyea is the present CEO of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation and one of the signatories to the Inuvialuit Final Agreement of 1984. Her accomplishments as a leader of the Inuvialuit are discussed later in this chapter.

specific interest groups, and are selected based on their production of social and cultural knowledge about the Inuvialuit. They include, and are presented, as follows: (1) explorers, whalers, traders, and women adventurers, (2) missionaries, (3) social scientists (excluding archaeologists), (4) the Inuvialuit, and (5) archaeologists. While the following history is broad in conception, it is neither exhaustive nor comprehensive (for this, see Alunik et al. 2003). I present an overview of early Inuvialuit history and then focus on issues related to the rise of Aklavik and Inuvik in their turns. For each interest group, I summarize the major authors, the types of representations that they produced, and the standpoint from which they wrote. My account is both limited in scope and contingent on selected issues affecting the Inuvialuit over the time period represented, beginning with contact but focusing on the 20th century. Plate 1 shows the locations referred to in the text.

Accounts of explorers, whalers, traders, & adventurers

The explorers & early traders

The first European explorer to reach the land of the Inuvialuit was Alexander Mackenzie, who gave his name to the river that he descended in 1789. His interests were in finding a route to the Pacific, which was known to be rich in fur-bearers (Morrison 1998:67). While he reached the Pacific three years later, his 'discovery' of the Mackenzie Valley opened the door two decades later to Hudson's Bay traders (Morrison 1998:68). Mackenzie did not actually meet Inuvialuit—perhaps because his upriver Indian guides steered him away from their path—though he described one of their settlements in great detail (Mackenzie 1801: 259-62).

Sir John Franklin would be the first European to encounter the Inuvialuit in 1826, on his quest to find the Northwest Passage, when he and his partner John Richardson charted the coastlines east and west of the delta. Franklin was apparently very impressed with the Inuvialuit he encountered, finding them lively, intelligent, inquisitive as well as acquisitive. He had some trouble in Shallow Bay when a group of approximately 250 Inuvialuit attempted to

pilfer his ships, the *Lion* and the *Reliance*, though his men held them off without great incident (Alunik et al. 2003:60). From his brief interactions with the Inuvialuit, Franklin deemed that “they would adopt European habits and customs much more readily than the Indians” (Franklin 1828:176, 195-7 cited in Honigmann and Honigmann 1970:22).

In following years, explorers traveled the delta region pursuing various goals of empire. Peter Warren Dease and Thomas Simpson of the Hudson’s Bay Company scouted the area west of the delta in 1837, in their quest both to vie for the Northwest Passage and to explore possibilities for their employer’s trade (Alunik et al. 2003:61). Captain Robert M’Clure circumnavigated what would become Banks Island in 1850, leaving behind a rich cache that would transform the socioeconomy of the Copper Inuit (Condon et al 1996). Richardson returned to the delta in 1848 searching for Franklin, during which time he produced the most composite picture to date of the delta peoples (Richardson 1851). Richardson, who has been called “an intelligent and sometimes sympathetic observer” of northern Indigenous people, admired the village of Nuvugaq at Atkinson Point and considered the semi-sedentary lifeways of the Inuvialuit to be “evidence of no small progress towards civilization” (Alunik et al. 2003:59).

In June of 1857, Roderick MacFarlane, Chief Factor of the Hudson’s Bay Company, wrote an adventurous account of his travels with Hare Indians to the Anderson River to determine the possibility of establishing trade relations with the local Inuvialuit. His tale was published posthumously in the journal *Canadian Record of Science* by George Dawson, who felt “the report contained much information respecting a region of which scarcely anything is known” (Dawson in MacFarlane 1890-91:28). MacFarlane describes the journey from Fort Good Hope in detail, commenting on the plentiful fur-bearers of the area and complimenting the “Eskimaux of Anderson River” as “fine specimens of the race—tall and well formed, active in their movements, lively in their conversation, good-humored, with smiling open countenances, and affable,

though, it must be confessed, rather troublesome in their deportment” (MacFarlane 1890-91:34). This latter refers to the stand-off they endured with the Anderson River people, guns pointed on both sides, MacFarlane’s Indian guides for the most part abandoning him, and him having to leave behind considerable of his travel rations and stores. Having avoided gunfire and bloodshed, the Chief Factor nonetheless concludes that there are good prospects for trade with the “Eskimaux, not only on this river, but with those along the coast, east and west of Liverpool Bay” (MacFarlane 1890-1:42)! It is a sign of MacFarlane’s early venture into uncharted territory that he is constantly (re)naming waterways and landmarks as he travels.

The whalers

Unlike the more uniform upper class English-speaking explorers who preceded them, the stampede of whalers that arrived at Herschel Island ca. 1889 came from a broad spectrum of nationalities. Many of these men took Aboriginal wives while they were in the Arctic, contributing substantially to the Inuvialuit gene pool, but few stayed on after the industry declined (Usher 1971a:176; pers. comm. Cathy Cockney, 2007). Beyond company and ship logs, accounts from whalers are somewhat sparse, as these were not usually men given to literary proclivities. However, those that did record their memoirs depict a life of hard work in high season alternated with hard-drinking in the off-season.

Long-time whaler Jack Hadley described the on-season as follows:

Life on board a whale ship is a continual round of hardship from the moment the Pacific Ocean is left until the moment it is re-entered from the northern seas. During the time the ships are on the western grounds in September and October, whenever a whale is raised, down must go the boats, regardless of the weather, blow high or blow low, perhaps for an all-day and a fruitless chase. The boats drive to windward in a smother of spray that is solid ice when it descends. That unhappy crew return to the ship so stiff and frozen that they are unable to climb on board and have to be hoisted up [Hadley 1915:913].

In the off-season, when the ships were locked in at Herschel, the activity was quite the opposite: “We had our parties and dances, chowder suppers and all

the rest that winter, also plenty of coasting and skiing as before. One party is logged, as of March 4th, in the following brief words: 'Hoodlum party on Hume. Gale. Had hard time getting the ladies home'" (Bodfish 1936:134).

In its heyday (1889-1908), Herschel Island became a major centre where perhaps a thousand people lived in high season (Bockstoce 1986:275). While crews were mainly of Alaskan and Siberian origin, the whalers soon found a profitable side trade in furs with local populations (Alunik et al. 2003:84). Traditional social and economic patterns were radically altered to suit the needs of the new industry. Inuvialuit—called 'Kogmullicks' by the whalers (a term meaning 'easterners' among the Inupiat to the west)—flocked to Herschel, where women served as seamstresses, men as trappers and traders (Alunik et al. 2003:82; Bockstoce 1986:275; McGhee 1974:10). Captain Bodfish (1936:57-62) describes the whalers' indebtedness to the Native populations, who taught them to dress, hunt, fetch water, travel and build shelters in winter conditions. The trade in meat and furs soon had the various Inuit groups awash in European manufactured items such as repeating rifles, cotton clothes and other foreign fabrics, tobacco, flour, sugar and coffee (Alunik et al. 2003:84; Bockstoce 1986:275).

Major social changes were instilled by the communion of whalers with local women, the interaction of vastly divergent linguistic and cultural traditions, and the introduction of exotic vices such as tobacco and alcohol. Herschel was widely reported as a "hive of debauchery" where "drunkenness and immorality prevailed everywhere" (Jeness 1964:14). This was soon to change with the ministrations of Anglican missionaries starting in 1893 (see below) and the arrival of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police in 1903 (Bockstoce 1986:277-9). The biggest impact, however, came in the form of infectious disease, which eclipsed an estimated 30-40% of the Inuvialuit population by 1890, and estimates of up to 90% following the arrival of the whalers (Alunik et al. 2003:77, 89, 110; but also see Cockney's comments, chapter eight).

The fur traders

In the wake of the whalers' retreat, a new era was borne in the Western Arctic. The traditionally slumberous winter season was transformed into a prosperous economic period of winter trapping to furnish the goods of the growing fur industry (Alunik et al. 2003:76). The Hudson's Bay Company took advantage of this growth by opening their first post on the Arctic Coast at Herschel Island in 1915 (Alunik et al. 2003:114; Usher 1971a:104) and following with an approximate 50 trading posts throughout the coast by 1945, some of them operated by Inuvialuit. Thus was invited a new breed of trader that traveled, lived, and worked amongst the Inuvialuit. Many traders took Aboriginal wives and became permanent residents of the Mackenzie Delta and other areas of the Arctic (eg. Allen 1978; Godsell 1946; Lyall 1979).

Philip Godsell came to the Arctic as a trader in 1906 and spent three decades trading with Aboriginal people the length of the Mackenzie River. He dedicates his book *Arctic Trader* to the men of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, "who are still pushing the Flag of Empire into the lonely places of the North" (Godsell 1946:v). The introduction, by Charles Camsell (in Godsell 1946:vii), suggests that during Godsell's time in the north, "life at many northern trading posts was little changed from that throughout the hundred years previous...comforts, much less luxuries, were unknown, and life, even for the traders, was primitive." He also foreshadows the great changes about to take place in the mid-20th century. Godsell, in his very lively and prosaic manner, records the rise of the trapping industry among the Inuvialuit and other northern groups, and their great success during the high times of the trade. While some of Godsell's fellow traders viewed it a "waste of time trying to civilize them Huskies," the author's own feelings were quite different. He shows a great respect for many of the Inuvialuit he met and somberly regrets that the "erstwhile self-supporting Eskimo was becoming more and more dependent on the traders" (Godsell 1946:273; also see Copland 1985: 231-35).

Godsell documents the rise of Aklavik ca. 1912, following the collapse of the Herschel Island whaling industry and the fluorescence of the trapping and trading economy in the delta. Aklavik, meaning 'place of the brown bear' or grizzly bear, was first settled by a trapper called Pokiak, who established a camp on the west shore of the Peel Channel of the Mackenzie River at Pokiak Point (Alunik et al 2003:210; Campbell 1987:16). Looking to split the distance between fur trade posts at Herschel Island and Fort McPherson, the Hudson's Bay and Northern Trading Companies also established posts at Pokiak Point. Aklavik itself was established shortly thereafter across the river from Pokiak Point by Pokiak and Joe Greenland, said to be the founders of Aklavik. At this early juncture, Godsell (1946:252) describes this rough and muddy settlement on the West Channel:

It consisted of a few log huts and buildings, the Hudson's Bay post and the Anglican Mission...The place was crowded with Mounted Police, missionaries, also traders and trappers of many nationalities from Negroes and Hawaiians to Portuguese. Drawn up along the shore were about sixty schooners belonging to the Nunatagmuit Eskimos.¹¹ They had become quite sophisticated in their ways as evidenced by strains of "Red Hot Mama," "Dardanella" and "How Are Ya Gonna Keep 'Em Down on the Farm" which were wafted on the Polar breeze from the gramophones within the cabins.

Aklavik was soon attracting interest from trading companies throughout the region, and rose in ascendancy to become the main fur trade post and administrative centre in the delta from around 1919 to the early 1950s (Usher 1971b:83). In the early decades, trappers and their families lived on the land and came in only seasonally to cash in their furs, buy supplies, gamble and socialize. By the 1930s and 40s, however, fur trade posts were closing along the Arctic Coast due to the sparsity of game and coastal trappers moved into the centres of the delta, including Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk (Nagy 1994a:54, 86, 87). This was a considerable adjustment for Inuvialuit as the delta was an area that had never been occupied by them year-round (Usher 1971b:83).

¹¹ These were inland Inuit from the Brooks Range of Alaska who specialized in hunting caribou. They were employed in great numbers by the whalers as hunters and many immigrated to the delta region after the decline of the whale industry (cf. Bockstoce 1986:273-4).

These centres also experienced considerable in-migration of Inupiat during this period, at a time when game was sparse on the Alaskan North Slope.

At its peak, Aklavik was a much-heralded centre in the Western Arctic. It gained fame from the widely reported hunt for the so-called 'Mad Trapper of Rat River,' Albert Johnson, who eluded capture by Mounties and their Aboriginal guides in the Richardson Range for forty-five days in 1932 and resulted in the death of Corporal Spike Millen. Johnson's pursuit was the first to use an airplane, a factor that probably led to the success of the hunt. The story attracted media attention across Canada and was later fictionalized in various forms (North 1972, 2003; Wiebe 2003). But Aklavik was also the subject of accounts by many adventurers that came north as it opened to outsiders beyond those that lived and worked in this northern 'frontier.' Among these adventurers was a range of women who sought excitement and exploration not available to them in the confining social settings of early 20th century Britain and its Canadian colonies.

Women adventurers

In 1908, a Canadian woman named Agnes Dean Cameron traveled north with her niece as part of a 'fact-gathering trip' on the Canadian Northwest for a newspaper story. Cameron notes that there was no one to ask how to prepare for her trip as "Northward-treading women before our time had been few, missionaries most of them" (Richeson preface in Cameron 1909:ix).¹² Her travels brought her to the Mackenzie country where, like certain social commentators before her, she championed the attributes of the Eskimo. Her comments play to the commonly held notions about the ultimate demise of these people. In her musings, Cameron asks herself rhetorically why she should write about the 'Eskimo', replying: "Because he is so very worthwhile. Because through the years the world has conspired to libel him. Because within a decade or two he will have utterly passed off the map" (Cameron

¹² Cameron and her niece were preceded as the first women tourists in the far northwest only by Elizabeth R. Taylor in 1892 (MacLaren and LaFramboise 1998:xlvii).

1909:202).

Two decades later, in 1926, Clara Vyvyan and her travel partner Gwendolyn Smith visited Aklavik by steamer and made their way by canoe up the Porcupine River. These were middle-aged English women eager to “travel as an escape from the still-pervasive post-Victorian constraints on single women of upper middle-class England” (MacLaren and LaFramboise 1998:xxxix). In Aklavik, Vyvyan witnesses a seal dance by the exonerated murderer Ikagena¹³, of which she writes:

In a few moments he was no longer Ikagena, nor even a human being, he had become a seal, bending forward and shuffling sideways, with every muscle rippling in an almost fluid movement; he seemed to be endowed with flippers and encased in blubber. Curious groans and roars and hisses of encouragement rose from the audience, but however uncouth were those sounds they were obviously used for expressing delight in this scene wherein a man had become a mammal before their very eyes. I have always wished I had been able to enshrine something of that experience in words but I could not, for, like the dancer, I had left my own consciousness and gone back into some region of pre-historic time (Vyvyan 1961:60).

By the 1950s, the north had opened to non-native women to a much greater extent, though they were attracted for much the same reasons as their predecessors, and similarly, did not stay for any length of time. Phyllis Taylor was an Englishwoman who began to correspond with a white trapper named Roger Wilton because she was “frustrated by the humdrum of life in a civilized setting” and “yearned to be a pioneer” (Taylor 1960:13). During the course of this correspondence, Taylor decided to pursue Wilton romantically by coming to Aklavik, where she was shunned by him, a man content with his isolated existence. Taylor instead took up a teaching post at the Anglican school and befriended many of the Elders suffering particularly from tuberculosis in the Anglican Hospital. Her rationale was as follows

¹³ The Inuit man Ikagena, from the Coppermine District, was accused of murder and brought to trial in Aklavik under the western legal system (even though the counselors did not speak his language, Inuinnaqtun). He was acquitted of the crime of shooting his neighbour, a medicine man, in purported self-defence (Vyvyan 1961:58-61).

I longed to know what life had been like for the native before the coming of the white man. I had felt for some time that there was an artificiality in the way I was introducing learning to the native child. Necessarily limited by my own experience, I was teaching English Nursery Rhymes and Folk tales to the little ones... Might there not be a source of folklore in tales told by the Indian and Eskimo grandmothers,--on which I could draw to provide material for literary and dramatic work with my pupils, and which would provide a more robust approach to learning for them? [Taylor 1960:138]

Taylor collected stories from several Gwich'in and a few Inuvialuit Elders and broadcast some of them on a weekly slot on local CHAK radio to a very appreciative Indigenous audience (Taylor 1960:151). She recorded these experiences in *Dog-Team and School-Desk*, a book published in England in 1960.

Accounts of missionaries

The interests of the Anglican, Oblate, and later Presbyterian missionaries who came to the Arctic from the mid 19th century onwards were entirely distinct from the explorers, whaler, traders, and adventurers. Their objective was to save the souls of the Indigenous peoples by converting them into Christians. Some missionaries were both fervent and zealous in this pursuit; others were passionate about northern life and people, and their proselytizing found somewhat lacking. In either case, these men¹⁴ were primary agents of change (Savoie 1970:35), not only in spreading their Christian doctrine and accompanying ideological value system, but in introducing new means of education to Indigenous populations. Due to the circumstances of northern living and the lifestyles of their intended congregation, the early missionaries especially spent a considerable amount of time visiting far flung settlements by dog-team and administering to people's pragmatic needs, in the form of medicine and food (Marsh 1987:11).

¹⁴ Some Anglican ministers also brought their wives north. In addition, the Catholic Grey Nuns of Montreal first arrived in the north in 1867, but only started serving the delta region in the 20th century. They maintained missions in Aklavik from 1924-1976, and in Inuvik from 1958-1987 (Sutherland 1996:5).

The early missionaries

The earliest missionaries to visit the Mackenzie River, in the 1860s, concentrated on the upriver sites of Forts Good Hope and McPherson. The Catholic priest Father Grollier journeyed to the coast in 1860 and his Anglican counterpart William Bompas followed suit in 1870 (Honigmann and Honigmann 1970:25). The biggest inroads, however, were made by Father Emile Petitot, who in 1865 was unsuccessful on his first attempt to preach to the 'Tchiglit' (Siglit, one of several Inuvialuit regional groups) at Anderson River (Alunik et al. 2003:67). Although Petitot seems to have made several enemies amongst the Tchiglit, and only visited them five times over a space of years, including one period of summer residence, he wrote a substantial monograph detailing aspects of their demography, communication, material culture, social organization, and worldview (Savoie 1970). He writes both of their intelligence and ingenuity, and of their seeming playfulness with what I suspect was his serious countenance: "They are shameless, dishonest, laugh impertinently at anything you say or do, ape your every action." Yet the missionary also admired their hospitality and fearlessness and notes that they "remember benefits received, are devoid of jealousy and show consideration for one another" (Savoie 1970:45).

Minister Isaac Stringer went north in 1892 to start the work of the Anglicans in the delta. He spent a significant amount of time at Herschel Island, where he attempted, with some success, to stultify the more insidious influences of the whalers (Alunik et al. 2003:95). His writings, Friesen (2004:224) contends, are very reliable, "represent[ing] immediate observations of Inuit life, recorded as they occurred" rather than "later recollections clouded by blurry memories." Stringer's journals, which are summarized and excerpted by Friesen, portray the life of Inuvialuit residents during their summer whale hunt at Kittigaryuit before the most significant changes were made to their traditional seasonal occupations. Stringer is an honest recorder: one evening he writes of his discomfort at watching a man and woman dance in the *kadjigi* (communal men's house) prior to the whale hunt. "Since I was in it I thought I had better

see it out. They might think I was afraid if I left so I remained but kept my eyes open. The assuring glances of Koghlik [the umialik] and the fact that the man performing was friendly...made me feel more at ease" (cited in Friesen 2004:233). Presumably, Stringer's agitation is a response to the Kittigaryungmuit's traditions and beliefs, which were so at odds with his own. Stringer later reports the long lists of ill and dying people to whom he and his wife Sadie distributed medicine, though it did little against the onslaught of foreign diseases (Friesen 2004:234).

While Stringer was not successful in converting many Inuvialuit to Christianity in the eleven years of his ministry, he seems to have paved the way for those that followed. Charles Whittaker spent thirty years in the region and "played a great part in the evangelization of the Delta Eskimos" (Marsh 1967:5). In 1919, his associates Hoare and Merritt built a log mission at Aklavik and a church, mission, and residential school the following year at Shingle Point (Marsh 1967:7). Children attended this school until 1933, when it closed and a new and larger facility opened in Aklavik. Reverend Donald Marsh (1967:7) writes that this early schooling in the delta developed under "the vision and faith [of] Bishop Fleming, who was well aware that education was essential if the Eskimos were one day to be able to meet the impact of civilization." In 1926, the Anglicans opened All Saints hospital in Aklavik, the first in the Western Arctic (Marsh 1967:9). The Catholic Church operated a school and mission in Aklavik in the same period (Honigmann and Honigmann 1970:40).

Missionaries in the mid-20th century

Oblate priest Father Bern Brown witnessed the Inuvialuit transition from a land to town-based lifestyle. Ministering to the populations of Aklavik and area from 1955-57, he describes the lively social scenes at Peffer's café and trading post, Bill Stong's inn and barber shop, the RCMP detachment and dog corral, and the trading posts of Knut Lang and Slim Semmler (Brown 1998:21). The trapping lifestyle was still vibrant, and Brown (1998:22) comments that both the Gwich'in and Inuvialuit populations "seemed to be getting enough fur to

live comfortably; government assistance was rare." Father Brown found that "the pastoral work was often lacking" and the celibate life lonely, and he became actively involved in a variety of other pursuits (Brown 1998:65). He hosted a radio show on local CHAK radio, where he interviewed local personalities; started a newspaper, *The Aklavik Journal*, that followed local fur prices and events; and bred a dog-team that he traveled extensively with. He also gained a solid reputation for "hav[ing] some claim to knowledge for the North" (Brown 1998:64) and was written up in the January 5th, 1957 edition of MacLean's magazine as a kind of Renaissance 'Frontier Builder' of the Western Arctic (Phillips 1957:16-17).

The recently reprinted pages of *The Aklavik Journal* (Brown 1996) record a critical period when the Government of Canada decided to build the town of 'New Aklavik' at a site on the east side of the Delta, initially called East-3. The Government's rationale for this move was the chronic flooding that occurred in Aklavik, and the lack of potential for expansion because of its river-level position (Zaslow 1988:319). Both the journal and Father Brown's memoirs reveal the dissent common amongst the people of Aklavik who were scarcely consulted about this momentous decision. Brown (1998:63) writes: "In spite of the opposition, the project was going ahead full steam." And later, "local Eskimo chief" John Kivek tells Brown that the traditional name of the new site was "*Kegeaktuk*—place of the beaver," which Brown passed on to the town planners. The government, however, ignored this recommendation in favour of one chosen by an Ottawa MP, "Inuvik, meaning 'place of man'" (Brown 1998:67).

Father Brown had no choice in the site of his own appointment and was soon moved to Inuvik where he orchestrated the building of the Catholic Church and administered to the new populations there. These were people who had moved in from all over the delta to accommodate the vast labour needs of building the new centre. To entice the citizens of Aklavik, the government offered free lots and first choice in their selection, while "cabins will be used to house

laborers and then depreciated and sold afterwards" (Aklavik Journal, May 1956:4 in Brown 1996). These cabins, the '512s', became the houses of the few Aboriginal residents who did not live in tent camps for several years during the construction of Inuvik and following (see next section, and Appendix 5). Many Aklavik residents did move to Inuvik. Those that remained were ardent in their desire to stay 'home' and erected a sign on the Aklavik airstrip which read 'Never Say Die,' a motto that has persisted to the present day. Father Brown, it might be added, eventually left the priesthood, married a Native northerner, and took up residence at Colville Lake.

Accounts of social scientists

Until World War II, most social scientists working in the north were funded by the Government of Canada (Richling 1995). Early expeditions that collected vast amounts of ethnological and archaeological information were partly or wholly government-sponsored. This work was aligned with government policy in pursuing goals of sovereignty and dominion. Theoretically, this work was heavily influenced by the historical particularism first developed by Franz Boas among the Inuit of Baffin Island. Boas was concerned with salvaging the traditions of the pre-contact period, before they were lost to the forces of acculturation (Searles 2006:93). He trained and influenced a whole generation of northern anthropologists, including Edward Sapir, who would become Chief of the Anthropological Division of the National Museum in 1910 (Richling 1995:111-112).

By mid-century, the government was investing more in northern development and 'modernization,' and had turned its attentions to both the study and care of northern populations. These early studies reflected the interests of the nascent field of social science, which distinguished itself from the arts by rigorous methods and an objectivist viewpoint honed to develop what Durkheim called a 'science of society' (Trigger 1989:246). These studies continued to be closely aligned with transforming government policies in the north, including the expansion of northern governance and dominion, and

extending to interests in resource exploration and extraction.

The early social scientists

Canadian-born explorer and ethnologist Vilhjalmur Stefansson was the first social scientist to conduct intensive fieldwork amongst the Inuvialuit. From 1908 to 1912, Stefansson and zoologist Rudolph Anderson undertook the first scientific expedition in the Western Arctic, co-sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History and the Geological Survey of Canada. It was during this expedition that Stefansson developed his particular brand of participant observation, which involved living and traveling with the people. As outlined in his commissioning letter, "the only way that one can become familiar with the real life of a primitive people is to live with them in their houses...rather than to live near them in one's civilized way" (Palsson 2000:3). Through these means he would adopt an Inuvialuit wife, Pannigabluk, and develop ideas about the north as a 'polar Mediterranean' (cf. Morrison 1998:130; Palsson 2005).

The scholarly outcomes of the Stefansson-Anderson expedition were published by the American Museum of Natural History in 1919, while a popular account was presented in *My Life with the Eskimos* (Stefansson 1913). Stefansson opens this account by suggesting that the Mackenzie are a half-civilized people, ostensibly due to their long experience with outsiders, in comparison to their Stone Age neighbours, the Copper Inuit. The at times self-aggrandizing Stefansson helped fund his research by sensationalizing these 'Blonde Eskimos' of Victoria Island¹⁵, yet by contrast, he seems to have been a rather faithful recorder of Inuvialuit lifestyles of the early 20th century. Like commentators before himself, notions of Western superiority undergird his narrative, though he seems to make early strides towards a kind of cultural relativism: "Some of their tastes are not cleanly to a white man's notion, though most of them have their parallels in civilization" (Stefansson

¹⁵ Stefansson (1913) widely promoted the idea that a group of light-haired, light-eyed Coronation Gulf Inuit, the so-called 'Blonde Eskimos,' were partly descended from Norse or other European ancestry, and his studies inspired research to that end.

1919:153). Stefansson would later lecture widely about his experiences with the 'Eskimo' and be the first to articulate the idea that the north was a homeland to its inhabitants rather than a frontier for southern interests (see Morrison 1998:77). In a series of popular publications including *Northward Course of Empire* (Stefansson 1922), he also promoted the benefits of the development of northern infrastructure and settlement, including such ventures as agriculture and shipping lines (cf. Morrison 1998:130).

Stefansson's most notorious exploits are connected to the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-18 (Jenness 1996). Although initially pitched to American institutions, this expedition came to be entirely funded by the Government of Canada, under the leadership of Robert Borden, who had concerns over Arctic sovereignty (Diubaldo 1978:64). The expedition was billed as an exploratory and ethnological venture led by Stefansson and Anderson. Right from the get-go, a host of personal and organizational fiascos occurred which were capped off by the loss of the ship *Karluk* in the Arctic Sea, and ultimately the loss of eight men in the Northern Party (Jenness 1922:1436). Stefansson's concerns were chiefly in line with the exploratory agenda and sovereignty claims of his sponsors; it was Diamond Jenness who served as the expedition's primary ethnologist. After the loss of the *Karluk*, and the death of the expedition's other anthropologist, Henri Beuchat, Jenness's position was stretched beyond the collection of data on the archaeology, technology, and physical anthropology of the 'Western Eskimo' to additionally incorporate their language and sociology. In this latter regard, Jenness rued his lack of linguistic training (Jenness 1916:612), yet managed to publish a *Comparative vocabulary of the western Eskimo dialects* (1928). His ethnological work, while largely focused on the Inupiat and Copper Inuit, also included observations of Mackenzie Inuit groups (Jenness 1991).

Jenness seems a sympathetic observer of Inuit people and their lifestyles. After the *Karluk* froze in, he lived and traveled for many months with different Inupiat families, at one point coming very near to starving (Tepper 1983:9).

These experiences formed his essential introduction to the Inuit, and led him to write in his diary: "I am growing Eskimo in many ways—care less about dirty pots or dirty person—drink more cold water—tend to have my mouth agape when traveling. It requires an effort to keep white" (Tepper 1983:11-12). Jenness, in due course, became chief of the Anthropology Division under the umbrella of the Geological Survey of Canada. Although perpetually understaffed and underfunded in his attempts to develop a national program of Anthropology, he recognized the central importance of 'Eskimo archaeology and ethnology' and always wished to return to their study (Richling 1995:113). One of his major contributions to the field was a series of studies entitled 'Eskimo Administration' that laid out his vision and rationale for government policy in five Arctic regions. His assessment of the Canadian situation in 1968 follows:

Integration with other citizens of the Dominion is the only goal possible for Canada's Eskimos. They cannot revert to the life of their forefathers, for not only have they lost the old hunting skills, but game has become much scarcer, and the number of mouths to be fed much greater. Should Canada attempt to keep them isolated as they are today—the advice some romantics prefer—she would be treating them as she has treated her buffalo, confining them to a zoological park where officials could check any embarrassing increase in numbers by the well-tried methods farmers apply to cattle [Jenness 1968:30].

As opposed to isolationism, Jenness advocated bringing the various Inuit groups into the Canadian mainstream through education and vocational training that would give them the same skills as other Canadians and allow them to work wherever they chose in the nation.

After the early expeditions to study Western Arctic peoples, government funding for social science lagged miserably beyond the First World War (Richling 1995). Much work from this period to the mid-century was conducted by Americans and Europeans who maintained a great interest in the Canadian Arctic. The most ambitious example is the Danish-funded Fifth Thule Expedition that traversed overland by dog-team from Greenland to Siberia from 1921-24 studying a succession of Inuit groups and making large

ethnological and archaeological collections. Knud Rasmussen's notes on the Mackenzie Eskimos from this expedition were published posthumously (Ostermann 1942). In the Mackenzie District, there was a lengthy hiatus between the early 'scientific' studies, and renewed interest in social science in the 1960s. During this interval, the national museum tasked the RCMP and government employees with purchasing artifacts, and with conducting the occasional 'rudimentary excavation' (Richling 1995:112).

Post-war social science

The post-World War II era brought increasing interest in the development of northern Canada and attention to the specific concerns of northern peoples. At this time, the Federal Government took charge of northern administration, healthcare, education, and other concerns, effectively relinquishing these responsibilities from the missionaries, RCMP, and traders who had been inadvertently saddled with them until this time. As part of efforts to identify and administer to Inuit peoples, the government implemented the 'Eskimo Disc List System' in 1941 that was in policy part of the move towards "effective sovereignty" but in practice a result of the inability of southern administrators to either pronounce and distinguish Inuit names or understand their kinship system (the system was dissolved in Indigenous protest in the early 1970s; Smith 1993: 48, 64). In 1953, the newly established Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources took responsibility for "fostering through scientific investigation and technology, knowledge of the Canadian north and of the means of dealing with conditions related to its further development" (Nixon 1989:38). A new focus on social science was realized through the formation of the Northern Science Research Group, to serve under this department, whose concerns turned to areas where Indigenous peoples were affected by development, such as the burgeoning town of Inuvik. An assumption of this often salvage-style research was that northern traditions were passing off the map.

A dozen studies were produced by The Mackenzie Delta Research Project starting in the mid 1960s. The main goals of this project were to measure the relative social interaction between local and incoming cultural groups, assess the economic potential of human and natural resources of the region, and identify underlying causes for the observed disruption to Indigenous lifeways. Scientific methods were meticulously applied to these pursuits in a style of social science later called antiquated (Brody 1974-75:178). The rationale behind these studies was to raise the standard of living among Indigenous populations, reduce barriers to social interaction between Indigenous and EuroCanadian sectors, and draw the Indigenous people into the wage economy. Parsons (1970:37) states in his monograph *Arctic Suburb: A Look at the North's Newcomers*:

The government is much criticized for its handling of Indian and Eskimo affairs, being variously accused of failure to provide good jobs and decent housing and of fostering 'irresponsibility' through allegedly indiscriminate social assistance measures, and of having unrealistic expectations concerning the ability of native people to cope with change. Such critique has been called 'officially blessed self-criticism' (Paine 1977 cited in Nixon 1989:39) by more pessimistic analysts, who note that during this period the government both framed the direction and orientation of research, conducted the majority of work, and appointed development-minded individuals to senior posts (Nixon 1989:39).

Yet the problems documented in Inuvik by The Mackenzie Delta Research Project were very real. In the decades following the community's establishment, a clear division in settlement pattern and socioeconomic status developed between native and non-native populations. One end of town serviced by a utilidor system was occupied by southern EuroCanadian government workers, while the other, unserviced end became home to various Aboriginal peoples, many living in the 1960s and early 1970s in the slum-like conditions (Ervin 1968:11) of a tent town called Happy Valley. A split was also manifest in the wage economy, where EuroCanadians occupied the higher paying jobs and Indigenous people the lower (Wolforth 1965:53-56).

Social science in an atmosphere of dissent

By the mid 1970s, a considerable shift had occurred both in the policy perspectives of northern social scientists and in their relationship to their government sponsors (Usher 1993). The main catalyst was tension within the newly formed Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DIAND), between aspirations for oil and gas development, and the mandate to protect and advocate for the interests of Aboriginal groups. P.G. Nixon (1989:41) narrates geographer Peter Usher's experiences as an example of this antagonism. In his study of the viability of the trapping economy on Banks Island, Usher (1971c) criticized his department for pretending that local interests were not in conflict with those of development, a charge unacceptable to the department. Minister Chretien responded by rejecting the report and severely curtailing Usher's research; Usher resigned to pursue independent scholarship (Nixon 1989:41).

In this atmosphere of criticism and dissent, Usher and other social scientists took on significant roles in support of budding northern Aboriginal movements (see next section) and the Berger Inquiry of the mid 1970s. These events shifted the social scientific discourse, effectively splitting the dominant paradigms into two competing models of social change (Usher 1993, and following). Usher suggests that the Western (rational) economic model of development came to be challenged by what might be called a political or critical model. The economic model, which was the underlying foundation of both social science and government policy to this time, viewed modernization, acculturation, and industrialization as complementary and necessary processes in the Canadian North. Northern people, 'suffering' from low incomes, lack of infrastructure, education and training, would benefit from the opportunities of the pipelines and other resource-driven government initiatives. Firm belief in this model by its (southern) proponents precluded the need for community consultation. The critical model emanated from northern people, a large percentage of whom were Indigenous. They suggested that oil and gas was yet another example of a boom and bust cycle that would not employ nor benefit northerners in the long run, and instead would disrupt their lifeways through

their access to country foods, land use, and occupancy. The Aboriginal people of the delta generally agreed that factors important to social well-being in their communities included continuity in traditional socioeconomic structures and control over the processes of development.

The Berger Inquiry was fundamental to the evolution of the critical paradigm. One of the hallmarks of Berger's approach was his real desire to conduct a true public hearing where Aboriginal voices would actually be *heard*. Robert Page (1989:219), who prepared historical evidence for the Dene Nation, notes that part of "the success of the community hearings was due to [their] careful planning...The sessions were timed so they did not conflict with trapping or other activities out on the land. As a result of this cultural sensitivity, the Berger Inquiry set new standards for public participation." The transcripts of Berger's Inquiry from Aklavik suggest that Gwich'in, Inuvialuit, and other northern residents were nearly unanimously against oil and gas development, because it would disrupt patterns of animal movement and traditional lifestyles (Berger 1975: Volume II). Already, at that time, government bulldozers and seismic operators had been surveying and testing in the region, and the people had seen that the caribou, hare, muskrats, and fish had all become scarce around these corridors. After hearing the testimony of a thousand individuals in thirty-five communities edging the proposed pipeline corridor (Hamilton 1994:189), Berger wrote his groundbreaking report. He called it *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland*, emphasizing for the first time since Stefansson the northerners' sense of the Arctic as their home. He argued that northern people did not need or want the government's version of development, and recommended that pipeline planning be delayed until Aboriginal claims were settled and the people could negotiate for themselves (Berger 1977).

Recent social science

Since the 1970s, there has been a sustained division between practitioners of the two competing models of social research in the Western Arctic. Usher contends that many social scientists wished the rational model away, but

public policy on northern issues (read: government social science) has primarily continued within this school of thought (Usher 1993:119-20). The critical model has operated more within the preserve of academic and independent social scientists, many of them aiding land claims and other research pursuits of northern First Peoples. The ongoing evolution of this model has been accompanied by an evolving suite of methodologies, most notably participatory action research, which has been especially championed by the Arctic Institute of North America (eg. Hoare et al. 1993; Robinson 1996; Robinson et al. 1994; Ryan and Robinson 1996).

Action research has become an organizing model for many social scientific and scientific studies in the Western Arctic in the last two decades. Inuit have been increasingly involved in the research process, demanding a stake in the questions asked and tailoring research to their own social needs (Stern 2006a:264). Some observers, however, have recently perceived both a fall-off in action-oriented social scientific work and an increasing questioning of the utility of social science to northern Indigenous communities (Kassam 2005:3; Kassam and Tettey 2003). They claim a disconnect between recent social scientific approaches and the needs of northern communities, with the former being dismissed as an exercise in theoretical and disengaged navel-gazing. These same authors argue for the merging of biological and cultural approaches to research partnerships with source communities that can more holistically and equitably address community concrete needs, by looking at questions of environmental change, the impacts of chemical pollutants, and the empowerment of women (Kassam and Tettey 2003). They suggest that inter-disciplinarity may run contra to university bureaucracy, but a move in this direction will make research more relevant to northern Indigenous communities that are intended as partners, but in practice are often subordinated to academic merit goals, namely publication. Instead, they advocate for "a re-definition of merit criteria to reward publications that may not fit an academic genre but are useful for communities and policymakers" (Kassam and Tettey 2003:155).

Another commentator notes the expansion of critical studies “informed by praxis and dedicated to exposing ways in which the exercise of power is reflected in the social lives of people” (Stern 2006a:265). Stern (2006a:265) welcomes this as a positive direction for Inuit Studies, and suggests that research developments and processes across the north be analysed in terms of evolving power relations, and compared to those occurring elsewhere in and outside of the north. However one views the current state of northern social science, the ultimate test of relevance lies ahead, in the choices made by young northern students choosing pathways for post-secondary study, and the directions they deem most suitable for pursuing the needs and goals of their communities.

Accounts by & for the Inuvialuit

As suggested in the introduction to this chapter, starting at the time of contact the traditional Inuvialuit method of recording and passing on information was literally colonized by outsiders, and replaced by a written mode of representation. The Inuvialuit responded by learning written discourse; some people taught themselves to write, and others learned through the missions and subsequent government Day Schools. One of the oldest historical documents written by an Inuvialuk is the ‘diary’ of Old Irish, Ida Inglangasuk’s adopted father and Hilda Irish’s father-in-law (see chapter 7). Irish Kuiruya was the storekeeper at the trading post at *Qainuirvik* (Clarence Lagoon) from 1921-24 (Nagy 1994a:51; Usher 1971b:106). While Ida’s half-sister Dora Malegana recollected that her father could not read and had help settling his books from other storekeepers, including Panaiq at *Kaktovik* (Barter Island) and Mickey Gordon (Ida’s birth father) at Demarcation Point (Nagy 1994a:51), many present-day Aklavik residents are well aware that Old Irish taught himself to read and write. Hilda Irish showed me parts of his ‘diary,’ written alternately in English and Inuvialuktun syllabics, which is a record of the store’s transactions, the weather, and sometimes quotidian details of his life. While this is a very special document, I doubt that it is the only record of its

kind amongst Inuvialuit families.

The premier Inuvialuit authors

The first book published by an Inuvialuk is called *I, Nuligak*, the vivid autobiography of Nuligak's (known in English as Bob Cockney, he was Winnie Cockney's father-in-law, see chapter 7) life on the land. Nuligak, who was born around 1895, introduces himself like this:

I, Nuligak, will tell you a story. It is the story of what has happened to me in my life, all my adventures, many of them forever graven in my memory. Those of my people who lived before me came from Kitigariuit. During my earliest youth the Kitigariukmeut were very numerous; I have known them, I have seen them. I was an orphan, for my father died before I was able to know him. I have no memory of him. Because I was an orphan and a poor one at that, my mind was always alert to the happenings around me. Once my eyes had seen something, it was never forgotten [Nuligak 1966:15].

Nuligak details his experiences of learning to hunt, his wide travels and interactions with the whalers, and his marriage and trapping life in the Mackenzie District. Father Maurice Metayer notes that Nuligak's manuscript 'came' to him in 1956 but he did not have time to translate it until two years later; during translation, he frequently visited Nuligak at Herschel Island and Tuktoyaktuk to verify and clarify information. Nuligak's autobiography is much-heralded within the Inuvialuit community, and is also widely cited in the academic literature. I would suspect Nuligak wrote his memories, of a kind of life that had already passed during his lifetime, for his immediate community and perhaps also for those interested in northern history.

A much less cited but equally riveting autobiography can be found in *My Name is Masak*, an account of a young Inuvialuit woman's life in the interwar years. Masak (Alice French) was born on Baillie Island in 1930 and raised on the land. Her father was from coastal Alaska, her mother from the interior of northern Alaska. Their names were Anisalouk and Sanggiak, but "They were known to white people as Charles and Lily Smith" (French 1976:2). Of her own name, Masak says: "When a child was born and given the name of an ancestor, that

spirit was released to live on through his or her namesake. I was named for both of my parent's mothers. I was *aga*, their mothers, and I was respected and loved" (French 1976:17). Masak recounts many of the traditional teachings that she learned from her parents and grandparents, and of their seasonal travels and activities. She tells the harrowing experience of having her mother die of tuberculosis in hospital at Aklavik during her first months of Anglican Residential School there:

How could she be there one day and not the next? I felt terribly alone. She was the only link I had with home and the life I had been used to. My father had gone back to his trap-line and we would not hear from him for a long time. It was not out of cruelty but out of necessity that he left us [French 1976:21].

Masak attended the Anglican school from age 7 to 14, later lived at Reindeer Station, and eventually married an RCMP officer from the south. Hers is the only published Inuvialuit record of its time and one of the few accounts spoken from the voice of a female Inuvialuk in the 20th century. It is a fresh and clearly written narrative of Inuvialuit life and its traditions in the 1930s and 40s. French's often ironic tone serves as a subtle critique of the order of society at that time.

Nuligak's and Masak's writings were published in 1966 and 1976, respectively, following a long silence from Inuvialuit in the written record.¹⁶ As discussed above, the actions but seldom the thoughts of Inuvialuit were formerly recorded by the trappers, traders, missionaries, and social scientists who lived in the delta. In the course of events of the mid to late century, Inuvialuit voices would increasingly be heard in radio (Alunik 1998:98; Brown 1998:27; Hamilton 1994:137), quoted in various print media, and finally written in publications of their own. Yet in the post-war years when Canada decided to 'move north' (Finnie 1948), the government's patronizing stance caused northern administrators to consistently make assumptions and decisions on behalf of native northerners.

¹⁶ *Thrasher: Skid Row Eskimo* was also published in 1976. It is an account of Inuvialuk Anthony Apakark Thrasher's difficult confrontations with southern life and culture, leading to a murder conviction.

Perhaps the most conspicuous example in the Western Arctic concerns the building of Inuvik. As noted earlier, Aboriginal residents of Aklavik were not consulted about the Federal government's plans—rather, the government simply assumed that everyone would *want* to move to the new centre. The primary objection of Aklavik's Indigenous residents was that Inuvik, which is 70-some km across the delta by boat, is too far from the caribou range in the Richardson Mountains, the muskrat, and other valued resources of the West Channel. Although not directly evident in print, various sources indirectly signal the people's resistance. An editorial in *The Aklavik Journal* on March 1956 refers to those who "ain't gonna move"¹⁷ while an article from May of the same year describes a special meeting of the New Town Planning Committee "to hear Minister Jean Lesage and Deputy Minister Frank Cunningham answer objections and questions involving the move" (Brown 1996). Those present at this meeting included a number of Gwich'in and Inuvialuit residents. Another source claims that "Moose Kerr, then principal of the school, organized a committee to save Aklavik and had students write and sing protest songs. The end result was more people and building staying [sic]" (GNWT n.d.).

Ishmael Alunik remembers the inequalities his people experienced during this period at a more general level:

Us Native people were treated different from the white man that we helped on our own land. We shared with them. We taught them how to survive on the land and hunt and trap. But we were not good enough to go into their hotel in Aklavik or get the same benefits as they got when they first moved to Inuvik [Alunik et al. 2003:158].

The disgruntlement and resistance of Aklavik's residents caused many of them to stay on in their community. This rebuttal from Aklavik's Indigenous population was a blow to Federal Government's plans: the persistence of smaller centres not only defeated Ottawa's goal of consolidating facilities and regional populations, but also forced a racial split in the demographics of the Northwest Territories (Zaslow 1988:319). The populations of Aklavik and

¹⁷ These are ostensibly Gwich'in, Métis, and Inuvialuit residents, since the vast majority of non-native residents, because of their work affiliations, would be required to move to the new centre.

Tuktoyaktuk have remained largely Indigenous to the present, while the population of Inuvik, which is today quite multi-cultural, continues to attract the majority of EuroCanadian southerners who come north for government work. A decade after the establishment of Inuvik, magazine articles suggest that Aklavik languished somewhat in the early 1960s (Nicholl 1964), and that those who stayed behind or returned to Aklavik continued a more traditional lifestyle than Indigenous settlers in Inuvik (Sumner 1965:35).

Inuvialuit voices & burgeoning social awareness

In the politically charged environment of the late 1960s, the voices of Inuvialuit began to ring loud and clear. Leaders such as Wally Firth traveled the north "spreading word of...Native activism" in full swing in the south and many other parts of the world (Coates and Powell 1989:102). But it was the impetus of the infamous White Paper of 1969 under Trudeau's administration that caused numerous Indigenous groups in Canada to organize and agitate. In that year, Agnes Semmler and Nellie Cournoyea formed the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE) to campaign for a land claim in the delta. At the outset, this organization included members from all of the delta's Aboriginal groups, though it would ultimately transform into an organization representing the 2500 Inuvialuit (Morrison 1998:266). COPE hired various 'experts' to carry out traditional use and occupancy research towards the interests of the claim (see Farquharson 1976; Usher 1976). Many Aboriginal youth were also trained to conduct traditional use interviews with their Elders (Cournoyea pers. comm. 2006); this testimony is now archived in the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre but has never been published.

Sam Raddi was President of COPE from the early 1970s to early 1980s, during which time he helped cobble together an Agreement in Principle with the Federal Government towards the Inuvialuit Final Agreement. In an interview with *Inuktitut* magazine in 1983, Raddi described the rather heady days of the beginning of the organization, when he traveled the delta telling his people about the potential for COPE to empower them to achieve greater social and

economic autonomy (Metcalf 1983:18-20). Raddi commented on the changes in his perceptions of decision-makers in Ottawa in his time as president:

One thing I appreciate is the time I was working with COPE when I was able to go to Ottawa. I met a lot of ministers I never thought I would meet and I got a better understanding of the Canadian government...I'm glad I had a chance to experience that. I was very critical of the government before that. I wondered why they couldn't do this or that, and I learned that it was not that simple (Metcalf 1983:22).

The Inuvialuit publication *Inuvialuit Pitqusiit* (GNWT 1991:69) adds of the period: "decisions regarding the use of our land were being made by Ottawa...It appeared to us, however, that there were few people in Ottawa who were interested in our concerns." Such collective sentiments incited the Inuvialuit to challenge the system.

Berger's commission was conducted in this period of political awakening. As suggested above, his transcripts and final report (volume 1) provide a record of Inuvialuit responding to the pipeline inquiry; community members eloquently articulated the fundamental differences in their view of the world from that of southern government and culture. Historically, this was the first forum to publicize and give credibility to the views of Indigenous northerners (Hamilton 1994:183-4). Peter Green of Paulatuuq said to Chief Justice Berger, "It's pretty hard for me to say that your way of life is superior...I would prefer the Inuit way of life, our way of life...Your way of life, down south as white people, is a way of life I myself do not want to live. We are people who are free to go hunting every day" (Berger 1977:111). Peter Thrasher of Aklavik said of the potential for a land claim, "I would like to give something for the future generations of my children, so they will have something...to live on, and they also should have the right to inherit this country" (Berger 1977:177).

The Inuvialuit Final Agreement of 1984 created the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, spanning 91,000 square kilometres of the Beaufort Sea and Mackenzie Delta area (Alunik 1998:20). Community Corporations were created that administer to Inuvialuit residents in six delta communities: Sachs Harbour,

Uluhaktok (Holman), Paulatuuq, Tuktoyaktuk, Inuvik, and Aklavik. The Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC) and Inuvialuit Social Development Program (ISDP) were formed to oversee economic and social development for the region, while various other divisions attend to specific aspects of the agreement (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation 1999). The mandate of ISDP is to promote the "social, cultural and educational welfare of Inuvialuit" by sponsoring "language camps, traditional drum dance groups, oral history projects, educational exchanges" and attending to Elder's concerns (Alunik 1998:21). Much of this work occurs under the auspices of the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, partnered with a variety of agencies listed below.

Recent Inuvialuit representation

Since the signing of the claim, these agencies have overseen the steady production of a range of cultural studies and publications. Of special note, many of these studies unite oral tradition with the written word, producing a kind of fusion between the two. Publications based on community and oral histories include Myra Campell's (1987) *Aklavik: a community study* and *Inuvialuit Pitqusiit* (GNWT 1991), both produced by the Northwest Territories Department of Education; Murielle Nagy's (1994a) *Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History*, produced by Yukon Tourism's Heritage Branch; the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation's (1996, 1999) *Our land, our culture, our future: Nunakput, pitkusivut, sivunikput*; Ishmael Alunik's (1998) *Call Me Ishmael: Memories of an Inuvialuk Elder*, produced by native northerner Eddie Kolausok; Elisa Hart's (2001) *Reindeer Days Remembered*, funded by Prince of Wales, Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, and the Northern Oil and Gas Action Plan (NOGAP; see next section); Ishmael Alunik, Eddie Kolausok, and David Morrison's (2003) *Across Time and Tundra* and the forthcoming *Inuvialuit Ethnobotany*, both partially funded by Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre; and Cathy Cockney's (2004) *Paulatuuq Oral History Project: Inuvialuit Elders Share Their Stories*, funded by Parks Canada. Starting in 1985, the Inuvialuit Communications Society began publishing *Tusaayaksat*, a bilingual newspaper dedicated to news and events in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region.

Tusaayaksat, meaning 'something to listen to,' has recently transformed into an attractive glossy journal distributed to all adult beneficiaries of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, and by subscription beyond.

These publications are written by, with, and for the Inuvialuit. They are written with multiple audiences in mind, but first and foremost the Inuvialuit themselves who have been so underrepresented in the historical record. Elisa Hart (2001:6) specifies that her oral history study with Inuvialuit reindeer herders is intended for the Elders and their families that were once part of the industry, for Inuvialuit youth to learn their history, for (especially northern) highschool students and teachers of history and geography, and lastly, for the general public. The great upswing in Inuvialuit self-representation is a landmark in their recent history. Ishmael Alunik (2003:158-59) articulates the entitlement that Inuvialuit feel in achieving this kind of voice: "Today we are starting to speak out and try[ing] to relearn our history and culture. We have a land claim and we are getting self-government. This is a good chance for our children to get control of their lives and for us to make the decisions that are best for us."

Accounts of archaeologists

Archaeological representations of the Inuvialuit begin with the early ethnographers to the area, and trace their way through the writings of those individuals who founded and developed the archaeology of the Western Arctic.¹⁸ Developments loosely follow the major intellectual trends in Americanist archaeology of the 20th century outlined by Trigger (1988), from Boasian anthropology to evolutionism to processualism and (barely) beyond. The constant and primary mover that undergirds these trends—and is evident throughout the full span of archaeological work in the Western Arctic—is the framework of positivist science. A secondary but no less important force on the archaeology of the Mackenzie District is government sponsorship. Together, these combined interests have justified what projects are deemed worthy to

¹⁸ For a comprehensive history of archaeological research in the Western Arctic, refer to Betts 2004.

pursue, which are selected for funding, and how they are shaped and executed. A final theme influencing the production of archaeological representations of the Inuvialuit is the extremely slow pace of growth through most of the 20th century, followed by a boom in the post-Berger era. Kelley and Williamson (1996:9) note that few areas of Canada had undergone systematic archaeological investigation before the 1960s; this slow start puts the Western Arctic two decades behind other regions of Canada in terms of the development of archaeology, its forms of representation, and its relationships with descendant communities.

Early archaeologists

In the early 20th century, archaeology was viewed in Canada as a kind of hand-maiden to ethnology, and took second place in terms of national priorities. The first chief of the Anthropological Division at the National Museum, Edward Sapir, "gave priority to working with native informants still conversant in Indigenous ways" because "he considered the chance for salvage ethnology fleeting while mistakenly assuming that the remnants of past cultures remained safe" (Richling 1995:111-112; also see Jenness 1932). Stefansson, Jenness, and Rasmussen made collections along the Arctic coast, none of which were analysed or published until much later. Jenness, however, also conducted what David Morrison (2002) has called the first scientific excavations by a Canadian, at Barter and Arey Islands on the Alaskan North Coast, during the Canadian Arctic Expedition. Over one season in 1914, Jenness identified approximately 150 semi-subterranean house features at three main sites that appeared to date to the late Thule period. He conducted extensive excavations using rigorous methods including mapping floor plans and taking artifact provenience (Jenness 1990:94, 101), which led Morrison (2002:62) to suggest that Jenness "set a standard for archaeological field techniques that was not eclipsed until the 1950s."

From this time forward, archaeology proceeded rapidly in the central Canadian Arctic and Alaska but came to a near standstill in the Mackenzie District (but

see Bliss 1939; Giddings 1947). The next substantive archaeological attention paid to the Canadian Western Arctic was by Richard (Scotty) MacNeish in the 1950s, under the auspices of the National Museum of Canada. MacNeish conducted surveys in the Mackenzie River Drainage, Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula and Yukon coastal plain, documenting twenty-five sites. He characterized the material recovered as "typical Thule Eskimo" but deemed it worth publication because "reports on the Mackenzie Delta Eskimo are few" (MacNeish 1956a:46). Most of his attentions would ultimately be given to the Engigstciak site on the Firth River, which revealed the longest sequence of human occupation known in the region (MacNeish 1956b). MacNeish wrote that this site produced the most important materials he had encountered because of their "bearing upon the problem of early movements of peoples into the New World," as the "ancestors of the early men whose remains have been uncovered in the United States" (MacNeish 1956a:46, 68). MacNeish both hired locals such as Alex and Frankie Stefansson (son and grandson of Vilhjalmur Stefansson with his Inuvialuit wife Pannigabluk) and acknowledged them in print, as would archaeologists after himself, but did not explicate the connection between contemporary Mackenzie peoples and the archaeological record in his work.

Frankie Stefansson greatly enjoyed working with MacNeish and his wife, ethnographer June Helm, and told me tales of this time with great relish. He and his father took MacNeish to the whale camps to talk with the 'oldtimers' about where the old sites were (see chapter 7). I asked Frankie if MacNeish explained what archaeology was to the oldtimers they visited, and he responded, "Nobody would understand it anyway. *We* knew, *we* knew what it was, but nobody was crazy enough to ask me."

By the time of Robert McGhee's pioneering studies at the old whaling site of Kittigaryuit in the late 1960s and early 70s, only a handful of additional archaeological projects had been conducted in the region (eg. Osborne 1952-53). McGhee was financed by the National Museum of Man—which would later

become the Canadian Museum of Civilization—who through the Archaeological Survey of Canada was until recently responsible for the majority of Arctic archaeology in Canada. McGhee's *Beluga Hunters* (1974) presents the first comprehensive history of contact in the delta region, and his excavation and analysis of the material culture at Kittigaryuit provides the first systematic archaeological investigation of the Mackenzie people and reconstruction of their traditional lifeways. Yet as with many archaeologists of the period working in Canada, McGhee worked autonomously from other social scientists in the region (cf. Trigger 1988:31) and in virtual isolation from the local Indigenous peoples. Inuvialuit Elder Victor Allen remembers that he had to tell McGhee where Kittigaryuit was, the implication being that everyone should know where the biggest site in the Canadian Arctic is! This is a testament both to the lack of archaeological knowledge of the Inuvialuit country by outsiders at the time, and to the lack of communication between archaeologists and local people. McGhee (1974:93), to his credit, suggests in close that "the traditions and general historical knowledge of the descendants of the Kittegarymuit presently living at Tuktoyaktuk and other Delta communities will be invaluable in assessing the conclusions of the very limited work described in this book."

Archaeology at a crossroads

In an article summarizing the state of Western Canadian archaeology a decade later, Charles Arnold touches on this very subject. He recommends that the focus of archaeologists working in the Mackenzie Delta "should be the reconstruction of the aboriginal culture of the people of that area prior to the effects of acculturation" (Arnold 1983: 12, 18). Yet later, he adds, "also pressing is the concern that the prehistoric record has not been securely linked with the present in terms of a 'direct historical approach' used successfully in other parts of the continent" (Arnold 1983:19). Arnold is writing at a crossroads in the discipline that came rather late to delta archaeology, heralding changes in the consciousness and political awareness of archaeologists to the rights and desires of Aboriginal peoples.

His statements are reflective of this ongoing transformation. The first statement, that focus should be paid to pre-contact cultures, suggests that there remains a divide, in the minds of archaeologists, between 'pristine' prehistoric cultures, and the more 'muddled' cultures of the historic period and contemporary delta peoples. Reconstruction of pristine original cultures is clearly preferred over the study of the messiness of the contact period. The emphasis on the pre-contact era also assumes that the local descendent population had neither interest in, nor anything to offer to, archaeological research, and excludes them from involvement in the construction of their own histories, prehistoric or otherwise. Arnold's second statement, regarding the potential development of the 'direct historical approach,' signals a door opening to such a possibility, as indeed did ultimately happen in the coming decade (see below). Writing in this same period, Trigger (1980:671) suggests that many social scientists of the period held an "emotionally detached and ahistorical attitude" towards Indigenous peoples which helped them view their "past as a convenient laboratory for testing general hypotheses about sociocultural development and human behaviour." Trigger (1980:671) predicted: "If prehistoric archaeology is to become more socially significant, it must learn to regard the past of North America's native peoples as a subject worthy of study in its own right, rather than as a means to an end."

Archaeology since the land claim

Both oil and gas exploration and the Berger Inquiry left their mark on the archaeology of the delta. The massive Northern Oil and Gas Action Plan (NOGAP) was undertaken from the early 1980s to the early 1990s to redress "the dearth or...unevenness of knowledge pertaining to various facets of the natural, cultural and social environments that would almost certainly be affected" by "oil and gas development in the Mackenzie Valley, Beaufort Sea and Northwest Passage areas" (Cinq-Mars and Pilon 1991a:1). The Archaeology division of NOGAP was led by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs in concert with other federal and territorial agencies. Its

substantial budget brought a literal explosion of work to the area (see papers in Cinq-Mars and Pilon 1991b; Pilon 1994). NOGAP's mandate was to assemble a broad scientific database that would "provide a crucible into which development-specific data can be integrated"; the work would further have policy and management implications for "archaeological heritage protection in areas of federal jurisdiction" (Cinq-Mars and Pilon 1991b:2-3).

Although much of NOGAP was conceived as a series of independent scientific field and laboratory projects, some effort was made to engage with local people. Arnold and Hanks (1991) document the successes and challenges of conducting some of the first archaeological field training with delta peoples over a course of several years in the 1980s. In the second phase of the NOGAP project, Hart (1994:15) developed heritage sites and traditional knowledge research and training in delta communities which, she suggests, "allows [them] to contribute directly to archaeological knowledge." Nagy (1994a) concurrently undertook a major oral history project with Inuvialuit Elders to document knowledge of Herschel Island and the Yukon North Slope. The Elders provided alternative explanations of certain facets of semi-subterranean houses that had become dogma in archaeological interpretation (Nagy 1994b). This was not surprising since the two parties had rarely if ever discussed the archaeological past before this time.

Archaeological work at Herschel Island has perhaps provided the most sustained venue for investigating the full span of the Inuvialuit past. The aptly named site of Washout, first excavated by Yorga (1980) under contract to the Archaeological Survey of Canada, was completed by Friesen and Hunston (1994) through NOGAP funding. This site has the earliest known Thule component in the Mackenzie District; the majority of sites on the island are, however, from the late pre-contact period and into the whaler's period of occupation (Friesen 1994). Friesen (1994:63) conducted the Qikiqtaruk Archaeology Project from 1990-92, whose focus was to define the culture history of the Inuvialuit on the Yukon North Slope and to "understand the

process of interaction between Inuvialuit and Euroamerican societies.” His goals refer clearly to the lack of Inuvialuit historical representation in comparison with outsiders’ perspectives on Herschel Island history. He reasons that the archaeological work combined with Nagy’s (1994a) oral history would “allow a more complete understanding of Inuvialuit history” (Friesen 1994:63). It is true that Inuvialuit were engaged in this project, yet the objectives and execution of the research were completely designed by Friesen. In conjunction with the Yukon Heritage Branch, Friesen (1998) produced a nicely illustrated and reader-friendly booklet circulated for tourism purposes called *Qikiqtaruk: Inuvialuit Archaeology on Herschel Island*.

Outside of the NOGAP project, most archaeological work in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region since the signing of the land claim in 1984 has been done by a series of government agencies. The Archaeological Survey of Canada took a major role in the NOGAP project, but the present Director, David Morrison, has also worked for several decades in the region (his Mercury Series publications alone include Morrison 1988, 1990, 1991, 1997). Morrison has addressed many of what might be called the ‘scientific problems’ of Western Arctic archaeology, such as defining the easternmost groups of the Mackenzie people (Morrison 1988, 1990), conducting extensive faunal research and investigations of bone and antler industries (Friesen and Morrison 2002; Morrison 1986, 2000a; Morrison and Whitridge 1997), and assessing Neoeskimo economies (Morrison 1994, 1983) and possible routes of the Thule migration (Morrison 1999, 2000b). More recently, Morrison has entered the realms of ethnohistory (1997), resulting in the publication of *Across Time and Tundra* (2003) with Alunik and Kolausok.

The Inuvialuit Final Agreement conferred the archaeological responsibilities of the Delta region to selected agencies. Archaeological concerns in the three National Parks created by the land claim, Ivvavik, Aulavik, and Tukut Nogait, are co-managed by Parks Canada and the Inuvialuit. Their work entails conducting site inventories, identifying potential risks to sites, and mitigating

these risks when necessary. In Ivvavik National Park, on the Yukon North Coast, the relentless rate of coastal erosion has resulted in the loss of innumerable sites over time and the conduct of a series of salvage excavations (eg. Adams 2004; Thomson 1998; Lyons 2004). Yet while the Parks Agency is striving to tailor its work more to the needs of Inuvialuit communities, including training Inuvialuit youth in excavation techniques, the requirements of the cultural resource management policy always takes precedence. I directed salvage excavations at *Qainuirvik* (Clarence Lagoon) in the summer of 2003 where Elders now residing in Aklavik that had grown up in the area were invited out to site to document their memories of cultural features, families that lived in the area, and aspects of their seasonal lifestyles (Lyons 2004). Because we were excavating sod structures from the early 20th century, I was also able to develop my analyses around themes that had considerable interest to the community. However, it was not until I began the present project that the interests of the community were placed on an equal footing with the interests of 'archaeological research.'

The other agency that has assumed archaeological responsibilities in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region is the Inuvialuit Social Development Corporation. Cockney (then of ISDP) initiated an oral history and archaeology project at the traditional site of Kittigaryuit—a site much-remembered and loved by Inuvialuit Elders—in the mid 1990s that was co-sponsored by Parks Canada. Hart (1997, 1999, 2001) spent the latter half of the 1990s inventorying and mapping the village and graveyards of Kittigaryuit and assessing the impacts to it through potential uses (Hart and Cockney 1998). Florence Nasogaluak of Tuktoyaktuk conducted oral history interviews about the site in 1995; this work was continued on site in 1996 (see Nasogaluak and Cockney 1996). The Kittigaryuit project is significant in being defined by Inuvialuit interests and carried out under their direction. This and other work is being used for ongoing curriculum development in Inuvialuktun languages by the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre (Cockney, pers. comm. 2006). Another notable contribution to current representations of Kittigaryuit is the interactive website *Journey to*

Kitigaryuuk produced by Arnold and his staff at Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (n.d.) in Yellowknife.

Academic archaeology has always been a minor but important vein in the Western Arctic. Current work continues in a scientific but perhaps more sensitive framework (Betts 2004, 2005; Betts and Friesen 2004), and with some indication of increased reflexivity (Friesen 2002). For example, Friesen's Palaeo-eskimo research on Victoria Island is supported by Elders from Cambridge Bay, and bolstered by their knowledge, though they "made no specific requests to be incorporated into the interpretative process" (Friesen 2002:338-39). Nevertheless, Friesen developed a "gut feeling" that the interests of academic archaeology are not well served by ignoring the incomparably rich data set afforded by recent Inuit lifeways" that, he felt, could provide an "understanding of *one* of many possible ways of life in this landscape, which can then be transposed and filtered in a consideration of the Palaeo-eskimos" (Friesen 2002:338-39).

Though the relationships between archaeologists and Inuvialuit have usually been amicable, there was little discussion of archaeological interests between them for most of the 20th century. This is partly due to the slow growth of archaeological research in the Mackenzie District, but it is equally due to the autonomy of archaeologists in defining their goals and interests. Change seems to have been propelled mostly through the structures and responsibilities of the land claim and more obliquely, through the broader sociopolitical forces demanding the political entitlement of Indigenous peoples and the righting of past wrongs (eg. the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples [Government of Canada 1996]). The vast majority of archaeology in the delta has been funded through various government channels, a factor which cannot help but influence the nature and tenor of the work. Even this, however, appears to be changing via the projects outlined above. Younger generations of archaeologists more aware of the politics of representation will inevitably begin to work in the Mackenzie region. They will encounter an

atmosphere of greater cooperation and collaboration, though there are still barriers in some quarters to successful partnerships. One of the brightest lights for anthropology and archaeology in the delta is the interest of young Inuvialuit in their past and their involvement in cultural programs, archaeological projects, and post-graduate study in these fields.

Chapter discussion

Visitors to the Western Arctic have most often hailed from Europe and the European derived populations 'south of 60.' They have written a barrage of ship's logs, travelogues, (his)stories, stories, studies, papers, and memoirs about their time in the north. A few have stayed on to find the Western Arctic a home. The result, in either case, is that the bulk of Inuvialuit representations are written from the perspectives of cultural outsiders. The following discussion traces these patterns of historical representation of the Inuvialuit. As suggested, these accounts are informed by the cultural norms of each individual's class, gender, and cultural viewpoints. The ideologies that shaped these individuals permeate and structure their accounts.

As suggested above, the majority of representations about the Inuvialuit have been produced by cultural outsiders. These narratives have been evaluated throughout this chapter as part of the historical context from which they arise. The one set of narratives that has not been critically scrutinized, however, is that produced by the Inuvialuit themselves. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to provide a critical examination of Inuvialuit interpretations of history, or to compare them to outsiders' interpretations. This work will await the attention of future scholars, but should be informed by a critical practice, perhaps adopting conventions used by oral historians (eg. Cruikshank 1991, 1998, 2005). In Julie Cruikshank's (2005:17) view, the comparison of alternate narratives should "privilege neither [oral or written accounts] but rather...see how both kinds of account illuminate past worlds and shed light on present interpretations." Archaeologists, for their part, agree that some manner of controlled comparison is necessary to avoid sliding towards the

production of one-sided proprietary histories and interpretations that represent an extreme form of relativism (see Kelley and Hanen 1988:326-338; Pluciennik 1999; Trigger 2006:529-531).

Below, I attempt to disentangle the sociopolitical perspectives that underlie respective accounts of Inuvialuit history in order to understand the forces that informed these tellings. This type of critical analysis is a step towards acknowledging the wrongs of the past and understanding them in the present context (cf. Potter 1994:34). These representations can alternately be thought of as 'imaginaries,' or axis points where the perceived meets the real (Taylor 2004). Outsiders' perceptions of the Arctic are often in conflict with the experiences and ideas of cultural insiders. Whitridge (2004:214) suggests that the "notion of imaginaries" helps us to re-create and understand "past realities constituted by historically emergent networks of representations, embodied practices, and things." My objective below is to unpack the ideological standpoints of various actors who have historically represented the Inuvialuit, in an attempt to recognize the different forms of bias from which they were constructed, and ultimately move beyond these constructions.

The publications produced by explorers and early traders are often couched within a glory of empire rhetoric and infused with undertones of European supremacy. Hailing generally from the official classes,¹⁹ these individuals were invested in maintaining the status quo of class-structured Europe in the new colonies. The explorers of this period were largely interested in furthering their own military careers through expedition, and they used their inferiors to achieve these ends, often feeling little regard for the voyageurs and local people who served as their guides and outfitters (McGhee 2004b: 221). Franklin, for instance, doggedly adhered to a class-based structure in his voyages, which may well have led to his demise (McGhee 2004b: 223). By

¹⁹ Saxberg (1993:15) suggests that the official classes were literate middle to upper class individuals who led expeditions (and later, other pursuits, eg. the RCMP, missionaries, whaling captains, and HBC traders and managers), while the unofficial classes were the low class, semi- or illiterate individuals who served as whaling crew, store employees, and independent traders.

contrast, certain among the early traders, who also hailed from the official classes, held greater knowledge of and interest in Arctic peoples and their skills. Examples include John Rae and Samuel Hearne, who both partially credit their aptitude in northern travel to their time with Indigenous and Métis traveling companions (Bunyan et al 1993:68; McGhee 2004b: 209). Interestingly, the cultural superiority felt by many members of the official classes during this period was returned in kind by native northerners, who viewed these newcomers as ill-equipped and inept travelers (cf. McGhee 2004b: 223), a claim that was true in many cases.

The whalers, trappers, and traders who followed the era of Arctic exploration experienced and represented northern populations in increasingly diverse ways. These were men who were primarily interested in making a living from the resources of the north, and thus had a vested interest in gaining knowledge of Arctic landscapes and lifestyles. There is a great deal of variability amongst these observers in their accounts of the Inuvialuit and other Inuit groups. Some accounts retain considerable racist and colonialist overtones; others, particularly those of men that married locally and moved permanently to the Arctic, are more nuanced. These men often hailed from the unofficial classes, the working class poor of Britain and France, whose life choices were very limited at this time. Among them, the whalers generally did not stay on after their northern tenure, while the trappers and traders who arrived in the early 20th century were among the first non-Aboriginal 'settlers' to the Mackenzie delta. Whalers' logs and other accounts usually focus on the events surrounding the hunt, but they also comment on their dependence on local populations for game, clothing, and knowledge. Many long-term whalers and traders—from both the official and unofficial classes—developed open respect for certain aspects and traditions of Inuit lifeways (eg. Allen 1978; Bodfish 1936; Copland 1985). Trapper and trader Ernie Lyall married an Inuk, learned Inuktitut, and spent his life in the north. Lyall (1979:13) maintained that the accounts of most cultural outsiders about their time in the north are 'baloney,' drawn from very short periods of residence and little true interaction

with local peoples.

The earliest women to come to the Western Arctic traveled from Western Europe and the more colonized areas of North America. Their motives were different from the explorers, whalers, trappers and traders that pursued goals of commerce and empire. This group of women is amongst the first to be counted as cultural tourists, and they came looking for a new experience, a *terra nullius* in several senses. They sought to escape the confines of their post-Victorian cultural milieu by journeying to places where those social confines did not exist. They therefore idealistically embraced the new and 'exotic' cultural settings and circumstances they encountered. These women, while unconventional and anti-conformist, nonetheless saw through the eyes of cultural westerners. They championed the 'plight of the Eskimo' and looked upon the local people alternately as noble savages and cultural anachronisms. C.C. Rogers (1931:52) romantically describes her Gwich'in guide from Aklavik, Lazarus Sittichinli, as "one of nature's gentleman, silent, reliable, a watcher of signs, stalwart, with flat cheeks, wiry hair and power of endurance." While the accounts of these female adventurers of the early 20th century are clearly written within a salvage mentality, they introduce the first female perceptions of the Inuvialuit, Gwich'in and other northern cultures into the written historical record.

The primarily Catholic and Anglican missionaries who ventured north were a mixed lot who shared a common goal: the conversion of native northerners to Christianity. Perhaps drawing on the imagery of early explorers' accounts and sketches of the north, these men often saw the peoples of the Canadian Arctic as 'untouched' or pristine populations that needed 'saving.' From this moral high ground, early northern missionaries depicted the Inuvialuit variably as lost children or as the hapless recipients of dire circumstances which they had no power to control. Nevertheless, their early excursions into the arctic hinterlands required determination, strength, and a willingness to learn and travel the way the Inuit did (Marsh 1987). They also required moral fortitude

in the face of skepticism and, amongst the Inuvialuit, attitudes of cultural superiority (Savoie 1970:45). In eleven years of missionary work in the delta, Anglican minister Isaac Stringer only converted a handful of followers (Marsh 1967). The tides would soon shift, however, as a sea change occurred amongst the Inuvialuit. Oblate Father Bern Will Brown, while a less-than-devout Catholic, documents a period of the mid-20th century in the delta when residential schools had a firm hold, and the majority of the Indigenous populations had abandoned traditional shamanic beliefs. Ironically, throughout this period when Christianity had a near total impact on traditional religious practices and Inuvialuit came in off the land, the representations of missionaries show an increasing awareness of Inuvialuit agency and an appreciation of what has been lost.

Both the early ethnographers and the post-war social scientists agreed that Inuvialuit, Inupiat, and other Inuit cultures were worthy objects of study. Their standpoints and approaches, however, differed substantially. Stefansson, Jenness, and their contemporaries had little trouble embracing the inherent value of traditional Western Arctic cultures, and promoted their study by living amongst the people. By the post-war, many government officials, social scientists included, had transformed their perspectives to see the Inuit as neglected wards of the state. These were populations to be administered to and cared for within a 'New Welfare State' (Damas 2002: chapter 5). Social scientific study took on renewed importance, but from a newly objective, scientific, and arm's length approach. These high modernist studies, as exemplified by the Mackenzie Delta Research Project, sought to understand the processes of acculturation of northern Indigenous peoples to "recurrent White activity in the area...[which has] been accelerated considerably within the last decade" (Wolforth 1965:1). The social activism of the late 1960s and 70s led to a subsequent paradigm shift in northern social science, towards increasing self-consciousness and political dissent. Figures such as Thomas Berger and Peter Usher fused social science with political action and spun their work in a critical bent (eg. Berger 1977; Usher 1971c, 1993). This period

forms the fluorescence of critical Inuit studies throughout the Arctic, which sought to engage the viewpoints and wishes of native northerners (Stern 2006a). Critical Inuit studies have continued alongside the now more muted modernist studies to the present.

The traditional autonomy and independence of Inuvialuit (as well as Inupiat, Gwich'in, and other western Arctic peoples) was sorely tested by the events of the 20th century. Enduring the residential school experience and absorbing the written styles of representation of the newcomers, Inuvialuit began to speak for themselves in print around mid-century. Though few have committed their thoughts, memories, and histories into print, Inuvialuit representations share several common features. For one, they consistently counteract the notions of outsiders; for two, they consistently maintain a sense of collective identity. This trend may be particularly accentuated in the post-land claim era, which has emphasized the unity of the Inuvialuit populace in opposition to southern cultures and the nation-state (cf. Stern 2006b). In the past several decades, leaders such as Nellie Cournoyea have been pushing the Inuvialuit agenda forward on the national stage in the form of brokering a pipeline deal and seeking self-government. Under her leadership, an Inuvialuktun language curriculum is being built and there is a strong focus on developing youth into future leaders. The future of Inuvialuit self-representation is perhaps the most intriguing, as Inuvialuit explore expanding forms of print media, alongside a barrage of film, art, and other media more in keeping with their traditional visual and oral practices.

Archaeologists began to represent the Inuvialuit rather late in the game. Starting around the mid-20th century, their interests revolved around the purportedly pristine, pre-contact cultures of the delta, and the search for cultural origins. Many archaeologists maintained the underlying assumption that contemporary populations were derivative and inferior forms of earlier cultures, Aboriginal peoples 'tainted by modernity'. Archaeological representation of the Inuvialuit and their predecessors has generally been

couched within a scientific approach which actively fostered a lack of interest in emic understandings of the past. This approach would eventually yield, in the 1980s into the 90s, as more 'culturally sensitive' archaeologies started to reach the north. Both the development of the oil and gas industry, and the Inuvialuit Final Agreement, ushered in an era of socioeconomic impact assessments and the collection of traditional knowledge. Although etically-focused research design and interpretation remains at the forefront of archaeological practice in the Western Arctic, these processes have bolstered a growing current of archaeological work informed by traditional knowledge and Inuvialuit guidance. This work combines archeological study with the knowledge and input of the Inuvialuit through the incorporation of place name research, oral history, and material culture studies.

Critique is one of the cornerstones of an applied and critical practice. It serves as a platform to illuminate situations of systematic social, political, economic, and other types of inequalities so that they can potentially be addressed and reconciled in the present. This chapter has served to critique historical representations of the Inuvialuit in the written record. It has shown that, while every commentator is distinct, their viewpoints and assumptions are filtered through the social and cultural context with which they are most familiar, their own. With the politicization of the Inuvialuit, starting with COPE and leading to the claim and beyond, the tides have started to change. Inuvialuit from the 1960s onwards have begun to represent themselves in print, radio, television, film, art, and other media, and thus issued in a new era in Inuvialuit representation. The following chapter turns to a narrative of the present project, describing the development of a relationship between myself and the Inuvialuit community. This chapter leads to the following, which represents the voices of present-day Inuvialuit Elders as they narrate their individual experiences of the social and material transformations of the 20th century.



Plate 1. Map showing location of Qainuivik (Clarence Lagoon), Iwavik National Park, and the communities of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region

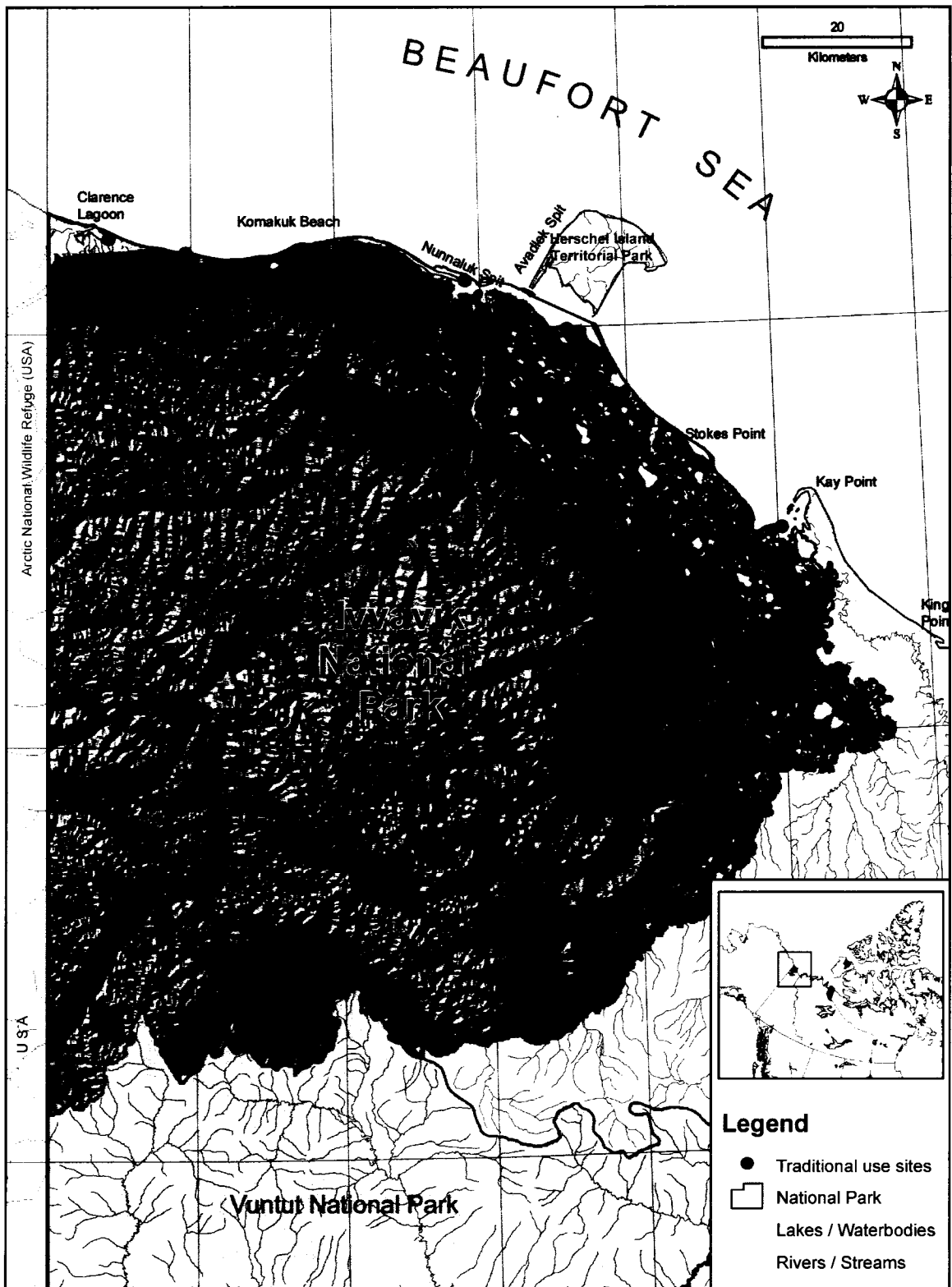
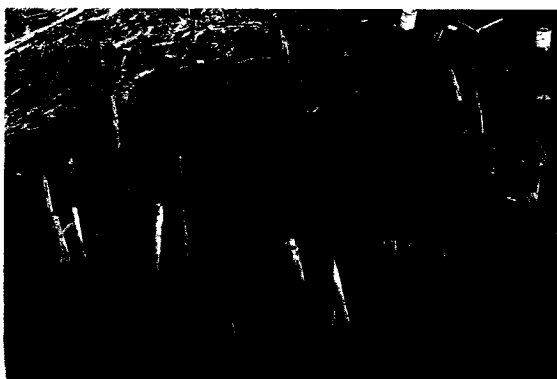


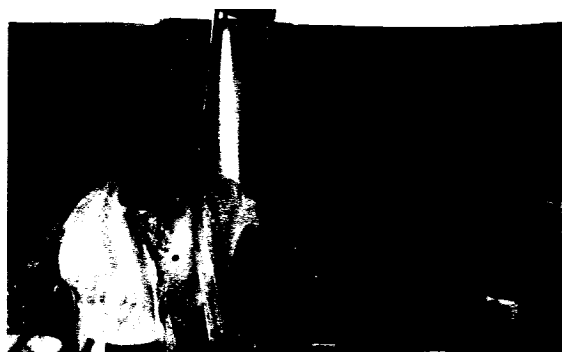
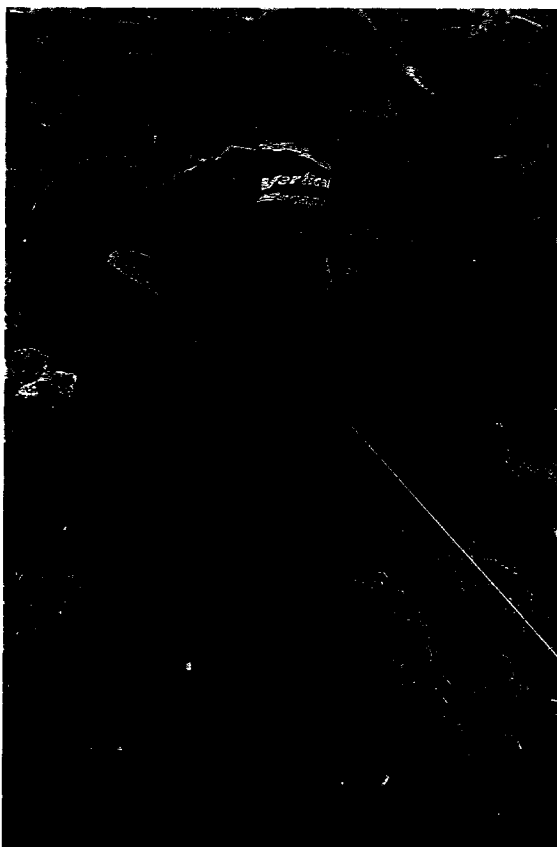
Plate 2. Map showing archaeological and traditional sites in Ivavik National Park where artifacts used in this study were collected.



a.



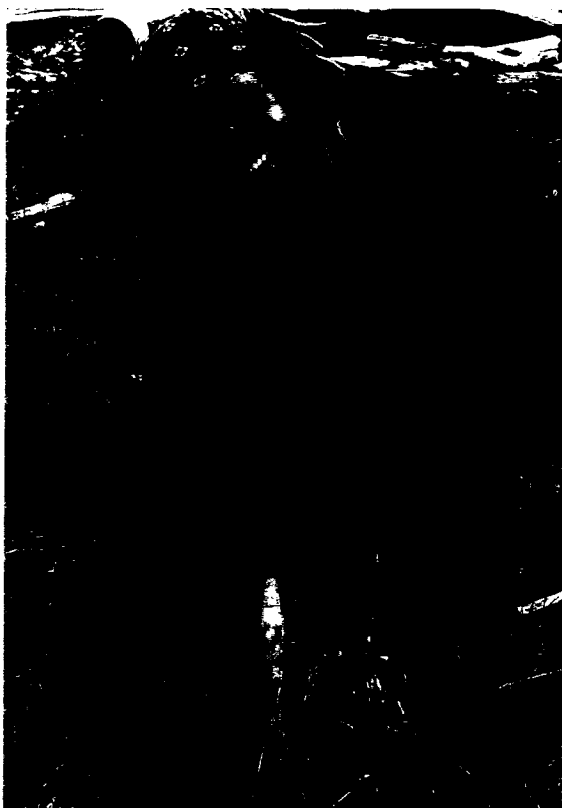
b.



c.

e.

Plate 3. Photographs from *Qainuirvik* (Clarence Lagoon) excavations, 2003 (Clockwise from top left) a. Fully excavated sod house structure dating to ca. 1915, b. Two unexcavated sod structures, c. Inuvialuit Elders Ida Inglangasuk (L) and Nellie Arey, d. Inuvialuit youth Northern Beattie with sled runner, e. Inuvialuit youth Jimmy Doug Meyook pointing out historic rifle.



d.

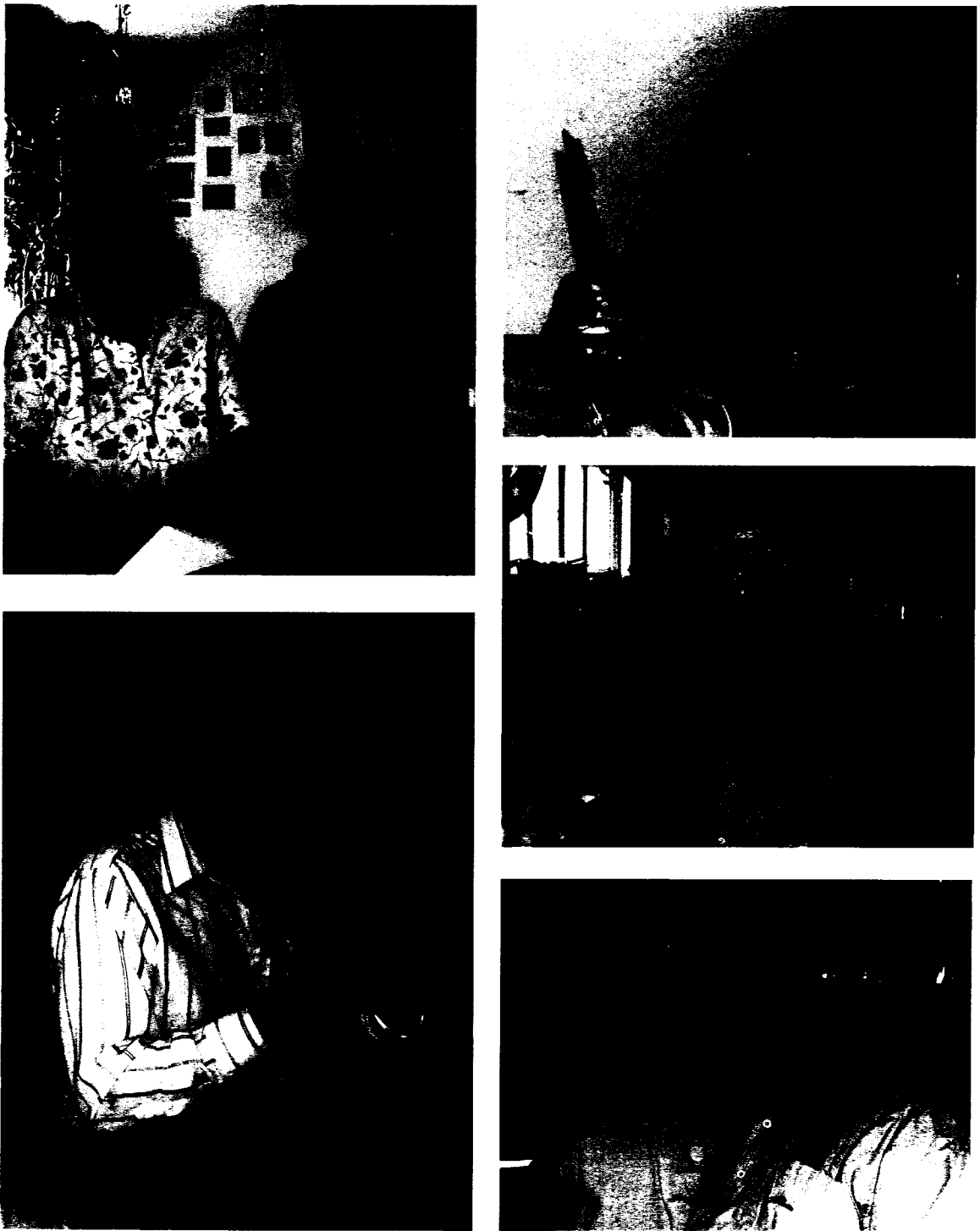


Plate 4. (Clockwise from top left): a. Alice Husky and her grandson; b. Sheba Selamio holding a net gauge; c. Billy Day; d. Danny A. Gordon and his grandson; e. Colin Harry examining an artifact.

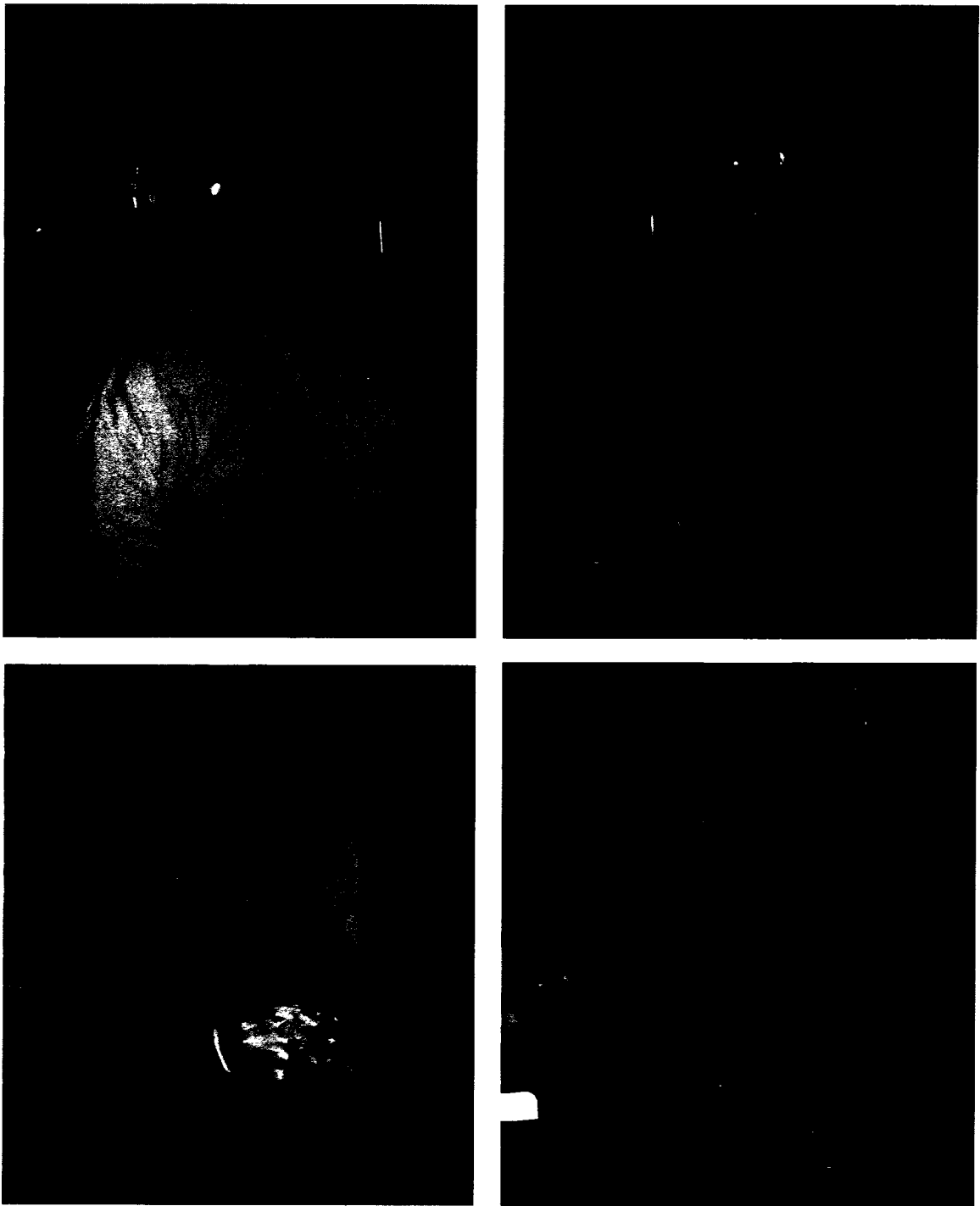


Plate 5. (Clockwise from top left): a. David Roland; b. Annie C. Gordon; c. Elizabeth Aviugana with her *uluit*; d. Danny C. Gordon puzzling over an ancient bird blunt.

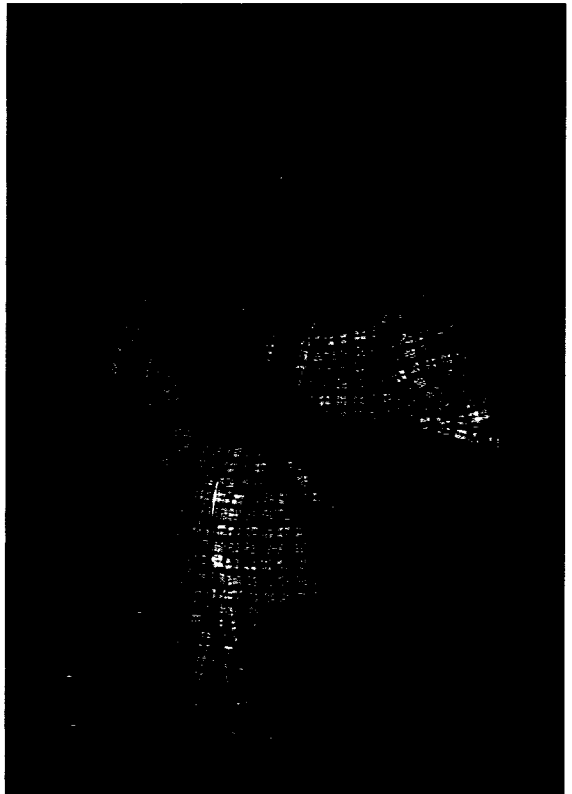
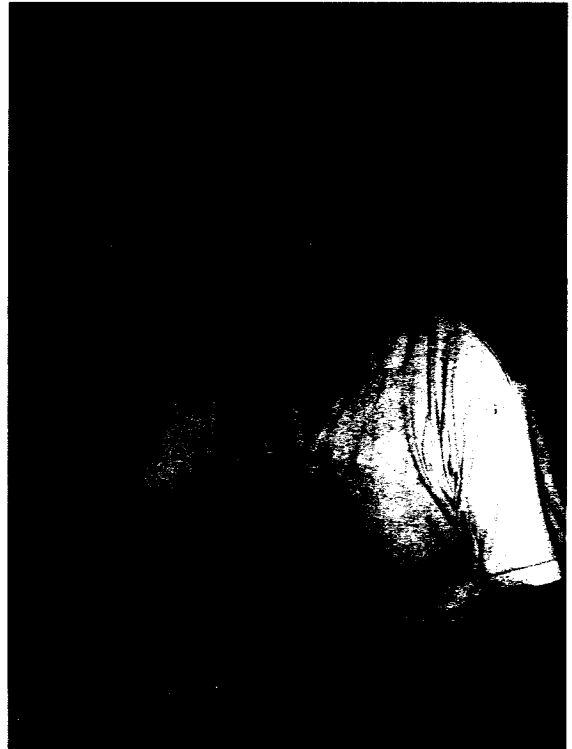


Plate 6. (Clockwise from top left): a. Hilda Irish; b. Frankie Stefansson; c. Jimmy Gordon with a spear from his collection; d. Barbra Allen showing Moses Kayotuk how to use *ulimaun*; e. Jacob Archie with a bird blunt.

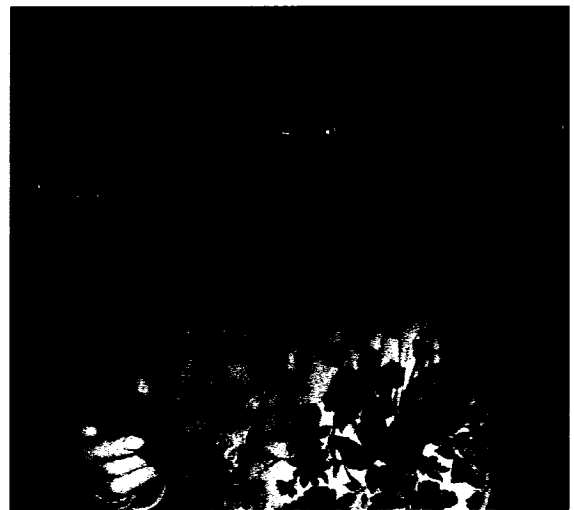
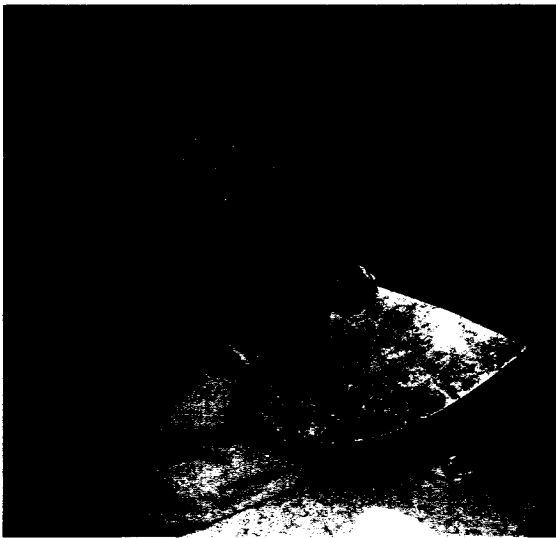
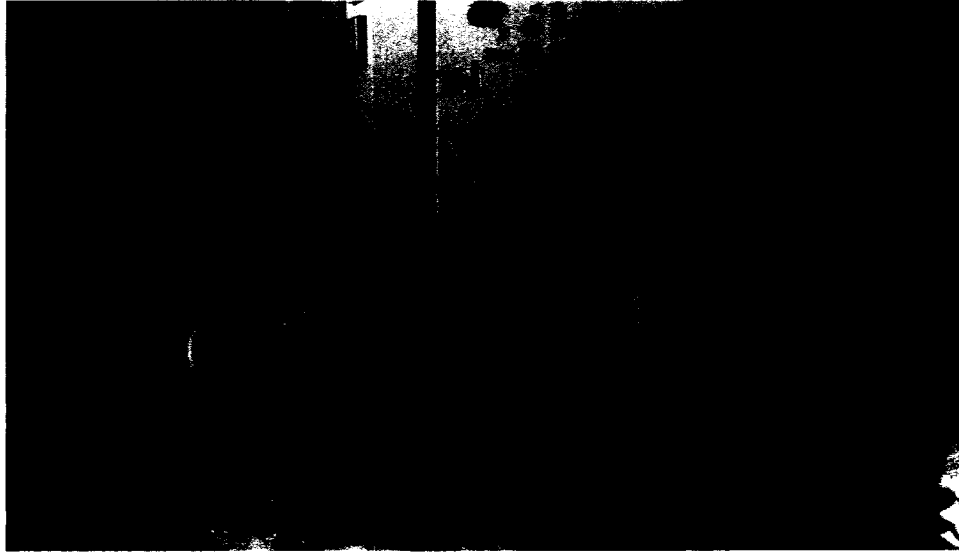


Plate 7. (Clockwise from top): a. Ned Kayotuk and Sarah Meyook discuss an artifact; b. Rosie Archie; c. Nellie Arey with *ulimaun*; d. Sarah Tingmiak demonstrates *ayajaq* (string game); e. Lucy Inglangasuk with her whale flensing ulu.



Plate 8. (Clockwise from top left): a. Winnie Cockney inspects a dog whip handle; b. Victor Allen; c. Ida Inglangasuk with her *ikun* (scraper); d. Donald Aviugana.



Plate 9. (Clockwise from top left): a. Mervin Joe (Parks Canada warden) standing beside the West Channel of the Mackenzie River; b. Cathy Cockney (Manager, Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre); c. Elders luncheon, March 2007; d. Natasha Lyons with Bandit.

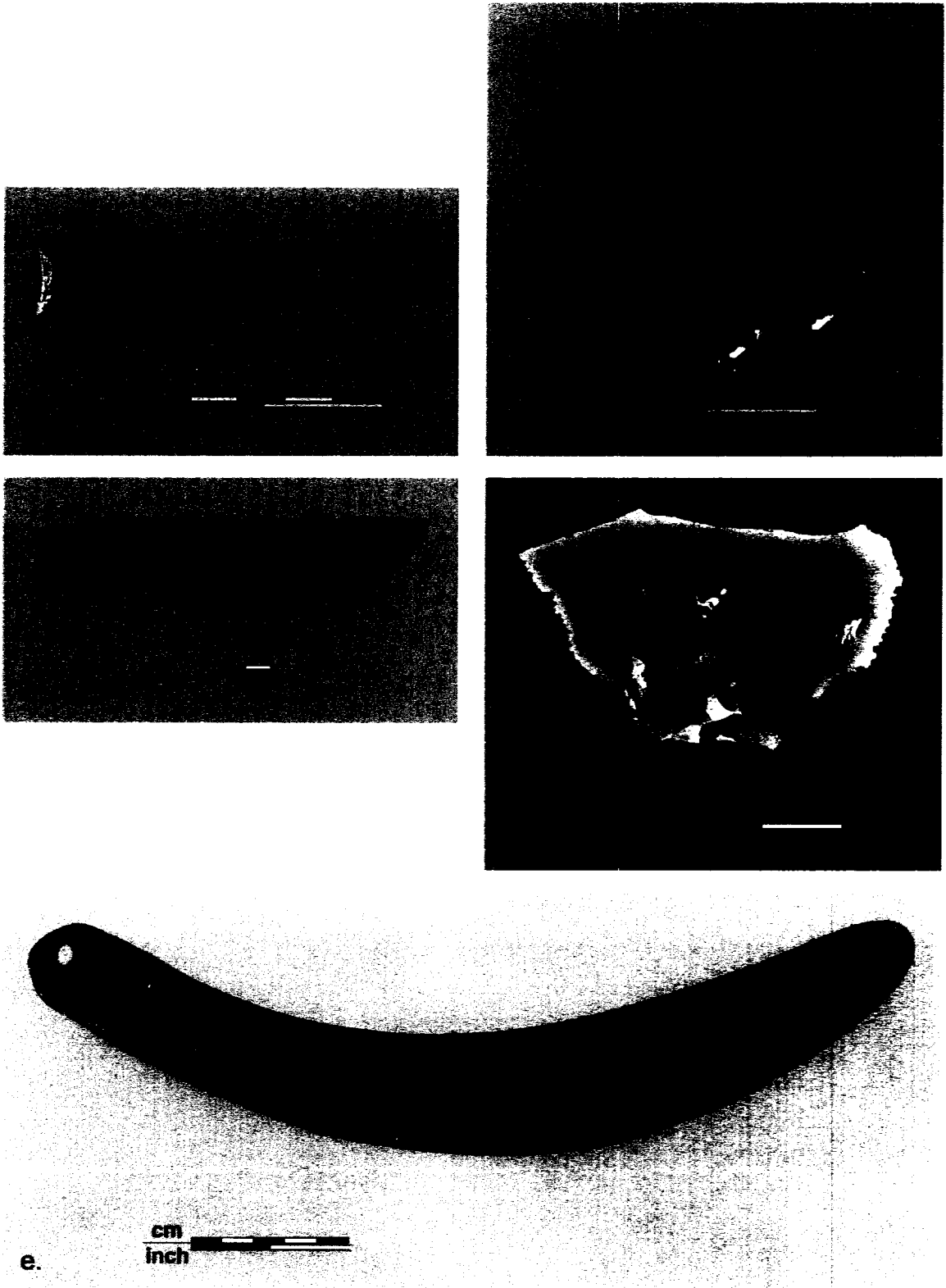


Plate 10: a. bird blunt; b. chert core; c. chert flake; d. *havik/savik* (fleshing knife); e. *havikpak/savikpak* (snow knife).

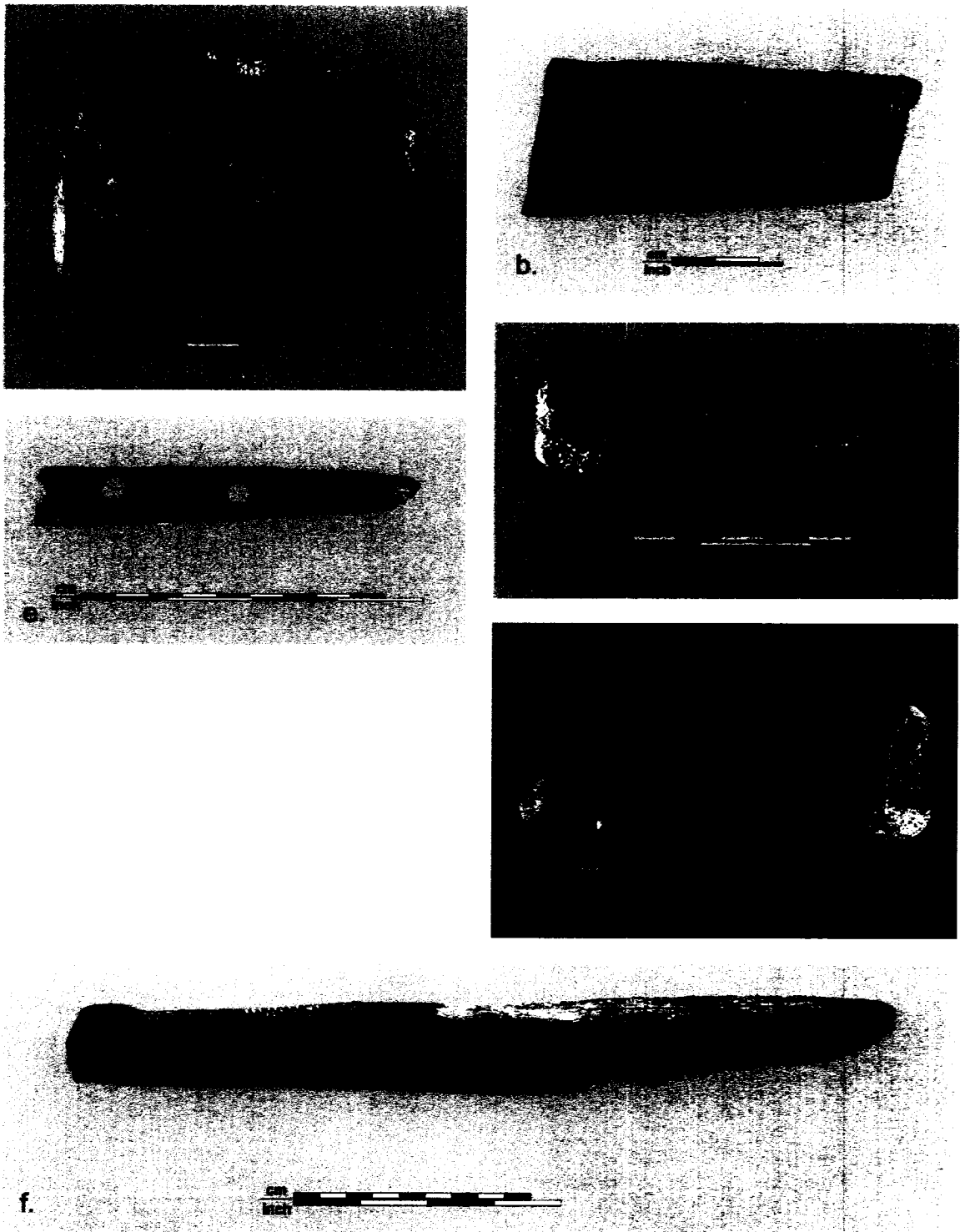


Plate 11: a. ?ulu fragment; b. *sillin* (whetstone); c. wooden plug; d. *ulimaun* (adze/scraper); e. *?agalut* (?sled runner fragment); f. ?dog whip handle.

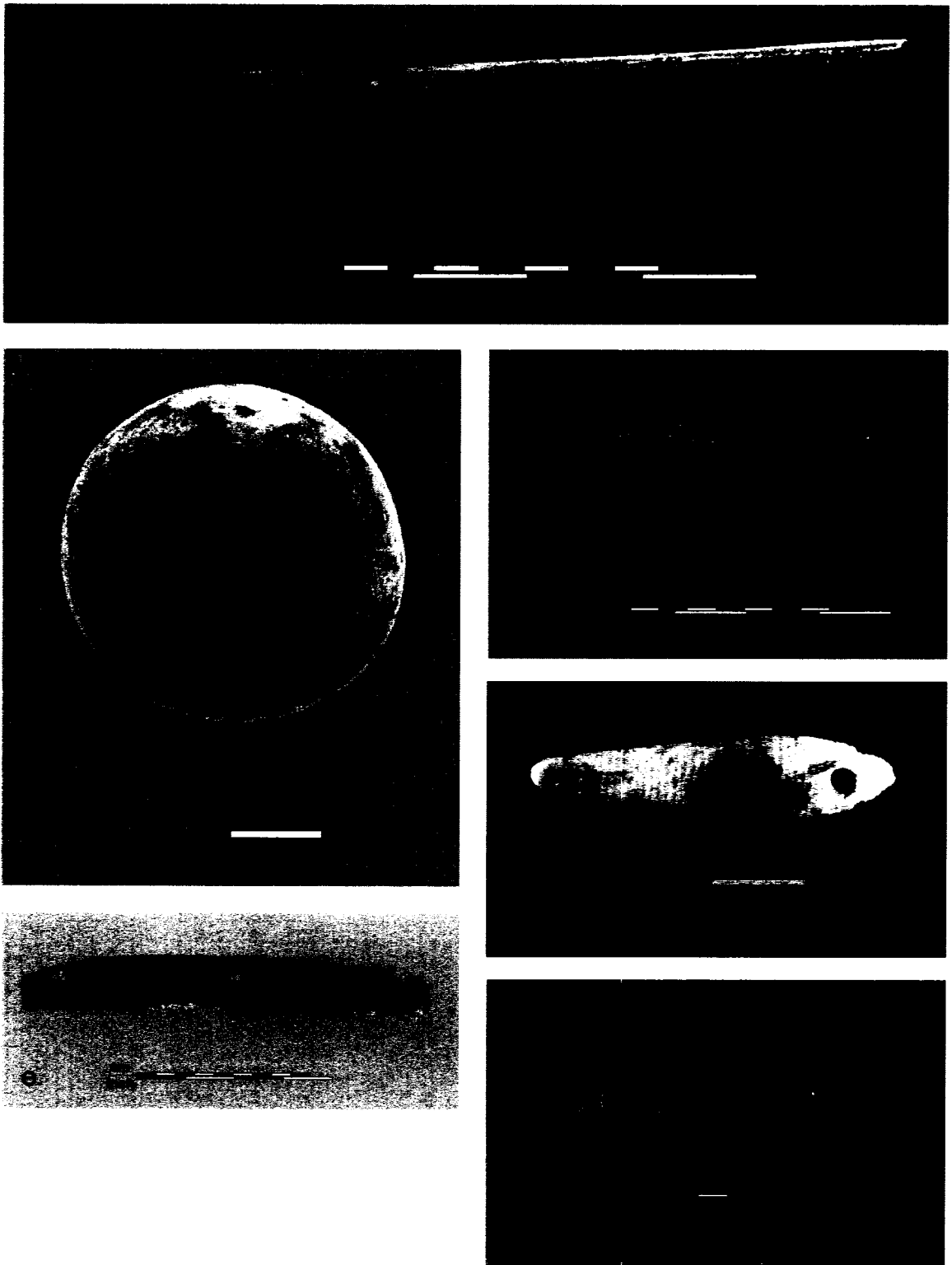


Plate 12: a. *kuvriugun* (net gauge); b. *kivvigutaaq* (net sinker); c. *nikhiq/niksiq* (fishhook); d. chisel; e. reinforcement for harpoon drag line; f. *iglukihagq/iglukisaq* (juggling ball).

Chapter six. Praxis: A reflexive account of the project design & narrative

My own relationship with the Utku[hikhalingmuit] gave me even richer opportunities to observe the handling of difficult social situations, because the differences between my behaviour and [theirs] could not help but create difficulties...

Jean Briggs (1970:225)

As in Frobisher Bay, we encountered hindrances trying to enlist the aid of the people we wanted to study...The [Inuvik Aboriginal] community had known researchers before...and we sensed its resistance. Humorous comments about it being an early season for anthropologists alerted us to be wary.

John & Irma Honigmann (1970:5)

Praxis is a combination of theoretical work and communicative interaction. It is of critical importance to exploring one's own standpoints and assumptions, and of understanding them in relation to those of others. Praxis is intended to lay the groundwork for both consensus building and interpretation and analysis (Held 1980:257). This chapter attempts a form of methodological praxis by presenting an honest and reflexive account of the project design and narrative. Reflexivity is not a new element of northern research, but it has been used to varying extents by northern anthropologists, as the citations at the beginning of this chapter suggest. Jean Briggs admirably showed how reflexivity in the field is an ongoing process requiring diligence and honesty with one's self. John and Irma Honigmann, at the other end of the spectrum, displayed little understanding of their impact on the research setting. In this chapter, I begin with a brief overview of my project methodology, and then develop its components, and describe their reception in the research setting.

The following narrative traverses the journey of planning and conducting fieldwork related to this dissertation with members of the Inuvialuit community in Aklavik and Inuvik, NT. This work spanned a period of residence of ten weeks in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in the summer of 2005, four weeks

in the spring of 2006, and three weeks in the winter of 2007 (described in subsequent sections). For the sake of brevity, the following account is largely limited to research relations with the Inuvialuit community. However, it should be acknowledged that I have also engaged in 'extra-curricular' kinds of activities that formed one route by which my learning about and understanding of the community evolved and grew. I spent time with Inuvialuit youth doing on the land programs with Parks Canada, traveled with Inuvialuit wardens and staff to different parts of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region for functions such as Parks Day at Shingle Point and the Interpretive Centre opening in Paulatuuq, as well as attended many community events and celebrations where I came to know community members and experience community life. Despite moments of cultural misunderstandings or discomfort that are a perpetual part of fieldwork in cross-cultural settings, I have always felt welcomed by the Inuvialuit and I thank them for their warm hospitality.

Below, I try to speak both to sources of tension and areas of convergence and accord in my research process. With respect to the roadblocks I encountered, I try to understand the standpoints of different proponents and to interrogate my own position. This kind of reflexivity, as I've suggested, is not necessarily new to anthropological research in the north, but the approach has been used sparingly, if at all, in the reporting of archaeological methods. In my field situation, a reflexive approach sometimes helped me to 'figure out' what was not working or what had caused a misunderstanding; in other cases, I remained unenlightened. In either case, I consider these roadblocks to be part of the relationship building process towards the ultimate goal of creating a critical, community-based Indigenous Archaeology in the Inuvialuit community.

It is only fair to begin a reflexive narrative by naming some of my own (recognized) biases and standpoints around research and methodological practices. In brief, I feel that working with Aboriginal communities to promote social change is a beneficial pursuit, and I see the value of critical theory and

participatory research in working towards these ends. I believe in the utility of documenting and representing the past through the eyes of descendant communities, even when it might sometimes be painful or incomplete. I think that Elders deserve special status in communities and should be considered custodians of their heritage and experts on their material culture, even if they are some generations removed from the intensive production and use of those objects. Some of the assumptions and expectations that I held of this project at the outset are explored below, as they were exposed and re-formed by the events that transpired.

Project Methodology

In this chapter, I draw from the critical theory approach and participatory methodologies developed in earlier chapters to address the central methodological questions of this thesis. From a critical perspective, my questions are geared towards listening to cultural insiders speak about their histories and understandings of the world. My central methodological questions involve how to locate and understand Inuvialuit perspectives on the past through the material culture which represents that past, and how to incorporate Inuvialuit voices into the telling of that past. Participatory research advocates inviting the source community into the process of the research as collaborators who have a vested interest in its outcomes. I incorporated Inuvialuit into the research process to the extent that they felt comfortable participating. In addition, I used both a critical and reflexive approach to observing the process of building a relationship with the Inuvialuit community.

I have approached the goals of this study using a variety of ethnographic methods. Due to the unfolding nature of my relationship with the Inuvialuit, the methods have tended to have a rather emergent character. My general methodological strategies, which will be expanded throughout this chapter, have included (1) conducting oral history interviews with Inuvialuit Elders to document their comments on and interpretations of Inuvialuit artifacts; (2) collecting partial life histories of these Elders as part of these interviews, to

give them a venue for telling their stories and to provide a means for creating a rich text around the artifacts, and situating them in a historical setting; (3) conducting interviews with leaders in the Inuvialuit community about the state of cultural heritage, and the perceived importance of documentation and representation of this heritage; and, most generally (4) making ongoing ethnographic observations about the contemporary sociopolitical structure and workings of the Inuvialuit community, and the actions and agency of its members, especially in relation to cultural heritage and education initiatives.

Origins of the project & the approvals process

I became involved with the Inuvialuit community in Aklavik, NT, while directing the excavation of two traditional sod houses along the Beaufort Sea on the Yukon North Slope in Ivvavik National Park (Lyons 2004). This stretch of coastline is an ancient thoroughfare for Inuit peoples from Alaska and Canada, and indeed, we had visitors from both ends of the coast during our very productive season there. My interactions with Inuvialuit from Aklavik sparked an interest in their culture and community which led me to initiate dialogue about the possibilities of continuing this cross-cultural conversation. The present research was borne out of the community's request to record the traditional knowledge of Inuvialuit Elders and my interest in working with them to bring some of the community's cultural heritage goals to fruition.

In order to pursue a participatory methodology in this project, it was important to establish good communication from the outset. In 2004, Gary Adams (Parks archaeologist, Winnipeg), Ed McLean (Parks manager, Inuvik), and myself from Parks Canada, traveled to Aklavik to present the results of our previous field seasons in Ivvavik National Park, to youth and community leaders. We also took this opportunity to meet with the Aklavik Community Corporation (ACC) about other business, including the anticipated level of community support for a public archaeology program. To this inquiry, ACC Chairperson Alma Sokituq²⁰ stated the community's interest in collecting traditional

²⁰ This individual has been given a pseudonym.

knowledge about archaeological objects. We explored the possibility of collecting traditional knowledge related to artifacts from Ivvavik National Park as a source of comparison with archaeological knowledge. This was the seed of the present project.

Gaining permission to do the research was a long and often exacting process. In addition to applying for funding and ethics approval to work with human subjects within the university context, several approvals had to be obtained from community and territorial agencies through various application processes. I heard from one researcher that the number and complexity of approvals required in the Northwest Territories was so daunting that he had chosen to work elsewhere in the north. This researcher specifically compared the complexity of the current approvals process with the relative ease of doing fieldwork before the signing of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement in 1984, which created the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. The present-day structure of research protocols evolved out of the land claim, with the intent of being more responsible to Inuvialuit beneficiaries and their representative political bodies, including the Hunters and Trappers Committees and the Community Corporations that are the main administrators of Inuvialuit benefits in each community. This adds several additional steps to the process of obtaining approval for research, but ensures that local governing bodies are aware and approve of the research being conducted in and around their communities.

Through the process of writing and acquiring approvals for the research (described below), my communication and familiarity with several stakeholder groups²¹ grew and developed. My perceived range of stakeholders also expanded—in addition to Aklavik Community Corporation, Parks Canada Western Arctic Field Unit, and the Department of Archaeology at the University of Calgary, I realized that additional stakeholders included the Inuvik Community Corporation, Inuvik Elders Committee, Inuvialuit Cultural Resource

²¹ Certain northern Indigenous groups have rejected the term ‘stakeholder’ with respect to research, instead preferring the term ‘consultant’ (Dawson, pers. comm. 2007). In my own research, I have not encountered any resistance to this term.

Centre, and the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation. In fact, over time, the Aklavik-centred approach that I started with grew to encompass the Inuvialuit community in Inuvik and to some extent, to incorporate a more pan-Inuvialuit perspective, particularly because many of the Elders I interviewed were born and raised at points throughout the Inuvialuit Settlement Region.

In early 2005, I applied for ethics approval at the University of Calgary (Appendix 4), a research license through the Aurora Research Institute in Inuvik, and clearance from the Environmental Impact Screening Committee in Inuvik, all of which were successful. These various applications required dialogue and correspondence with the community corporations, in addition to conversations with other regulatory bodies, such as the Hamlet of Aklavik, Town of Inuvik, Hunters and Trappers Committees of Aklavik and Inuvik, and the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre in Inuvik. Each of these bodies governs different responsibilities and processes in Inuvialuit communities. The hamlet and town administrations are responsible for operating and maintaining basic facilities and infrastructure; the hunters and trappers committees are responsible for setting hunting quotas and providing services to hunters and trappers, including the distribution of gas rations to Elders; the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre is responsible for implementing various kinds of culture, language, and research programs in Inuvialuit communities. The Inuvialuit Final Agreement designated that each of these bodies, which are primarily run by Inuvialuit beneficiaries²², review and approve potential research projects as part of the licensing process.

I wrote letters to each of these organizations which described the benefits of the research for the respective communities. I received consent from all organizations, with one stipulation from the Aklavik Community Corporation: that they retain copyright of the interviews conducted with Aklavik Elders. Copyright in this case is essentially a moral obligation to the community

²² The term 'beneficiary' refers to self-identified Inuvialuit who are entitled to receive benefits from the administration of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (1984). A beneficiary must be at least one quarter Inuit.

corporation which gives them control over the content of the interviews and how they are used and distributed, particularly in contexts outside the community. The copyright requires me to check with the corporation chair when I wish to write about or present material based on the Elders interviews. In practice, it is more of a formality than an obstacle to my work. Finally, because much of the business in the north is conducted by telephone, these various application processes provided personal contact with individuals in the Northwest Territories social science research community, albeit not in a face to face, community setting that would help situate them in the wider web of community and research relations. This would await my fieldwork in the summer of 2005.

Two additional approvals placed more immediate obstacles to the research, which were both resolved to differing degrees over the long term. One was a 'Memorandum of Understanding' (MOU) that Ed McLean from Parks Canada, Inuvik, asked me to write in the fall of 2004 to lay out the respective roles, responsibilities, and deliverables expected of myself and the Aklavik Community Corporation through the course of the study. I discussed this document with the Chair of the ACC briefly on the telephone in January 2005, and submitted it to the Corporation by fax in February for their review at the next board meeting. The second document was a formal request to borrow Inuvialuit traditional artifacts from Ivvavik National Park—housed at the Parks Canada Service Centre in Winnipeg—for my interviews with Elders. This request resulted in a series of negotiations, first between myself and the two Parks Canada offices, and later with ACC. I will discuss this latter request first.

I had originally planned to solely use photographs of artifacts for the Elders' interviews, but after conversations with several archaeologists (most notably Chuck Arnold of Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife) about the value of using 'the real thing', I decided to pursue the possibility of an artifact loan for June and July of 2005. The Parks Canada Winnipeg office was very supportive of the idea of circulating Inuvialuit artifacts in Inuvialuit

communities for the benefits of community research and education. The Inuvik office was more conservative in their stance. Their concerns were with the delicacy of the objects, and the reaction of the community to such a request (the community has moral custody of the artifacts, but they are held in trust in temperature and humidity controlled conditions in Winnipeg). Discussions between the Inuvik and Winnipeg offices rendered a supportive position, however, so I pursued community consent through a formal loan request to ACC, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, and Parks Canada Inuvik. The latter organizations responded favourably to the request.

However, the Aklavik Community Corporation did not have quorum in their spring meetings. This is not an uncommon situation in northern research contexts, where local governing bodies require a certain number of members to conduct their meetings. During certain hunting seasons, it is difficult to obtain quorum, thus the meeting in question is postponed until the next month. This can have dramatic effects on research, which often requires work in particular seasons. It thus becomes incumbent on the researcher to apply for approvals well in advance of their intended start date, and to collaborate with local individuals who can facilitate the approval process at the local level. In my situation, I did not have a response to the artifact loan request (nor to the MOU) when I went north to start fieldwork in May 2005. As a back up, I took large laminated photographs of the artifacts that I wished to discuss with the Elders.

Thus, when I reached Inuvik on May 29th to start ten weeks of fieldwork, the methodology of my interviews was still hanging in the balance—would I be able to use the artifacts that had been packaged so neatly by Jennifer Hamilton, the collections manager in Winnipeg, and sent north to the Inuvik Parks office for me? Or, would I settle for using the photographs that I had brought as back up? I discussed the situation with Ed McLean, who advised me to ask ACC if I could attend their board meeting in Aklavik on June 2nd to explain my position on the benefits of having the artifacts for the work. They

declined. In the mean time, I requested use of the artifacts to do interviews in Inuvik while awaiting their decision, to which the chairperson assented. After much nail-biting, the ACC secretary Agnes Tardiff informed me on June 3rd that the artifact request had been approved, and a letter would be immediately forthcoming. Nothing was said in the meeting transcripts, however, about the MOU. The artifact letter did not arrive, and I spent two weeks in Inuvik conducting interviews on the premise that I would sort the situation out when I arrived in Aklavik. I arrived in Aklavik in mid-June, but it took until early July to determine that the secretary had forgotten to write the letter before she went on holiday. It was produced promptly and with good cheer upon her return. Despite the long and convoluted consent process, having the artifacts in the communities for show-and-tell with students and community members and for interviewing Elders proved immensely valuable. Inuvialuit were very interested to view and talk about these objects that reflected their days of life on the land, and to have 'their' artifacts circulating in their communities.

The fate of the MOU was quite different. I found out on arriving in Aklavik that the ACC Board of Directors had not approved the document, but it took some sleuthing on my part to find out why. I tried many times to meet with the Chair, who travels a lot with her work, but also, I eventually learned, has little regard for cultural outsiders. We had an informal conversation on June 27th in which she told me that the Board had determined that the MOU sounded like too much work. She helped contextualize this position for me: the ACC had received other government MOU's in the past that had come back to "slap them in the face." And so, they did not view this kind of document as a gesture of good will and collaboration, as I intended it, but as a binding document that would (a) ask too much of them as a small office with little capacity, and (b) potentially hold uninvited commitments. The chairperson's tone clearly expressed disillusionment with (Federal) government structures and programs. On re-visiting the document, I also realized that I could have done a much better job of simplifying and clarifying the language, ie. writing in plain

language for non-specialists. This is a struggle I would return to again and again with various documents I have written for community consumption.

My encounter with the ACC chair also helped me critique my own position and expectations of participatory research. I had both hoped and expected to share the decision-making processes of the research and to have documents vetted by someone in the community corporation(s); yet these requests were deemed outside the purview of the ACC. The ACC chair continued, at least in the summer of 2005, to be friendly in a distant sort of way, and supportive of the research, but the 'work' was clearly on my shoulders. This gave me a certain autonomy that made research and writing decisions much easier, as I had no one to formally consult, but I *had* been seeking partnership, and thought that it would flow naturally because of the tone and character of the 2004 meetings. In any case, these events led me to critique the text book model of how participatory research works, and to shift my expectations of what collaboration meant within my specific research context (Lyons 2006). This topic is further explored in chapter eight.

As time went by, I began to see my alliances in the Inuvialuit community shifting and collaborative elements emerging in other segments of the community. Most notably, many Elders took positions of considerable agency, and, as a group, had considerable influence on the design and direction of the interviews and wider research process. I increasingly viewed them as my primary collaborators in this research. The development of these relationships is discussed in the next section. With time and distance, I was also able to see that I could seek feedback from Inuvialuit organizations and personnel at the more regional level. By the end of the 2005 field season, several Inuvialuit who work for Parks Canada were offering enthusiasm, support, and advice about the project. In 2006, my relationship with the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre (ICRC) took an increasingly positive and productive turn, such that by 2007, I asked the manager to vet chapters of this thesis, and to recommend other appropriate reviewers. This connection made particular sense since ICRC

employs some of the most educated and culturally and historically knowledgeable Inuvialuit in the region. Their reviews brought astute and well-placed cultural criticism, and their comments have generally been incorporated into the final draft of this dissertation.

Design & conduct of the 2005 Elders interviews

I interviewed twenty-five Inuvialuit Elders during the summer of 2005, sixteen from Aklavik and nine from Inuvik. Elders from Aklavik include: Ida Inglangasuk, Sheba Selamio, Rosie Archie, Jacob Archie, Barbra Allen, Moses Kayotuk, Alice Husky, Danny C. Gordon, Annie C. Gordon, Danny A. Gordon, Colin Harry, Hilda Irish, Nellie Arey, Sarah Meyook, Donald Aviugana and Elizabeth Aviugana. Elders from Inuvik: Lucy Inglangasuk, Sarah Tingmiak, Billy Day, Victor Allen, Ned Kayotuk, Jimmy Gordon, Winnie Cockney, David Roland, and Frankie Stefansson (see plates 4-8 for the Elders' photographs, Appendix 1 for their biographical details, and Appendix 2 for their initials, which are used to reference their words in the ensuing chapters). Their thoughts and words, referenced throughout this thesis, are excerpted from over one thousand pages of transcripts produced by our interviews. The treatment and provenience of the interview mini-discs and transcripts are discussed in a later section.

I identified and contacted Elders through a number of informal channels. In Inuvik, I spoke with Pat Winfield and Marie Jacobsen at the Inuvialuit Culture Resource Centre and Katherine Ciboci on behalf of the Inuvik Elders Committee. Mervin Joe, a Parks Warden originally from Aklavik, offered a list of possible interviewees from Inuvik and Aklavik and graciously came to Aklavik for my first three days of fieldwork there to introduce me around and help me get off on the right foot. Mervin's help with contacts and general support has been invaluable throughout the project. In Aklavik, I gathered additional names by talking to Elders, to Agnes Tardiff at Aklavik Community Corporation, and to other community members.

The overall process of identifying and tracking down appropriate Elders for this work was an interesting and cumulative process. I found that the more involved I became in community events—in either Inuvik or Aklavik—the more these informal channels opened up. I contacted the majority of Elders by telephone, at which time I would explain the purpose of my study and see if they had the appropriate background (ie. did they grow up or spend time on the coast, where the artifacts were recovered from; did they have knowledge or interest in heritage issues, Inuvialuit history, &tc) and interest to participate. I met other Elders at community events such as feasts, Canada Day celebrations, and drum dancing events, and spoke to them about my study. Some individuals were too busy with their summer schedules and family responsibilities to participate; this occurred particularly in Inuvik, where the pace of life is considerably busier than in Aklavik.

The design of the interviews grew out of various conversations with my colleagues and supervisors prior to going into the field, and was latterly influenced to a substantial degree by the flow of the interviews and the directions taken by the Elders themselves. I developed two themes of interest at the outset of research that included (a) identifying and understanding Inuvialuit interpretations of their material culture history, and (b) Inuvialuit conceptions of archaeology. I saw these themes as an entry point for better understanding and accessing Inuvialuit views of their own heritage, how it has been treated by outsiders, and how it may best be documented in the present context. I anticipated that the structure and content of the interviews would be somewhat open-ended, but I developed a list of specific questions in an initial attempt to encapsulate these themes (Appendix 3). The first set of questions revolved around collecting oral histories and traditional knowledge about Inuvialuit artifacts collected on the Yukon North Coast, where many Inuvialuit Elders had spent parts or all of their young days (plates 1 & 2). I would gather interpretations of Inuvialuit material culture by showing Elders a series of

traditional artifacts²³ and asking them to name, interpret, and/or comment on these items, if they recognized them. I would also ask the Elders to explain how these objects were made and used, and if they had seen them used or manufactured during the course of their lifetimes.

The material aspect of the interviews was quite a success, though the focus quickly shifted from an object-centred to a more subject- or context-centred approach to interpreting the artifacts. That is, the Elders' responses immediately showed me that in order to understand the interpretation of individual artifacts, I needed to delve more deeply into the personal (his)stories of individual Elders. Thus, I quickly started to begin the interviews by collecting partial life (her)stories, asking each Elder to recollect the major events that shaped their lives (see below). Elders' memories of these events were by turns vivid, poignant, enjoyable, and sad. They sometimes succumbed to nostalgia about a life that was physically demanding but more rewarding than their current lives in town. They were very comfortable recounting personal memories and this proved a good segue to move into interpretations of the artifacts, which were often less familiar terrain for them. Their individual (her)stories formed a platform upon which to contextualize the material objects we discussed. Some artifacts were considered 'before their time,' while others could be situated within child and early adult memories of 'how we made a living.' In this sense, we were together able to produce a rich text or thick description of the artifacts used in the study (chapter seven).

The other theme I had envisaged for gaining understanding of an Inuvialuit view of archaeology was to inquire about the Elders' experiences with archaeologists or archaeological projects in the Mackenzie District over the latter part of their lives (archaeologists started working in the area in the 1930s and 40s). As discussed below, most Elders had no knowledge of the

²³ These artifacts have been recovered by archaeologists, including myself, in Ivvavik National Park. Seventeen objects were selected by myself and Jennifer Hamilton to represent various types (in terms of activity and gender), ages, and sites of origin as well as by their general robusticity, ie. ability to travel without compromising their physical integrity. Further explanation is provided in chapter seven.

formal concept of the term 'archaeology,' but did have considerable knowledge of where objects were found, how they were used, and the social contexts in which they occurred. The Elders' forms of knowledge about artifacts took these discussions in unanticipated and often enlightening directions. Another tack that I tried was to ask Elders whether there were programs in their communities to document their knowledge or pursue other cultural heritage initiatives with them. I learned that the Inuvik Elders Committee is relatively active in terms of holding luncheons, and getting Elders together for social and physical fitness activities, while the Aklavik counterpart was disbanded several years ago after funds went missing.²⁴ Many Aklavik Elders feel socially isolated as a result. I don't think this impacted their knowledge of the past, but probably did impact their knowledge of how the past is used in the present. For instance, awareness of the programs implemented by the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre was greater amongst Inuvik Elders, who had more of a sense about the status and workings of the heritage industry.

At first meeting, most Elders were a little shy and reserved, and on occasion, skeptical, of my entreaties to do work with them. I considered these to be natural reactions. Not only did they know very little about me, but I am also such an obvious outsider that they had little context to place me or evaluate my intentions. Being southern, EuroCanadian, and university-affiliated, I occupy a position held only by outsiders in Aklavik and by select individuals in Inuvik who generally do not live in the community, but return regularly or periodically to do research. The five or so initial interviews that I did with Mervin Joe, a community insider, helped to alleviate some of the awkwardness of the first meeting. Yet with many Elders, it would not be until I returned to the communities in April 2006 that I got a warm reception into their households. My sense is that the Inuvialuit, far from being a heavily 'anthropologized' people, are an 'under-anthropologized' one (and see Nellie Cournoyea's comments in Alunik et al 2003:ix). Elders in certain families have

²⁴ Recently, the Nurse-In-Charge in Aklavik has resurrected a well-received weekly Elders Program where community Elders come together for lunch and activities.

been heavily interviewed for various oil and gas impact assessments, but little longitudinal, academic-driven anthropological research is currently being conducted in the delta in comparison to other areas of the north. In general, I would say that Inuvik Elders were more research savvy than their Aklavik relations.

Some individuals, such as Billy Day, who has had extensive contact with southern culture and the scientific world, asked outright what my intentions were, and what I planned to do with my data. When he was satisfied that my intentions were community-oriented and beneficial, we proceeded with the interview. I think there is a natural process—whether implicit or explicit, as in Billy's case—of getting to know newcomers, and determining whether their intentions are for the community good or not. Returning to communities again and again shows you are following through on your promises. It seems to me that the vast majority of work conducted under the auspices of 'science' and 'social science' prior to the signing of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement were in the interests of southern academics, policy-makers, and administrators rather than in the interests of the Inuvialuit (see chapter five). Thus, I considered it my specific test to demonstrate my good will and reliability through my actions in order to overcome the initial reserve and/or skepticism that I encountered.

I asked Elders before we started our work what their language preferences were, and most chose to be interviewed in English. Though English is usually their second or third language, most of these Elders have been speaking it since their youth and have considerable proficiency in it. They are also accustomed to speaking to their children and grandchildren in English, as these are generations who for the most part no longer speak their native languages. I used an interpreter—a friend or relative of the interviewee—when an Elder preferred to speak in their own language.

Before the interview commenced, I attempted to explain the ethical considerations of the study in colloquial terms. This process is intended to

demonstrate respect to interviewees, but in my estimation, did not help put people at ease, but added a level of formality to our preliminary relations. My ethical approval from the University of Calgary gives me the option of either verbally explaining ethical consent or having people read consent forms, but requires that each participant sign if they agree to the conditions of research (Appendix 3). Working with largely non-literate people, I explained the research intents and would then give the Elder a copy of the form to show and/or discuss with their families, which they rarely did (I think that they attach the idea of paperwork to cultural outsiders, and deem it something to largely be ignored unless it specifically interests them).

The intent of the ethical consent form is clear: they are meant to endorse respectful relations between researcher and researched and to make sure that the participant has given their informed consent to proceed. This is theoretically a sound practice, but it is not the way that Inuvialuit traditionally proceed in developing new relationships and judging newcomers to their circle. For this reason, the procedure was a somewhat awkward way to initiate a work relationship. One problem with the forms themselves is that the language is difficult, even for those who are fully literate in English. Further, the idea that participants can learn more about the research and its implications from the form is largely missed in its formal layout and language, which must be approved by the University's Ethics Committee (many Inuvialuit from younger generations also have low literacy rates). One Elder, Hilda Irish, who studied my ethics form after I left our first meeting asked me on our second what 'anthropology,' 'archaeology,' and 'collaboration' meant. I did my best to explain these concepts to her, but Hilda's response only underscored for me the vast cultural gulf between the Elder's realm of expertise and my own, a difference that is accentuated by the consent forms.

I am not suggesting that ethical consent not be obtained, but rather that anthropologists continue to explore appropriate protocols for reaching ethical agreement when working with non-Western, non- or semi-literate groups. The

way they are currently formulated, ethical consent forms emphasize power differentials between researcher and researched that they are meant to diminish. Tuhiwai Smith has explored this disjuncture between theory and practice from the point of view of the researched: "One concern of indigenous communities about the *informed consent* principle is about the bleeding of knowledge away from the collective protection through individual participation in research, with knowledge moving to scientists and organizations in the world at large" (Tuhiwai Smith 2005:99; also see Oleson 2005:254 for a feminist critique of informed consent). Most Elders have no sense of the broader research 'world,' or of the implications of passing their information into this milieu. My sense is that they aim to please the researcher, and only gain a real sense of the project if it has a longitudinal aspect. That is, cases where the participant has the chance to interact with the researcher on numerous consecutive occasions over several years, over which time participants grow more relaxed and are emboldened to ask more questions about the larger context of the work. Although the issue cannot be resolved here, I acknowledge the problems with the informed consent model for the research context I work within. In future, greater attention to decolonizing this practice would be merited.

There was considerable variation in the length and structure of interviews (for a sample excerpt of one Elder's interview, see Appendix 5), and also in the level of historical, traditional, and artifactual knowledge between participants. The vast majority of participants were very keen about the research and variably knowledgeable about early to mid 20th century lifeways on the North Slope and Delta regions, and the material culture of the era. Most interviews were well over an hour, some were much longer; and there were many individuals that I visited for research and social purposes on a number of occasions over the summer of 2005. I interviewed some individuals on their own, and others in small groups, such as a husband and wife, brother and sister, and a mother, daughter, and the daughter's uncle. Each configuration produced its own dynamics: small groups of individuals had the opportunity to

discuss things amongst themselves, in their own languages, but individual interviewees might be more candid when alone.

At the close of the interview, each Elder was paid an honorarium of \$100 for their initial participation, and \$75 for follow-up interviews. They signed a receipt for funds disbursed. As time went on, I realized how important these funds, however token, were to the Elders' livelihood. Gas and groceries are incredibly expensive in northern communities, especially those like Aklavik, where roads are only accessible in winter, and income from pensions is often distributed throughout the extended family. It was pointed out to me on more than one occasion that this immediate benefit to the community was justification itself for doing such research, though it seems to me that over time the longer-term benefits also became evident to most participants. At the conclusion of interviews, every participant was advised that they would have a chance to review their contribution to the study with me at a later date (next section).

I began my interviews by asking each Elder what year and where they were born. They told me about their early days—the places they traveled, the seasonal rounds they followed, the number of siblings they had, and about various family events, both happy and tragic. We traced the course of their lives in a loose fashion, including their formal schooling or lack of it, the skills they developed in the bush, the types of peoples they interacted with, the activities that were part of their routine, including wage labour, whether they married, and when they moved into settled communities in the delta. Many Elders made comments about the building of Inuvik, their decision to stay in Aklavik or move to the new centre, and their involvement in various types of wage labour in both locations or on the land. Many also commented on technological changes witnessed during their lifetimes such as the shift from dog-team to snow machine, schooner to powerboat, and traditional to store-bought implements.

Each Elder identified varying proportions of the artifacts. Some felt like they knew little about traditional artifacts and life but were surprised by their knowledge after a little bit of encouragement and appropriate lines of questioning. All of the Elders were excited to see and talk about the old artifacts and exerted a great deal of energy in "trying to get it right" (MK). Most Elders took a lot of time and consideration with both the questions and the artifacts. Moses Kayotuk asserted his sense of the significance of identifying the artifacts when he said to his partner Barbra Allen, "[it] may take a while to figure it out; you gotta think lots...They didn't just make them for nothing, those old people." Several Elders also expressed the importance of doing honour to these objects by telling the truth about them, ie. not making up just-so stories (HI, EA, DAG). The theme of telling the truth recurred in many interviews and seems to be an important Inuvialuit social value (chapter seven). If an Elder worried about not being able to identify objects or answer questions, I assured them that it was equally fine whether they had an answer or not.

For the majority of artifacts, I tried to leave my own interpretations aside unless I sensed that it would encourage constructive conversation or spark a memory. When I did offer to supply an 'archaeological answer,' I got a suite of responses. Some Elders, like Moses Kayotuk, did not, at first, want to hear what outsiders had to say about Inuvialuit artifacts. He thought those ideas might be 'crazy.' Subsequently, he added in gest, "Oh yeah, I don't mind to hear what it is [you have to say]." Others, such as Ned Kayotuk, suggested that I look at the 'old books' for guidance. Ned, not being literate, had not read those books, but was quite aware of their existence. Others, of a younger generation of Elders, like Frankie Stefansson, were well-versed and quite interested in their content. Frankie, however, often debunked the knowledge in the ethnographies as errant and questioned the work of certain anthropologists. He himself is the grandson of the notorious explorer Vilhalmur Stefansson and has mixed feelings about this heritage and about

the role that southerners have played in the representation of Inuvialuit history.

In the latter portion of the interviews, I asked Elders in varying ways if they had any knowledge of or experiences with 'archaeology.' Less than a quarter of them had any sense of what the term 'archaeology' meant, yet they had a great deal of knowledge and opinions concerning artifacts, old sites, and the social proscriptions surrounding them. Their responses, in fact, freed us from pre-conceived notions of archaeology and archaeologists, and we were able to discuss the 'old things' on their terms and within their ways of conceiving the question. Those Elders that did have previous experience with archaeology or archaeologists had a variety of interesting reactions to this question and shared memories about individual archaeologists that have worked in the Delta region (see chapter eight). Prior to my fieldwork, I had wondered whether I would hear a critical or negative response to questions about these early archaeologists or their practices. But, this kind of response was both rare and muted, suggesting that the colonialist critique of archaeology is not a substantive part of Inuvialuit Elders' experiences, due largely to their lack of exposure to anthropological and archaeological researchers during the course of their lives. Younger generations were much more aware of this kind of research and had more formulated opinions about it (see below).

I should comment on the gender distribution of interviews and perceived gendered responses. I interviewed twelve female and thirteen male Elders during the 2005 field season. Although I had hoped to have an equitable gender representation, this result was by serendipity rather than by design. I found that many Inuvialuit men had a greater sense of their expertise as Inuvialuit historians than their female counterparts. And though it was not always the case, I frequently interviewed female Elders that started out by denigrating their own knowledge. As a case in point, Elizabeth Aviugana initially qualified many of her responses by saying, 'what do I know, I'm just Eskimo.' These kinds of sentiments seem to echo the lessons that female

Elders learned in residential schools or from government programs in their earlier years regarding gender roles in the emergent society (ie. the society created by the acculturating forces of southern EuroCanadian culture). Once I assured them that their knowledge was valid and valuable, this response diminished. Apart from a few men like Billy Day and Victor Allen who have greater familiarity with the southern world, the vast majority of male and female Elders had similar knowledge of Inuvialuit material culture and recollection of historical events.

Finally, a word should be said about the technological preferences and capacities of the communities I have been working in. At the outset of this project, I had planned to incorporate new media into the project design, hoping to either produce CD-Roms, websites, or other visual, digital representations of the work we were doing. This has been a productive avenue for dissemination of many public and community-based archaeology and anthropology projects (eg. Hennessy 2006; Hodder 2000, 2003; McDavid 2002, 2004; Moore and Hennessy 2006; Moser et al 2002). However, my early work in the Inuvialuit community, particularly Aklavik, revealed how few people are computer-savvy and how few personal computers are present in individual homes, though this situation is rapidly changing. My sense from initial work with Elders was that they were shy to talk on video but comfortable with more conventional documentary technologies such as audio and still cameras. The younger generations were much more comfortable with a range of media. Elders and youth alike were enthusiastic to view the photographs I had taken on the slide show setting on my laptop. I have since produced both hard copies of photos for Elders and community corporations and given many slide shows to small and larger audiences. I anticipate that, as my work continues with the Inuvialuit, we will work to incorporate new media into our representations of their culture. As has been shown with the general success and reception of documentaries and television programming produced by the Inuvialuit Communications Society, oral and visual media are well received by Inuvialuit, as they are extensions of traditional styles of communication.

2006 verification work & cultural heritage interviews

I planned the 2006 field season to verify information from the 2005 interviews with Elders and to follow up on unanswered questions. It also presented an opportunity to interview decision-makers involved in the cultural heritage industry in the Inuvialuit community. I went through a more curtailed version of the approvals process to obtain a license and funding for my month-long field season from early April to early May 2006. My license application was again vetted by a series of community organizations, all but one of whom approved the research without stipulation. That one was the Aklavik Community Corporation, who approved my license with the following terms: "The Board recommended that she cannot utilize the ACC staff for assistance as she did in the last segment of her project" (Heikkila, pers comm., March 2006). This led me to wonder if my visiting the ACC office or consulting with staff in 2005 had been perceived as a disruption (again, when I was trying to be inclusive)? Was it an inconvenience? Some form of threat? Or perhaps helping me was just outside of their mandate? Whatever the reason, I had no means to learn the rationale behind their position, so I tried to accept it at face value and carry on with my work.

As I began my verification work, I inadvertently found myself adopting an 'Ethics of Care' model around determining which Elders were able to continue the work. This is an ethical model developed by feminist researchers that places a moral responsibility on instilling a compassionate and nurturing attitude towards research participants rather than a more distant or objective stance (Christians 2005:149). Says Oleson (2005:255), "relationships with participants lie at the heart of feminist ethical concerns." I found that the only ethical path I felt right following was to put the Elders' health and well-being ahead of the needs of research. These individuals, of course, are the oldest living members in their communities, and face many types of health challenges. Some were not well enough to do work in spring 2006 (CH, LI, BD, ACG, MK); others were keen to contribute after major operations left them

feeling much improved from my last visit (JG, WC). One Elder had passed away in the six months since my 2005 field season (NK); two more during 2006 (DR, WC); and several more in the early months of 2007 (JG, DAG). I felt a strong sense of the fragility of human life the 2006 field season, partly due to these deaths and partly as a result of hearing about the frequent and untimely deaths of spouses, siblings, and children that are a regular aspect of the recitation of Inuvialuit family (his)stories.

I visited as many of my 2005 participants as I could and interviewed only those that seemed physically well enough and keen to continue (n=16). This approach did not hamper the work in any way because we were mainly clarifying rather than adding to the existing documentation. A particularly important aspect of this work revolved around documenting the names of artifacts in Inuvialuktun languages. As it turned out, I was warmly welcomed back into these Elders' homes. Many Elders anticipated my coming because I had created a photo summary of the previous summer's work that was graciously distributed to the Aklavik Elders by Mervin Joe in February 2006 (the remainder were distributed by myself to the Inuvik Elders during the 2006 field season). Individual Elders repeatedly expressed their appreciation that I had kept my promise to return north and continue working with them, something, they inferred, that many researchers before me had not done. My presence, in fact, seemed more important to some individuals than verifying their words. Some of these individuals have little social contact because of their lack of mobility and simply welcomed my company. However, many Elders also expressed their sentiments about the value of this work and their appreciation that I was helping them to record their words for younger generations of Inuvialuit (eg. DA, VA, HI).

I also felt a warm reception from many individuals in the Northwest Territories research community that I had worked with the previous summer. I decided to capitalize on the conversations I had started about the state of both community well-being and cultural heritage in the region the previous summer

by conducting relatively informal interviews with some of these people. My goal was to interview individuals who represented decision-makers from community agencies that administer or handle cultural heritage programs. The response was interesting. Those that accepted interviews included: Cathy Cockney, manager of the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, Alan Fehr, superintendent of the Parks Canada Inuvik office, Jerry Kisoun, communications manager of the Parks Canada Inuvik office, Billy Archie, former mayor of Aklavik, and Nellie Cournoyea, CEO of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation. All but one of these individuals is Inuvialuit. I also spent time with Velma Illasiak, principal of Moose Kerr in Aklavik, who spoke to me at length on several occasions about the programs she has developed to increase graduation numbers and interest in post-secondary education among her student body. Missing from my interviews was the chairpersons of both the Aklavik and Inuvik Community Corporations. The latter did not return my calls. The former told me in front of her office that she didn't think that I'd like what she had to say. I responded that I would, that it was part of the process of gaining feedback, but the matter ended there.

These interviewees were very forthcoming. Unlike their parents' generation, this is a cohort who is familiar with qualitative interview techniques and with anthropological and archaeological discourse. The tone of these interviews was very upbeat: all individuals were concerned with documenting Elders' knowledge for Inuvialuit youth, working to preserve and strengthen the culture and language, and fostering stronger programs for youth on the land. However, I encountered significant disagreement between several of these parties regarding the correct proscription for how this work should be done, and where the emphases should be placed. These varying standpoints were made all the more stark by the fact that there is a very small group of heritage workers within this community.

The interviews also helped to clarify the positions of these individuals on various issues pertinent to my research. For instance, Cathy Cockney and

Nellie Cournoyea both assured me of their interest in supporting the work of outside researchers such as myself, as long as the research is respectful to the Inuvialuit. In the past, Cathy has strongly criticized interpretations of the Inuvialuit found in the anthropological literature, and in talking with her, I came to understand that she feels these representations are partial and misrepresentative from an insiders point of view. Cathy's sentiments underscore the importance of evaluating and representing multiple standpoints, particularly the emic perspective that has generally been lacking in historical representations of the Inuvialuit (chapter five). Another repeated response of the interviewees concerns the central importance of the past and its material record to present-day Inuvialuit identity, a subject that is further expanded in chapter eight.

Transcription & analysis

The majority of the 2005 interviews (n=23) were recorded using a Sony Mini-disc player and microphone, while the remaining two were recorded on micro-cassette. These interviews have been downloaded, transcribed, and the mini-discs converted to MPEGs. Interview transcriptions and CD's are currently being prepared for distribution in the communities. Follow-up interviews in both 2006 and 2007 with Elders, which tended to be more casual in format, were also recorded on mini-disc but were not transcribed.

I conducted my analysis of the interviews following a thematic and critical approach developed from sources such as Spradley (1979), Tuhiwai Smith (1999), and Van Manen (1997). The artifact responses were treated separately from the more thematic elements of the interviews. Transcriptions of Elders' artifact interpretations were copied from individual interview files, assembled into a common file, and then condensed on a spreadsheet. These responses were analysed and evaluated independent of other sources (ie. the ethnographic and archaeological literature). Evaluation often took the form of going back and forth between transcripts, compilation files, and my own field notes. At times, the Elders' interpretations were in general agreement with

each other, at others, they varied, sometimes garnering bi- and tri-modal responses, especially for the more fragmentary or antiquated objects. Sometimes, a single explanation among many varied ones stood out for its clarity and parsimony. I discuss the variation in the artifact responses in the second half of chapter seven.

Only after I had tabulated and made coherent sense of the Elders' responses to the artifacts did I compare them to interpretations in the archaeological and ethnographic literature. Often times, these sources were complementary in that they revealed convergent interpretations but provided snippets of information that the other did not. On other occasions, the majority Elders' opinion of an artifact diverged sharply from its archaeological interpretation. Most often, however, the Elders' explanations of artifacts tended to broaden the more specific interpretations provided by archaeologists. The comparison between Elders' and archaeologists' interpretations of the artifacts are also presented and discussed in chapter seven.

Thematic elements of the interviews also emerged as the analysis proceeded. The major themes include: traditional life and travel; traditional Inuvialuit pedagogy; whaling, hunting, and other subsistence pursuits; gendered division of tasks; traditional food preparation; technological and ideological changes observed over the course of the 20th century; the early days in Aklavik and the building of Inuvik; knowledge of shamanism and 'little people'; residential school experiences; loss of traditional languages; the presence and activities of Elders groups; traditional relations between the generations and respect for Elders; present-day importance of teaching youth about life on the land and bush skills; and of course, traditional sites and use (or lack of use) of traditional artifacts. Sections of interviews pertaining to these themes were copied and compiled together for comparison and analysis. There is far too much information in the interviews to be effectively written up in this dissertation, but certain themes that are pertinent to this study are addressed

in chapters seven and eight. Additional themes will be treated in other publications more appropriate for Inuvialuit community use.

During the 2006 field season, I verified the preliminary artifact and thematic interpretations of the 2005 interviews. This process was done verbally since most Elders do not read. I will continue to verify the information used in this and subsequent publications as the project progresses. While all information collected during the course of this study will remain strictly confidential, I requested and obtained permission to disclose the identity of the Elders and other participants to this study in my reporting. Because I am dealing with such a small and intimate community, I think that the ability to attribute information to specific individuals will lend credence to the study. The Elders very much concurred with this sentiment.

Epilogue

I spent several weeks in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in March 2007. Part of my objectives were to follow up work with Elders and to verify Inuvialuktun words with an interpreter. I also met with Cathy Cockney and her sister, Topsy Cockney (Director of the Inuvialuit Communication Society), to update them on my work to date and ask how my 'data' might be useful to their respective cultural programming and projects. Both thought that my idea of writing a colourful, plain-language book about delta social and material history directed at the history curriculum for secondary schools was a good idea, and offered to help finance the project. Cathy also mentioned that different thematic elements of my transcriptions, after completion and indexing, would be useful for the Inuvialuktun language curriculum that she is currently spear-heading.

The primary objective for the 2007 field season, however, was to 'report back' to the community about the results of our study to date. To this end, I organized an Elders luncheon in Aklavik with the help of the Nurse-In-Charge, Rachel Munday, as part of her weekly Elders Program. I hired a local cook, Sarah Dillon, to make a lovely traditional meal, including caribou soup and

'Eskimo donuts', and I myself brought fruit and vegetable trays and cookies. About half of the Elders I have worked with in Aklavik came to the lunch, as well as several additional Elders from the community, both Inuvialuit and Gwich'in. The staff from the nursing station was also present and was very helpful serving the luncheon. The Elders visited with each other and it was nice to hear the burble of Gwich'in, Uummarmuit, and Inupiaq languages throughout the room. After lunch, I gave a slide presentation, giving particular attention to the role of Elders and their interpretations of the artifacts I had discussed with them, and the historical contexts that they derived from. The Elders were very keen to see their photos and to comment or clarify my statements as I talked. I also asked the Elders if they would like me to work on a book about delta history, about their experiences and stories of the 20th century (described earlier), which would be co-authored with them. I received general assent for this project, though the form and details have yet to be discussed. This will await my next trip to Inuvialuit territory, after the completion of my doctorate.

The 2007 field season was the first step towards reporting back and being accountable to the Inuvialuit community (cf. Bishop 2005; Tuhiwai Smith 2005). I have felt very privileged to work with these Elders, the last generations born and raised on the land, and feel that their (his)stories and (her)stories are invaluable sources of the Inuvialuit past and present. To do honour to their words will be to commit to a long-term and ongoing process of bringing their unique experiences and perspectives to different venues, media, and audiences.

Chapter seven. A negotiated analysis of Inuvialuit material history

When I see these [old things, I think] it would have been nice if we lived in that era...We're proud to know that at one time we survived with the land and nature. We didn't have anything, but we made use of what we find.

Victor Allen, 2006

When my Daduk was alive, we do so much work. Oh yeah, I enjoy it! I just love to do what he tell me to do... I think [he taught us the traditional skills] to teach us how he used to live.

Nellie Arey, 2006

This chapter enfranchises Inuvialuit Elders into the process of interpreting their own social and material histories. Preceding chapters have suggested that, until recently, the Inuvialuit have not represented themselves and their (his)stories and (her)stories in print, let alone in specialized social sciences, such as archaeology. Inviting Elders into the interpretive process is a way to confront asymmetric power relations by incorporating alternate ways of knowing into the production of cultural knowledge about (by and for) the Inuvialuit. In a very real sense, these Elders are *quliaq tohongniaq tuunga*, an Uumarmuit phrase proposed by Ida Inglangasuk which translates to 'making [Inuvialuit] histories.' Through their words and stories, they constructed narratives of memories and events that formed the fabric of their individual experiences. Their families were intertwined in complex webs of relations, and together their stories produce a mosaic of life in the Mackenzie region through the course of the 20th century.²⁵

These stories situate and embed the artifacts discussed in this chapter. I asked twenty-five Elders²⁶ from Aklavik (n=16) and Inuvik (n=9), Northwest Territories to identify, name, and categorize seventeen artifacts that had been collected by archaeologists along the Yukon coastal plain in present-day Ivvavik National Park (plate 2, plates 10-12). This is a stretch of coastline that

²⁵ This chapter, which focuses on Inuvialuit material history, does not do justice to the Elders' collective stories. They will be published elsewhere, under the Elders' advisement and direction.

²⁶ The Inuvialuit community, including the Elders, was introduced in chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation. The Elders' biographical sketches are provided in Appendix 1 and their photos in plates 4-8.

forms a cultural byway between the Inuvialuit and the Alaskan Inupiat. It is an area where many of these Elders were raised or spent considerable time as children and young people, some of them in-migrating from Alaska. The Elders made it very clear, as is discussed below, that these objects were in general use before their time. As Victor Allen asserts, "when we were growing up, these things were going out of style." The Elders, however, did have direct knowledge of certain objects. For others, they drew from oral memories and knowledge of 'long ago' time transmitted to them from their parents and grandparents.

Through the process of interviewing it became clear that the Elders' conceptions of the artifacts under discussion and of the past itself came from a culturally distinctive viewpoint. Their way of looking at their own history provided a subtle critique of archaeological epistemology and praxis, and challenged my own assumptions about material culture classifications. Rather than treat artifacts as objects, they subjectified them by giving them cultural context and situating them within concrete historical circumstances (also see Loring 2001). While discussing an object called a net gauge, for instance, Winnie Cockney said simply "My dad used to make that kind before they could [buy] those things." She (and others) went on to talk about the changes witnessed to their hunting and trapping technologies through the course of her life. The Elders also named the objects in their own language and categorized them from their cultural perspectives in ways that, at times, stood at odds with conventional archaeological doctrine. Many times, they drew linguistic connections between traditional and introduced items that would not be obvious to a cultural outsider. Frankie Stefansson noted that in the Sigliq dialect that the bow and arrow was called *pihiksi vialuq* or sometimes just *pihiksi* (also, BA); it fell out of use early after contact but its replacement, the rifle, which was used for much the same activity, was called *pidiksi*.

I see the re-naming, re-contextualizing, and re-categorizing of archaeological nomenclature and classification by Inuvialuit Elders as a way of re-asserting or

imprinting Inuvialuit identity onto history and archaeology (this theme is developed in chapter eight). However, while the Elders exerted both expertise and agency throughout the course of interviews and the project more generally, and profoundly influenced the trajectories of inquiry and analysis, it falls to me alone to conceive, frame, and write this dissertation. For this reason, I call the process of rendering their interpretations into print a 'negotiated analysis.' This requires finding a balance between reproducing the Elders' interpretations as faithfully and accurately as I can and framing them within an academic discourse that is a requirement of this thesis. I acknowledge that this is not an ideal medium or circumstance, but it is a start towards presenting their words and views about their history in print.

This chapter is organized into two parts. The following section presents a cultural context for how these Elders were raised, lived, and learned about their history and its attendant material culture. It distills the Elders' own discussions of Inuvialuit traditional values and pedagogy, changing contexts of material culture use, and the disposition and treatment of old sites and burials. The balance of the chapter presents and discusses the artifact interpretations of the Elders. I have tried to convey some of the flavour of the stories and interpretations that the Elders wove around the objects in a kind of rich text or thick description. I grouped the objects according to the types of traditional activities or categories which they evoked to the Elders. These are my categories, but reflect the ways that Elders talked about and grouped the objects. They include: land hunting, cutting, domestic use, sledding, fishing, whaling, and amusement. The artifacts are described and discussed within each category as they were by the Elders, and their identifications compared with the objects' archaeological classification, as designated in the Parks Canada database (described below). At the close of the chapter, I discuss some of the key trends observed in this analysis, and then comment on the distinctive nature of Inuvialuit perceptions of their social and material history.

I have tried to edit the Elders' words sparingly, but have tended to remove repetitions or 'pause' words such as 'um' and 'ah'. Individuals spoke at length about some subjects, but conversations about artifacts often took the form of snippets of dialogue, which I have spliced into the artifact descriptions. When many Elders said a similar thing about a subject, I selected one or a few quotes to represent the general thought. The Elders have been introduced already, but it bears repeating their names here, which I have referenced by their initials in the coming chapters (also see a list of their initials, as they are used in text, in Appendix 2). Elders from Aklavik include: Ida Inglangasuk, Sheba Selamio, Rosie Archie, Jacob Archie, Barbra Allen, Moses Kayotuk, Alice Husky, Danny C. Gordon, Annie C. Gordon, Danny A. Gordon, Colin Harry, Hilda Irish, Nellie Arey, Sarah Meyook, Donald Aviugana and Elizabeth Aviugana. Elders from Inuvik: Lucy Inglangasuk, Sarah Tingmiak, Billy Day, Victor Allen, Ned Kayotuk, Jimmy Gordon, Winnie Cockney, David Roland, and Frankie Stefansson.

A context for learning: Inuvialuit traditional values & material culture

In this section, I summarize the Elders' accounts of how and what they learned as children about being and becoming Inuvialuit, in order to provide context for how they acquired their knowledge of Inuvialuit history and material culture. These discussions show that their knowledge comes from a very specific place and time, namely, a century of monumental changes to Inuvialuit culture and lifeways (see chapter 2). Despite this backdrop, their recollections of the earlier lifestyles of their grandparents and preceding generations remain remarkably intact, perhaps a testament to the strength of the oral record. By showing how these Elders acquired their knowledge of the material and social world around them, I am also attempting to counteract the conception that the Elders used or learned about these objects in a static 'ethnographic present.'²⁷ I divide the section into three parts, including:

²⁷ As shown throughout this study, present-day Inuvialuit Elders have lived through a period of intense social and cultural change. Their knowledge of the land and environment is informed by the context in which they were raised, a context which was 'traditional' in some regards, but also constantly changing to suit the needs of new circumstances.

Inuvialuit traditional values and pedagogy, changing contexts of material culture use, and disposition and treatment of old sites and burials.

Inuvialuit traditional values & pedagogy

Inuvialuit Elders presented themselves first and foremost to me as a highly pragmatic people. Traditionally, they lived in tune with the seasons, the weather changes, the ice and water conditions. Thus, children were instructed in the nuances of the natural world—the habits of the animals and the elements; how to live, hunt, and survive in these conditions. The 'diary' of Old Irish, which Hilda Irish has perused with me several times, is largely an account of the daily weather through long stretches of (her father-in-law) Irish Kuiruya's (also spelled Kego-oya) adult life, written alternately in English and Inuvialuktun syllabics. Contemporary Inuvialuit Elders talk frequently about the importance of weather to daily activities in traditional times, and thus, understand in a way that cultural outsiders cannot, the significance of Old Irish's meticulous recounting of daily temperature, winds, and precipitation.

The importance of the land remains fundamental to the Elders' conception of being Inuvialuit today. Victor Allen emphasized the significance of learning the land and saving the land base, instead of developing it or giving it over to oil and gas companies. When asked what lessons he passed on to his children, he replied: "Well, I used to teach them about survival on the land, which they know enough about now." The emphasis on survival is clear, according to Rosie Archie: "If you're lazy, you'll starve! [laughs]...You gotta work hard to get your food, hunting and...that's why our parents, they [were] never home. My dad always go out hunting ptarmigan or things like that. He would sometimes camp out."

Again and again, I heard how satisfying traditional life on the land had been. Elders made statements such as "Gotta work hard to make a living" (JA) and "[It's] not easy but it's happy life! Nobody drink...we just keep busy!" (SS). Nellie Arey commented:

You know, when I was growing up, we worked so hard [but] we never think about getting tired. We never complain. And we don't answer to my older sisters, my uncles, my Daduk [grandfather], we never answer back to them. Whatever they tell us to do, we do it right now. We don't sit around, we never sit around. We[re] always busy. Whenever they want us to learn something, we do it every day, that's how we learned.

The importance of watching and listening was emphasized by many Elders. This was how children absorbed the skills and roles that they would acquire and develop into. Donald Aviugana said: "you just learn by watching. One thing they were strict about—one word, and it's gotta be done. That one word is not obeyed you get punished for it...It was a pretty strict environment years ago. We were taught to listen too." Frankie Stefansson said simply "we learn by watching." His father, Alex Stefansson, had confidence that his children would learn by living. When Frankie and his siblings were young, Frankie recalls Alex saying to his wife: "I don't think I made children with feathers and air for brains. They'll find out [about the world] for themselves." Frankie himself learned the coastline by piloting for his father, who had such confidence in young Frankie that he often snoozed while his son navigated! Victor Allen indicated that there were no 'formal' pedagogical methods among his people: "They don't *teach* you...[they] go by voice, by talking to you. When they talk to you, we remember. It's right to do what they told us." At another point, he made clear what the roles were in his household growing up: "I make my harpoons only after my grandfather died. But before that, everything is grandfather. He's the maker, we're the helpers."

The lessons taught to these Elders as young children were culturally specific. Emphasis lay on hard work, listening (and not talking back), sharing, telling the truth, and not gossiping. Sheba Selamio said of her parents: "they always tell me to treat people just the same. That's a hard one!" Later, she added "When you good to people, they good to you. I don't like fighting. [It's] *good* to like each other. Better life, way better life." Hilda Irish had a close relationship with her mother, having lost her father very early. "My mom taught us not to answer back to people...don't answer back, don't fight back."

She also taught Hilda "how to behave. She teach me about how to pray and think of the Lord." Donald Aviugana added that they were taught not to swear or be mad and to pray at every meal. Often, the Elders compared the relationships they have with younger generations today with what they experienced with their Elders. Alice Husky articulated: "[our parents] just talked to us about how we're supposed to be...[We] had to listen to our parents and follow what they told us to do. Not like today, today is different. You can't talk to your kids anymore." Sheba Selamio added "People is different today too...People long ago help each other without [having to] pay each other. Just help each other. [You] have big crowd, little crowd, people share everything. Really good people that way."

Beyond behaviour, traditional teachings revolved around learning the animals and their habits; making, using and maintaining hunting gear; and knowing how to read the weather, travel, and camp in it. David Roland said: "Yeah, my grandad taught me how to hunt and trap...I was 14 years old when I came out of school. I started trapping same year, every spring trapping ever since!" Danny C. Gordon admired his father's sealing technique and his patience as he sat over the seal hole when Danny was growing up in Alaska. Danny talked about the skills involved in stowing meat for the next season and techniques to prevent it from spoiling. Victor Allen said that you learned to make fishnets by handling fish and learning their dimensions; you learned to make cabins by building one! David Roland was called 'Little Grizzly' as a young man because he cut and dragged all the green logs required to build his first cabin for he and his young wife in the delta. From a woman's perspective, Sheba Selamio listed the kinds of skills she was taught: "We gotta learn...hunting, cutting meat, fishing, dry[ing] fish, scraping skins, everything!" Then she added, "Oh yeah, haul water, cut wood, wrap it, feed the dogs."

Nellie Arey, who was raised by her Daduk, said she couldn't start to enumerate what he taught her about Inuvialuit hunting and lifestyle. One spring, for example, Nellie's Daduk had she and her siblings sew a caribou skin tent, in

order to show them how it was done and to demonstrate its benefits. It took four days using twenty dressed skins. They often traveled up the Firth River, and her Daduk would constantly make items such as knives, dishes, spoons, and pails and cache them for their return to that site. When Nellie rafted the Firth a number of years ago, she found her Daduk's encampments and things along the entire route. Nellie reflected on why her Daduk taught her and her siblings many of the old ways: "I think it's to teach us how he used to live."

Changing contexts of Inuvialuit material culture use

Born in the 1920s, 30s, and at latest, the 40s, these Elders have been conversant with EuroCanadian goods their entire lives. However, theirs was the last generation to be born and raised traditionally on the land. The Elders spoke eloquently to the changing contexts of material culture use that they witnessed and experienced through the course of the 20th century. They were quick to point out that they only had fleeting experience, or in some cases none at all, with many traditional technologies, because of the changing times. They also emphasized how their grandparents kept up with the new technologies and industries of the delta. Victor Allen said of his grandfather: "He was civilized already! These guys, they buy schooners, they buy outboard motors, they were smart." Victor commented that many of the traditional tools "were disappearing" and for those that fell out of use, their names and functions did so as well. For example, Victor didn't know the name in his language for a bone sinker, explaining: "Our Elders never give us names [for these]...because we're [not] gonna live that way anyway." He added that their grandparents started to make knives and ulus out of "white man materials" and "boy they got good at it."

The Elders routinely expressed admiration for the knowledge and skills of their grandparents and forefathers to produce such a range of tools from so little. Frankie Stefansson thought they were "very creative people, [with] what little they had. 'Cuz how long would it take to sharpen, shape a piece of flint to

make that ulu?" Danny C. Gordon, who continues to make traditional implements, is

...overwhelmed by the way things were made without tools. Those guys had nothing to work with, but they made stuff better than we do with tools! It always amazes me. What kind of tools did they have for filing? And what did they have for making all these fancy carvings and decorations?...And some of them are even painted. I don't know where they get that kind of stuff.

Winnie Cockney said "they make so many things...some of them's really good, when they learn it, really good." Ned Kayotuk, one of the older Elders interviewed, said of his parent's generation and the people before them: "[They] got nothing...they got no tools to use, bone only, people long ago... no guns, no rifle, no axe, no knife...nothing like that. That's when my dad [lived]."

As children, these Elders often encountered old artifacts around the settlements where they were raised. Jimmy Gordon found an old stone ulu as a child in Alaska: "When I saw [it] I ask my mom, 'what's this for?' People have no tools...no nothing. That's why they use [stones]. I was wondering, 'how in the world do they do that?' And I was thinking, 'how in the world you gonna cut that caribou skin?'" Danny A. Gordon told a story about collecting old artifacts as a child with his cousin Danny C. Gordon around their settlement in Alaska and trading them to the storekeeper for candy. Their Elders said the old things—like harpoon heads, arrow heads, and bone cups—were from the time before Jesus. Danny added, "Now you can't dig at Point Barrow." Winnie Cockney's father collected artifacts from the slumping banks at *Naaluk*, a site near Husky Lakes. She articulated: "My dad used to pick up those kind for the Captain of the [Saint] Roch²⁸...He's good friend and he used to always [like] that kind." Nellie Arey used to dig in the old sod houses to find artifacts. "Me and my brother, we used to find needles, thimbles, and little harpoon heads, and hairpins, made out of bones, and comb[s]...Whatever we find we used to just give it to my granddad...I don't know what my granddad ever did with them."

²⁸ The St. Roch was an RCMP boat, captained by Henry Larsen, which served as a supply ship and floating trade post in the Canadian Arctic from 1928-48. Until World War II, it was the primary naval presence promoting Canadian sovereignty in the far north (Delgado 2003).

Elders had variable knowledge of old artifacts and traditional technologies. Sheba Selamio, for example, said "I never *live* that. I'm old but I never use that kind!" Ida Inglangasuk explained it this way: "I tell you, my parents never taught me about 'what's this and what's that' about long ago, [they were] busy all the time. By the time [we finish work], they never have time to tell me stories" She clarified further, "Well, I never see my grandpas, that's why I don't know [about those old things]." In Sarah Tingmiak's household, she learned about the old times from the stories her parents told: "My mom used to tell us long ago story, and my dad. When he tell us story, we go round and he just sit in the middle and tell us story. Sometimes we just go to sleep in the pillows when he tell story." Many other Elders remember being told 'long ago' stories by their parents and grandparents (II, AH, HI, ACG, NA, LI, VA, EA, DCG, DA). In Hilda Irish's experience, she said "I never see those things when I was young, I don't think, but I *heard* about them." Hilda recounted a story told to her by her mom of the first Inuvialuit to encounter 'white man food':

The first people, the first Eskimos used to live [in] that kind of [underground] house. And sometimes [my mom] really make me laugh! They don't know nothing about white man food. Even flour they don't know. When the boat come from San Francisco, they say, to Herschel Island...they give them flour and that. Instead of taking the flour, they empty it in the ground and they use the bags! And they grabbed the flour and play with it in the wind! They don't know what was that!

In other households, making tools from bone (or a combination of bone and metals) was the norm. Winnie Cockney's father made sinkers and knives from bone, but nothing, she specified, from stone, which are generally considered much older. Sarah Tingmiak's father made her mother's needles: "Long ago they use bone. You know those little narrow bone[s] from the caribou's legs? They use it for needle." Nellie Arey's Daduk made nearly everything from the bone and sinew of caribou, seals, and other animals, and continued to use stones as expedient tools. She said he would instruct her brother to find a sharp rock if he needed to cut or scrape something and didn't have his knife handy. Lucy Inglangasuk, who was mostly raised by her grandparents, would

watch her grandfather carefully put away his tools after the season of use and bring them out again the following year. She said that they were lovingly curated and lasted a long time. Many Elders, like Jacob Archie, Danny C. Gordon, and Donald Aviugana, continue to make such implements as fishhooks, harpoons, and *uluit* from a combination of traditional and introduced materials, for personal use and for sale. All of the female Elders interviewed have a variety of *uluit* (made from metal with bone or antler handles) that they used for different purposes and are preferred to store-bought knives.

Whatever their knowledge of Inuvialuit traditional material culture, the Elders clearly placed value on artifacts as souvenirs of the past and as living memories of the generations before them. Many of them keep collections that they've accumulated over the course of their lives. They also know where the old sites are, though they don't generally visit them (see next section). Rosie Archie said of artifacts, "we see lots of these when we were young, mucking about...Down at Kittigaryuit you could find lots of these." Asked if she taught her children about the old times, she said: "they know, they know...that old things are special about our culture." She used the Uummarmuit word *baihaq* for things that you keep, like a souvenir. Many Elders say that they thought little about the past when they were young but have grown more reflective as they become older. Jimmy Gordon has a huge collection of artifacts that he picked up on the east coast of the delta during the years he had a transport business. He is fascinated by the past but doesn't know what he'll ultimately do with his collection. Nellie Arey says she'll pass her collection on to her kids; hers is prominently displayed along the rafters of her house. Danny C. Gordon said of he and his wife Annie's collection: "They're valuable to us. We would never sell those for any money because they're hundred years old and more. Her grandfather made it, Old Harry, old Inupialuk. She got it from him, then from him to Annie's mom, and from Annie's mom to us. So three, four generations."

Disposition & treatment of old sites & burials

Inuvialuit Elders have detailed knowledge of both the location of old sites and burials and the cultural proscriptions for their treatment. Elders actively identified places on the landscape where the old people lived. These include sod and ice houses on Herschel Island (RA, DR, JG) and in the delta (FS) and Inuvialuit grave sites throughout the delta (JA, EA, FS, ST) and along the coast (CH), specifically at Ptarmigan Bay (ACG, DCG) and Shingle Point (WC).

Winnie Cockney said "my grandparents died before I [was] born...Their graves [are] in Shingle Point, my grandmother and my grandpa. Lots of them died up there. We used to go and see them but now it's hard to see it...little willows [grow all] over everything." Frankie Stefansson's father, Alex, knew where most of the old sites were, and, Frankie noted, most older people still do. He mentioned that most of the prominent sites have eroded from the coastal landscape, a fact well known to archaeologists. Victor Allen had a clear sense of the environmental effects to old campsites: "You know if you don't use a cabin out on the land...it come apart...But if you stay in it every year, you take care of it, it lasts a long time. But the weather will take care of it as soon as you quit looking after it."

Abandoned residential and camp sites, at least in the recent past, were generally avoided by Inuvialuit. Victor Allen's parents told him as a child: "Don't go there." There appear to be pragmatic reasons why youngsters were taught to avoid old residential sites, as the following excerpts of dialogue with Frankie Stefansson suggest:

Natasha: What did the old people say about the old sites?

Frankie: Don't touch, don't touch, don't touch any.

Natasha: Even if the site had no graves? Don't touch the sites that have no...graves? Don't touch those either??

Frankie: No

...

Natasha: Did the oldtimers have a sense that the sites were sacred?

Frankie: I don't know. They just abandoned them, huh?

Natasha: Yeah, but what was the reason they didn't want you to touch them?

Frankie: Even in our trap lines there's newer stuff there too. But they just move, you know, to go to a cleaner place.

Natasha: But how come they don't want you to touch them?

Frankie: [They're] old garbage! [laughs]

In many households, this 'no touch' principle applied equally to picking up old artifacts, especially when they were associated with burials. Colin Harry recounted: "I was born 1926 and I see lots of people that got bone things. My father told me 'always leave this, belong to dead man maybe long ago here.'" "When the people die," Winnie Cockney explained, "they put [their things] in their graves. That's how they put it away...[At Kittigaryuit], people tell their kids not to pick up anything... [because] they put it in there when they die." Yet, she added, "some of the people pick [things] up from the graves." During their childhoods, however, these Elders were told very clearly by their parents to leave the old graves alone so no harm would come to them, meaning the harm or sickness that comes from wrong doing (FS, CH, LI, RA, MK, SS, EA, ACG, DAG, AH, JG). Sheba Selamio said that she never picked up artifacts because "I'm easy to be sick, I guess." Children were also instructed to leave matches, tobacco, coins or other small items on grave sites to pay respect to the dead, and in some instances, to bring them luck (EA, ACG, JA). The strong cultural proscriptions surrounding burials was illustrated in a story told by Moses Kayotuk,

Us, we don't, well me, I don't touch nothing if I see something like that [ie. old artifacts]. It's like one time when I was really small I used to go whaling at...Whitefish Station, and my dad was there walking around, and they start moving around old sled and everything. When we camped there that night those dogs were howling 'cuz they been moving those things, huh? Yeah. There used to be lots of *aleewuq* [ghosts in] those days.

Elizabeth Aviugana talked about finding what was probably a Gwich'in grave near Bar C, in the mouth of the delta where she was raised:

We used to go down, when I was really young, we used to go down right across from Bar C. That point, little point, they call in *Nunabiak* [meaning 'lowland'] in Eskimo. That's where Hoppy [her brother, Edward Elanik] was born. And around behind our tent

some place, you walk around, used to see graves. Must be Indian, because I heard Eskimos and Indians used to fight, kill each other. But one time I found shell case, it's got beadwork on it. I told my mom 'I want it, those beads', she said not to touch things like that, so I never touch them. I think when somebody die like that they put all their stuff like that...

Artifacts found apart from burials seem to have been subject to fewer social proscriptions. As suggested in the previous section, old artifacts were ubiquitous on the traditional sites where many Elders were raised. These sites had often been used for long periods of time and old artifacts were discarded on shorelines, cutbanks, and in old houses. Many Inuvialuit collected artifacts from (seemingly) non-burial contexts. Some of them became keepsakes and others were sold or traded to trappers, traders, ethnographers, and archaeologists. From 1881-83, the International Polar Expedition to Point Barrow Alaska collected enormous quantities of Inupiat artifacts from the local people, which were later reported on by John Murdoch. He writes: "Nearly all of the collection was made by barter, the native bringing their weapons, clothing, and other objects to the station for sale" (Murdoch 1892:19). Colin Gordon said that many people used to sell artifacts that they found at the old sites to 'white people.' He said his people desecrated the graves because they didn't know any better. Later, of course, artifacts would be collected from these same sites and across the landscape by archaeologists under the auspices of scientific inquiry (see chapter eight).

A negotiated analysis of Inuvialuit material history

The Artifacts

Seventeen artifacts were selected for this study from Parks Canada collections from Ivvavik National Park²⁹ in an informal negotiation between myself and Jennifer Hamilton, the Archaeological Collections Manager at the Parks Canada Western and Northern Service Centre in Winnipeg, MB. I first selected desired

²⁹ Ivvavik National Park was established in 1984 as an outcome of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement. The artifacts described were collected at sites in this park by Parks Canada archaeologists. The sites are listed by both their Borden numbers (the usual designation system for archaeological sites in Canada) and their Parks numbers in the text that follows.

artifacts from photographs in a CD-Rom produced by the Service Centre for the Inuvialuit community of the collections (Parks Canada 2005). In my selections, I tried to cover a range of traditional and gendered activities and relative ages (ie. although there are no dates associated with the selected artifacts, based on form and materials they represent a span from contact traditional to pre-contact times). Jennifer selected those objects which she considered able to travel based on their relative robusticity. We decided on the objects pictured in plates 10-12. Each of these artifacts has been assigned a descriptive label in the Parks Canada database based on a functional interpretation. They were identified by a Parks archaeologist using relevant literature and comparative archaeological knowledge of material culture; Elders were not consulted in this process (G. Adams, personal communication, 2006).

Below, the artifacts are grouped into seven categories representing general activities practiced in traditional Inuvialuit life. The artifacts are listed by their English descriptor and then by their Uummarmuit and/or Inupiaq labels, where the Elders provided them. The Elders interviewed were either raised throughout the delta and along the coast or along the Alaskan North Slope, coming to Canada as children. The Elders from the west delta primarily speak Uummarmuit, a dialect of Inuvialuktun, while those from Alaska speak Inupiaq; the languages are mutually intelligible. I describe each artifact, discuss its ethnographic and archaeological interpretations, and then discuss the Elders' interpretations, illustrating where traditional and archaeological interpretations converge and diverge. It should be noted that many objects, particularly the very antiquated or fragmentary, were subject to multiple, often speculative, interpretations by the Elders. The Elders also indicated situations where there is more than one version and/or use of a given implement; in these cases, the artifact is placed in more than one category. A question mark reflects where an identification is uncertain.

While perhaps obvious, it should be noted that at least in terms of the number of objects considered, the present work makes a limited contribution to Inuvialuit material culture studies. This study, however, was initiated to demonstrate the great potential for soliciting emic interpretations of the Inuvialuit material record and for comparing the discordance and agreement between insider's and outsider's classifications. For more comprehensive descriptions of Inuvialuit material culture, the reader is referred to several archaeological (McGhee 1974; Morrison 1988, 1990, 1991, 1997), ethnographic (Savoie 1970; Stefansson 1919; also Murdoch 1892), and traditional (Alunik 1998; Nuligak 1966) studies. One shortcoming of the cited works, however, is that they either fall on the insider or outsider side of the interpretive line (but see Alunik et al. 2003). In future, there is considerable work to be done towards brokering Inuvialuit and archaeological knowledge of the material record.

a. Land hunting

The objects discussed in association with land hunting activities are all related to making projectiles. None of these objects was named in Uummarmuit or Inupiaq by the Elders so the archaeological terms are retained below. The artifacts include a bird blunt, a core and a flake. The core and flake are discussed together because the Elders generally grouped them that way, referring to them both as *anmaak* (hard stone).

'Bird blunt'

This artifact is a bone tool, 8cm in length by 1.75cm at the wider end and tapering to under 1cm at the narrower end (plate 10a). It is about 1.5cm thick. The 'blunt' end is softly bilobate while the other end splits into two sharp tangs. The artifact is made of a semi-porous bone or antler, carefully shaped, with some cut marks on it. It is called a bird blunt in the Parks Canada database. This artifact was recovered from *Niaqulik* (NhVh-5, Parks site no. 82Y), a traditional Inuvialuit settlement located just west of Kay Point in Phillips Bay (plate 2).

Bird blunts recorded by Arctic ethnographers were used with a bow and arrow to stun birds out of the air. McGhee (1974:48) calls these 'blunt arrowheads.' Five 'of the aboriginal type' (ie. made of bone or antler) were recovered from his excavations as Kittigaryuit and two made with cartridges. Citing Giddings (1952; 1964), McGhee suggests that the Aboriginal type of bird blunt has been found throughout the last 1000 years of the archaeological sequence in Western Alaska. Cartridge blunts, made by inserting an empty cartridge shell over an arrow shaft (DAG), are a common adaptation of the historic period in Alaska (VanStone and Townsend 1970:143).

The present artifact was the only object found to be beyond the living memory of all Elders interviewed. The Elders nevertheless had many suggestions about its use based on its shape and similarity to familiar objects. Elders suggested that it looked like a clothespeg (RA, SM, ACG), a fork (DA, ST), tweezers (JA), and rifle sights (JG), usually in gest. Victor Allen said it reminded him of pinchers used traditionally to bleed someone that had headaches or blood clots. While they were generally unsure of the use of this artifact, many Elders recognized its individual features. For example, they suggested that the tanged end is a place for attachment to a wooden shaft (DR, EA) and the object may be made from caribou rib (FS). Cathy Cockney suggested to me in conversation that the blunted end would serve to knock a bird out but not break its valuable feathers (Cockney pers. comm., 2005).

Elder Ned Kayotuk was aware that this object was of some antiquity, and he was certain that more information could be found out about it. He told me: "But you could find it, you know, by them old time book[s]." He added confidently "It got name alright." When Elders conceded that they could not identify this artifact, I described its use based on the ethnographic sources. This frequently led them to talk about similar or parallel technologies with which they were familiar. Danny A. Gordon said that as a boy, he had used a bow and arrow with a cartridge blunt for hunting ptarmigan. As suggested

above, cartridge blunts have been found at *Niaqulik* and other sites in the Western Arctic (eg. Adams 2004; McGhee 1974:48), and are an interesting fusion of traditional and western-influenced materials. Moses Kayotuk indicated that the object was missing a shaft. He described an implement for hunting birds with a bow that had a wooden shaft and a modified duck bone attached to one end: "Most of them I see they got stick, long stick, for bow and arrow. And they [have] duck bones at the end of it. They cut the feet off and put [it] at the end of it, through the marrow bones. They use them for hunting birds in those days..."

Many Elders suggested that within the span of their lives, they had used a shotgun, a bola, or a slingshot to hunt birds. Nuligak (1966:38) recalled hunting *imitkrutailait* (arctic swallow) by slingshot. Bolas, also called yoyos (BA), consist of two bags of rock weights wrapped in cloth or canvas and attached by string or sinew. They are thrown at prey, especially birds, and wrap around them, holding them motionless. Barbra Allen talked about this technology: "Lotta times I think they use those yo-yo's too. Those Eskimo yo-yo's...They just throw them and the duck, after [it falls], they just club it... I made lot of the souvenir yo-yo's. I sew sealskin and make yo-yo's and put a little stone inside just so it will be easy to handle." While both bolas (yoyos) and slingshots are still widely used by Inuvialuit youth today, Barbra Allen points out, "They gotta [have] a professional teacher to teach these things" because they are dangerous if used improperly.

It is an interesting question when the bow and arrow and associated technologies finally fell completely out of use in the Western Arctic. Working in Inupuiat territory, Murdoch (1892:53) ascertained in the early 1880s that "There is no reason to fear, as has been suggested, that they will lose the art of making any of their own weapons except in the case of the bow." The cartridge blunt appears to have been invented during the lengthy period of historic contact in Alaska (which begins ca. the 16th century) as a more easily made technology that came into general use. VanStone and Townsend

(1970:143) conjecture that the modified bird blunt "would seem to be a change that has recommended itself to all historic Eskimos and Indians who use blunt arrowheads." The idea likely spread to other Indigenous peoples east of Alaska. In my interviews, only Elders born in the 1920s remember even this modified technology.

'Core' & 'flake' (*Anmaak*)

These two lithic (stone) artifacts are grouped together because the Elders considered them to be the same type of object, a hard stone called *anmaak*. These objects are labeled as 'core' and 'flake' in the Parks Canada database. The core is a black chert, semi-lunar in shape and measuring roughly 3x3cm (plate 10b). In archaeological terms 'core' means a piece of rock that has had flakes taken off it by percussion. The flake is a grey chert, triangular in shape with a maximum width of 3.5cm and length of 2.6cm (plate 10c). Flakes can be used as they are (expedient tools) or made into other tools, such as projectile points. The present 'flake' is called a thinning flake because it was removed from another artifact in the process of shaping it; it has a number of flake scars. The core is from a site at the south end of *Qainiurvik* (Clarence Lagoon, NjVo-4, Parks site no. 76Y). The flake is from a site near Sheep Creek on the Firth River (NhVm-18, Parks site no. 30Y209; plate 2).

These artifacts were widely recognized as hard and sharp stones that had been purposefully broken to shape tools (DR, NK, DA, EA, ACG, FS, JG). Donald Aviugana stated that these tools could be used for scraping or sharpening, but that the names of the tools themselves have been lost: "Well, maybe the oldtimers have names, but we don't." The material, however was generally identified as a kind of stone that doesn't get dull, *anmaak* in both Uummarmuit and Inupiaq (DR, FS). Alunik (1998:52) specified that "[t]he jade like rock, called by Inupiat *angmaak* was used for arrowheads or spearheads, knives, axes, or ulus". Frankie Stefansson asserted that *anmaak* is a flint stone which comes in many colours. He talked about taking Scotty MacNeish to a place where it could be found:

I walk[ed] that coast many times hunting caribou. Only on the Firth River, up the Firth River, there's a place called *Anmaak*, [but] they changed the name to something like Sheep Creek or something. It used to be Flint Creek. There's the remains of two sod houses. There's still mounds. And Scotty [MacNeish] said they were too recent, he was looking for the older stuff.

Other Elders suggested that these stones might be found at Atkinson Point (DR) or on the coast generally (JG). While handling the flake, David Roland was reminded of a story about picking up a stone harpoon head at Atkinson Point, "It was about that long and looked so cute I bent down to...pick it up, I cut myself...[It was] something like that [indicates 'flake']. I cut myself with it!"

There was some speculation as to the makers' intentions for these artifacts: they may have been attempting to produce arrow heads (CH), knives or harpoon heads (MK, DA, ACG). Other Elders were reminded of flints or flint and steel, which had been widely used during their lifetimes for lighting fires (LI, CH, AH). Colin Harry described: "[These are] flint, flintstone. My mother used to use this kind. Iron with a piece of steel line...to light smoker." Danny C. Gordon added further insight: "*Anmaak* is something you can strike and it will spark...and they used to carry those, my dad even, carried them. When he's got no matches or the matches are wet. [If] he's traveling inland and the grass is dry, like cotton [grass], spark up that and it will start up a fire...It's flint, like a flint, it do the same thing." A similar account was given by Nuligak (1966:23), who said that "women used flint anmak, for they had no matches. Sparks produced by striking the flint on another stone would light the wick of the lamp. Before too long, thanks to the lamp, the igloo was quite warm."

The majority of responses to these lithic tools, however, were like Winnie Cockney's, one of the oldest Elders interviewed: "They all finish with those things when we grow up, huh? [By then] they all have guns and everything."

b. *Cutting*

Cutting implements include knives and sharpeners. Those discussed with the Elders are a stone fleshing knife (*savik/havik*), a snow knife (*savikpak/havikpak*), a possible *ulu* fragment, and a possible whetstone (*sillin/ipiksaun*).

'Fleshing knife' (*Havik/Savik*)

This artifact is made of slate. It has a long straight edge measuring 17cm and has been shaped to have a slightly curving edge below, just over 14cm by 4cm at its widest point, which straightens into what looks like a short handle for a haft, about 3.4cm in width and 3cm in length (plate 10d). The artifact varies between 0.75 and 1.25cm in thickness. Its surface is grayish black, mottled with rust stains. This is identified as a 'fleshing knife' in the Parks Canada database and is said to be manufactured by grinding. However, it appears that the slate is both ground and flaked, unless the appearance of flaking is due to deterioration of the stone from age. This 'knife' is from a site on the Backhouse River (NjVn-5, Parks no. 71Y; plate 2).

The anthropological³⁰ literature for the Western Arctic depicts a huge range of knives. This one fits into the category of 'utility' knives or 'single-edged' knives, the latter of which is said to be specially made for cutting food (Stefansson 1919: 100, 153). This shape of knife—as opposed to the semi-lunar *ulu*—is usually categorized as a men's knife (eg. McGhee 1974:59-62; Savoie 1970:150). Stefansson (1919:153) specifies, "The blade is generally more strongly curved along the edge than on the back and is usually sharp-pointed. It is fitted in a broad tang to a straight haft, usually shorter than the blade." All published sources suggest a knife like this would have had a handle made of bone or wood.

³⁰ Throughout this section, I refer to the 'anthropological literature' in the broadest sense of the term, encompassing ethnographic, archaeological, and related publications relevant to the Inuvialuit.

Inuvialuit Elders like Nellie Arey generally exclaimed: "That's what they used for knife!" This kind of knife was called *havik* in Uummarmuit, or *savik* in Inupiaq (BA, JG). David Roland also used the term *uyaraq*, a general word for stone. The term *savik* is clearly widespread, as Murdoch (1892:157) noted its use from Point Barrow to Greenland. Interestingly, it also became the word for iron in these areas.

The Elders studied many of this knife's attributes. Several noticed that its handle was missing (EA, DR, WC) and that it needed sharpening (CH, VA, DR). Winnie Cockney thought that it was dull because "it wears out when it's old. [If] it's close to the water, the waves always move them around." Different Elders suggested that it might have had a stone handle (RA, WC), though Victor Allen (among others; DR, JG) gave a convincing³¹ argument that they generally tried to have handles of softer material (ie. wood or bone) because you use it with your bare hands (Victor said there were no work gloves in his grandfather's time!). Victor suggested: "if they get free time, they put a handle on it...the handle would be made of horn, a caribou horn...Easy to cut and it's hard on the outside, so you rivet a couple of nails into it." Frankie Stefansson agreed that the handle would be bone or wood, not stone, partly because he felt the oldtimers did not have the tools to shape a stone handle.

There was some debate about the gendered status of this knife. Victor Allen felt that this was not a men's knife, but a handy all-round, utility knife. He said, "You don't keep it in there [ie. on your belt], you keep it in your working area." Frankie Stefansson and others (DR, JG, WC) took another line: "It would be a man's knife, but if a woman need it, she use it, [eg.] to split the caribou." This kind of knife could be used to cut *muktuk* (the Inuit delicacy of whale skin and blubber) or other kinds of meat or to eat with (DR, VA, JG). And while its function was familiar, the way that the knife had been manufactured was a source of speculation because stone knives had gone out

³¹ When I use the term 'convincing', I am referring to my own perception of the Elder's belief and assurance in their interpretation of an object. Where others might waver or make tentative statements, in these cases, the Elder was positive of their interpretation.

of use several generations before this cohort of Elders was born (HI, VA, II, AH). Ida Inglangasuk thought that they must have had “real good tools, huh? When they make fancy stuff they got fancy [tools] to make it.” Others wondered whether their grandparents had used knives like this (MK).

'Snow knife' (Havikpak/savikpak)

This artifact is long and curved in a slight boomerang-like shape (plate 10e). It measures 28cm in length, 4cm in width, and is under a centimeter thick. The ends taper slightly and are rounded. At one end is a nearly round hole about half a centimeter in diameter. The artifact is made of bone. It is called a snow knife in the Parks Canada database and was collected at *Nunaaluk* Spit (NjVk-2, Parks no. 69Y; plate 2).

Snow knives are documented throughout the anthropological literature. Stefansson (1919:83) says, "The tools used in building the snow houses are the universal wooden snow-shovel and the ivory snow-knife, for cutting and trimming the blocks. At the present day saws are very much used for cutting the blocks, and also large iron knives (whaleman's 'boarding knives' etc) obtained from the ships." Stefansson (1919:110) also observed bone snow knives. McGhee (1974:64-65) recorded snow knives made of antler and whale bone at Kittigaryuit. Nuligak provides a rich description of how an iglu was built:

The men would look for a place where there was good snow to build igloo. With long knives they cut snow blocks. When there were enough blocks they would begin to build, passing the blocks on to the one whose task was to fit them. As the circular wall rose the women packed snow around the blocks with wooden shovels. Once the dome was finished, the women would enter, carrying the lamps which they lit [Nuligak 1966:23].

The Elders universally identified this object as a knife. As with the previously described knife, this one was generally called *savik* or *havik*. Donald and Elizabeth Aviugana and others (FS) said that it was a big knife, and called it *havikpak/savikpak*, the 'pak' adding the modifier 'big.' Many Elders noted that the hole or eye at one end would be used either to tie a lanyard to a belt (EA,

LI, AH) or to affix a wooden handle with a rivet (WC, SM, NA). A wooden handle, said Winnie Cockney, would make the knife perhaps twice its present length (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Possible snow knife handle from Kitigaaryuit (McGhee 1974, plate 12h)

The most frequent response to this artifact's function was as a snow knife for building *igluit*³² (DR, WC, NA, NK, DAG, CH, VA, FS, JG). The eldest of the Elders had used snow knives and slept in *igluit*, especially in their youth. Danny A. Gordon had seen snow knives growing up in Alaska. David Roland was born in an *iglu*: "When I was a kid I used to see them using them for snow knife. They made *iglu* with it...I was born in the east...Victoria Island...I was born right out on the ocean, yeah, snow house, seal hunting camp!" Winnie Cockney suggested an additional use for the knife: "They use this kind for snow, for the houses. Even the meat, when they get [it], I *know* they use this kind [for cutting meat] when they're really sharp." Other Elders also associated this kind of knife with eating.

Nellie Arey's Daduk made similar knives from caribou bull ribs that they used for eating and cutting. Danny C. Gordon concurred: "Before knives, I remember using caribou ribs for knife, when we're eating. [We] didn't have enough knives to go around. And they're sharp—you could cut yourself with that. You [don't even] have to make them—just the way they are, [they're] really sharp." A sketch similar to Danny's description is reproduced in Stefansson (1914:110; Figure 2).

Younger Elders recognized this artifact as something their grandparents had used or that they had seen at old sites. Moses Kayotuk learned to make snow houses up around Shingle Point when he was traveling. He said that he tied up

³² The suffix 'it' denotes plural. Thus, you say *iglu* for singular and *igluit* for plural.

his dogs, constructed an *iglu* without holes, then came out and there were holes that he had to patch up! Asked where he learned to make a snow house,

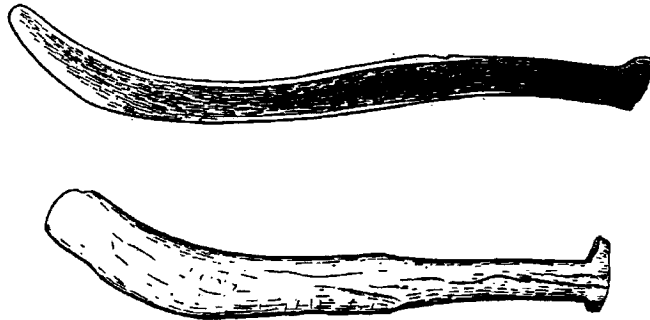


Figure 2. Bone snow knives illustrated by Stefansson (1919:110)

(DA, DCG, ACG, II) or fish scales (EA).

Moses answered:
 "Well, I watched those...I hear about it. Tried to make it. Didn't fall on me anyway! [laughing] Kept me warm all night." A couple of other suggestions were that this implement could be used to scrape skins

'?Ulu fragment' (*Ulu*)

This artifact is a slate tool broken on three edges and ground along the fourth (plate 11a). It is roughly triangular in shape, measuring 6.75cm by 5.75cm at its maximum length and width. One face of the ground edge has striations running perpendicular to the edge. There is rust on two of the broken edges and lichen growing on a third. This artifact is labeled as a 'slate tool' in the Parks Canada database. The artifact was found at site 30Y38 (NgVn-12, Parks no. 30Y38, plate 2), along the lower reaches of the Firth River. This is an early site, affiliated with the Western Thule culture that preceded the historic Inupiat and Inuvialuit.

*Ulu*it are universally linked to Inuit women. Alunik (1998:60) says that, at least for the Inupiat, *ulu*it were fashioned from a "hard green jade-like rock." Murdoch (1892) suggests a different material based on a derivation of the term: "Slate, ulukse, 'material for a round knife', was used, as its name imports, for making the women's round knife, and for harpoon blades etc." The

functions of the *ulu* described by Petitot include scraping, tanning, and cutting for sewing or eating (Savoie 1970:151). *Uluit* were among the most ubiquitous artifacts at Kittigaryuit (McGhee 1974:68).

The general consensus among the Elders was that this fragmented object was part of a broken knife. A number of Elders specified it as part of a woman's semi-lunar knife, *ulu*, from long ago (DR, WC, MK, HI, LI, FS, JG). Elders distinguished women's knives (*ulu*) from men's or more general knives (*savik*, *havik*). They noticed that this material was hard to break; Danny C. Gordon identified it as slate. Frankie Stefansson remarked that present-day *ulu* are ground only on one side, but "when they were made of flint, they had to be grounded on both sides." Other ideas, more speculatively posited, were that the artifact was part of a harpoon (NA, MK) or spearpoint (FS).

Many female Elders were compelled to show me their *ulu*, which have different shapes and sizes depending on the task at hand (LI, WC, EA; see plates 5c & 7e). Winnie Cockney said that *ulu* could be straight or curved; straight for scraping and curved for cutting. *Uluit* are used for cutting meat, dryfish, *muktuk*, and fur, and for scraping and cleaning hides (HI, WC, LI, EA, DA). Small *ulu* are used for sewing and mending (EA, II, ACG). Different individuals have preferences for the size and shape of the blade and how the blade is inserted into the handle. Rosie Archie noted that *ulu* handles are never glued, always tacked with pegs. Most female Elders said that they do not use conventional knives at all, only *ulu*. Many emphasized that the *ulu* they had seen or used during their time were metal and often made by relatives or bought from Inuvialuit craftspeople or from the store (WC, LI, AH). It took days and days of work to make a traditional *ulu* (DR, JG)!

'Whetstone' (*Sillin*)

This object is a rectangular to trapezoidal piece of slate 9 by 3.5 by 1cm in dimension (plate 11b). It has a rough surface and squared off edges that appear natural. There are some striations on its surface. This artifact is called

a 'whetstone' in the Parks Canada database. It was recovered from a house at the traditional site of *Niaqulik* (plate 2) in vicinity of several similar artifacts alongside a variety of 'men's knives.'

Anthropologists have documented a number of types of knife sharpeners and whetstones in the Western Arctic. Among the Sigliq, Petitot claimed that whetstones were made of jade or serpentine and "grooved at the top so as to make them thinner and easier pierced for the insertion of a cord" (Savoie 1970:151). Stefansson (1919:108) reproduced sketches of both a knife sharpener, with a bone handle and steel insert, and a basic stone whetstone, 9.5 cm in length, both from Coronation Gulf, to the east of Inuvialuit territory. McGhee reports a variety of types of whetstones from Kittigaryuit, all exhibiting rubbing and many made of relatively softer stones; the 'tabular' specimens appear most similar to the one discussed here (McGhee 1974:65). He posits that whetstones "were primarily used in the manufacture and sharpening of ground slate blades, and are generally similar to ones found throughout the most recent Eskimo sequences" (McGhee 1974:65). Introduced technologies soon replaced whetstones however, and Murdoch (1892:183) found that "knives are generally sharpened with a file, butting a bevel...on one face of the blade only" (this also supports Frankie Stefansson's contention). Murdoch (1892:183) also discusses an older type of whetstone similar to one described by Petitot: "In former times they employed a very elegant implement, consisting of a slender rod of jade from 3 to 7 inches long, with a lanyard attached to an eye in the larger end" (Figure 3). These, apparently, were called *ipiksaun* by the Inupiat.

There was little consensus among Inuvialuit Elders about the function of the artifact in question. The Elders generally looked at this object after the 'fleshing knife' and a number speculated that it was the missing handle (WC, JA, RA, SS, LI). An equal number thought that it might be

a sharpener of some kind (ACG, DAG, II, LI, CH). There were some objections to this interpretation because this artifact was either "too rough for sharpening your knife" (MK) or too small. Both Ida Inglangasuk and Lucy Inglangasuk described whetstones that were round, long, and thin, and about the size of a brick; they were often housed and used right on the floor or ground. Donald Aviugana said that you can



Figure 3. Jade whetstone illustrated by Murdoch (1892:183)

use "any kind of flat rock to sharpen...my mom used to have a flat rock, something solid to sharpen the *ulu*." In English, he called it a hone. Barbra Allen translated whetstone into Uummarmuit as *sillin*.

A third group of respondents thought that this object might function as a scraper for rough surfaces (CH, FS). Frankie Stefansson said that this type of scraper would either have wooden handles at each end or the ends would be wrapped in skins. With this, you could smooth mud on your sled or scrape whale skins to make *kamik* (boot) soles (FS).

c. Domestic tasks

This group of objects is generally associated with tasks that took place in proximity to the household, although these objects could be used in multiple contexts. They include a wooden plug (*himik/simik*) and an adze/scraper (*ulimaun*).

'Wooden plug' (*himik/simik*)

This wooden artifact is just over 8cm in length with a diameter along the shaft of 1.8cm (plate 11c). It has a head or knob at one end that is 2.5cm in diameter at maximum extent. The shaft and head are rounded but with one side distinctly flattened. The top of the head is flat and looks like it has been pounded. The base is carved flat. The artifact has been worn smooth but the impression looking at it was that it was carved quickly and roughly. It is called a 'wooden plug' in the Parks Canada database and was collected from a sod house at *Qainuirvik* (Clarence Lagoon) that dates to the first quarter of the 20th century (plate 2).

Wooden plugs are not documented in the anthropological literature of the Western Arctic. Stefansson (1919:53) depicts a set of wound pins that have a similar shape but are longer with sharp ends. McGhee (1974: 53) reports bone and ivory wound pins from Kittigaryuit.

This artifact generated a lot of conversation and conjecture from the Elders. Those who were unsure about its identification still felt certain that it had been modified for use as some kind of tool (WC, II), possibly a nail, a peg (SS, LI) or a bottle stopper (EA, DAG). A whole suite of ideas revolved around its use as a plug. Several Elders talked about using an object such as this as a wound pin when you hunt belugas (DR, HI). David Roland describes this process: "Long time ago, in old Kiti, when they go with a kayak, they take 5 to 6 whales. When they blow it [up], the whale needs to [float], [the hunter] makes it like that and plugs and ties it up." This way, the whale would not sink as a result of its wounds and could be towed safely back to shore behind a kayak. A modification of this idea is the use of the plug to stopper a whale's stomach (ACG, BA, CH, VA, FS, ST, JG). Whale stomachs were dried and blown up and used for storage of such things as berries (CH, HI) and *ugruq*, seal oil (JG). Plugs were often made of soft wood and soaked in oil to stay supple (VA). The hole would be wrapped with cordage from a material such as willow

(DR). As Colin Harry says, "after you blow it up, you dry it up, you use it again, for berries, for...anything you could use. You keep it in the wintertime." Moses Kayotuk's family put dry meat in a whale's stomach and saved it for Christmas. Hilda Irish's family saved fruit this way: "Oh! That's our fruit! Fruit for Christmas, Easter, oh! Yellow berries and cranberries, blueberries, blackberries. Pretty soon they'll...start picking again."

Other Elders offered alternate explanations for the plug. Danny C. Gordon thought that this artifact could serve as a plug for a sealskin bag. Moses Kayotuk rejected the idea that this plug would be used for a whale stomach because the whale plugs his mother had made were much larger. He thought this might be a plug for a sealskin float, possibly used as a part of harpooner's gear.

Ned Kayotuk had perhaps the most convincing interpretation of this artifact. He, among others (NA, ACG, FS), said that this kind of plug is not for a whale's stomach but for plugging a bucket or barrel. When a large barrel or bucket is full of oil or water, it is very heavy. You make a hole right at its base and slide a plug in. Ned indicated that the flat side of the artifact would slide along the bottom and prevent leakage: "[This side is] smooth, that's why [it goes] right [along] the bottom." When you want to drain water or oil out, you don't have to lift the container but can drain liquid out the hole on the side. Ned said, "Just like a boat...when you wanna drain it out you have to pull it out."

'Scraper/Adze head' (*Ulimau*)

This artifact is a roughly trapezoidal object measuring just over 16cm lengthwise by 5.5cm at the wider end, tapering to about 4.0cm at the other, and about 3.0cm thick except for the ends, which are fashioned to a sharp edge (plate 11d). The wider end of the artifact has a section removed measuring 3.5cm in width by 1.25 in length. Towards one side of this end a small (0.75cm) chink has been taken out. From about the centre of the artifact

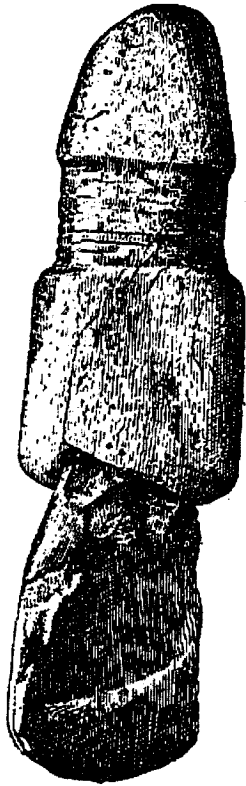


Figure 4. *Udlimaun*
illustrated by Murdoch
(1892:168)

hafted in the same manner as the old stone tools which were employed before the introduction of iron. Though axes and hatchets are frequently obtained by trading, they are never used as such, but the head is removed and rehafted so as to make an adze of it.

From the Elders' testimony, discussed below, it seems clear that the Inuvialuit and Inupiat *ulimaun* has a wider variety of uses than the Western adze.

This artifact was primarily recognized by Inuvialuit Elders as an old form of scraper, and secondarily identified as a woodworking tool. Only a few Elders had seen this kind of implement used during their lifetimes. Several Elders called it *ulimaun* (NA, SM, NK, BA, DCG, ACG), a term consistent in both Uummarmuit and Inupiaq. As a scraper, the *ulimaun* was used to remove fur,

towards the narrower end, the artifact has been worked into a slightly narrower 'waist.' This section is rough as a result of being worked with a tool that left small flake scars. The Parks Canada database called this object a 'bone scraper'. It was recovered from a small site, possibly a camp site, at Glacier Creek on the Firth River (NhVI-10, Parks no. 30Y146; plate 2).

The images that fit this object in the anthropological literature are generally called adzes. Stefansson (1919:108) illustrates an object similar to this one, while Murdoch (1892:165-172) describes a range of adze heads (called *udlimaun* in Inupiaq), bits (mostly of jade), and styles of hafting and lashing. Some are hafted to look more like adzes; others look distinctly like scrapers (Figures 4-6). Murdoch (1892:165) notes:

Even at the present day the Eskimo of Point Barrow use no tool for shaping large pieces of woodwork, except a short-handled adz,

and to scrape, soften, and tan the hides of caribou, moose, seal and polar bear (BA, WC, EA, DA). This size of *ulimaun* was considered too small for whale skins, however, which are very thick (MK). The artifact was thought to be made of a large dense bone such as a bowhead whale rib (NA, SM, DCG, DAG, FS) or perhaps ivory (MK, DR). Nellie Arey specified: "That's what my Daduk make, with ribs from those bowhead [whales]."

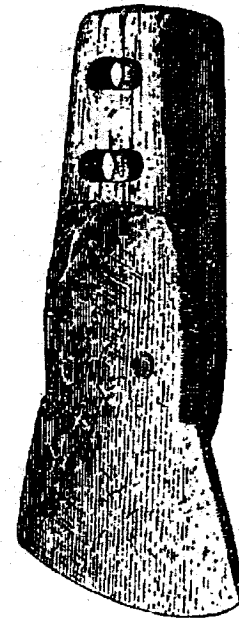


Figure 5. *Udlimaun* illustrated by Murdoch (1892:169)

The *ulimaun* was used in two different ways for scraping. When you are tanning a skin, Nellie Arey suggested that it is used with a handle: "This thing [ie. the head of the *ulimaun*] have handle and when you...put the skin up, [when] you tanning it, that's what you use." Her Uncle Ned Kayotuk added that it was also used this way when you "take the fur off" the skin. For finer scraping, the *ulimaun* was used slightly differently. When you need to do close-up scraping, Barbra Allen showed me how you hold the tool in your hand and scrape down and towards yourself in a pulling motion. When used this way, the *ulimaun* would have a string or lanyard attached to it (by way of the small chink at the wider end) that would loop around your hand and keep it there snugly as you worked (WC, DR). Many Elders pointed out that both ends could be used for scraping (WC, BA): the narrower end was sharpened while the wider end with the section removed was commonly thought to hold some kind of a bit (EA, DCG, HI, VA, FS, BA, MK), either of stone or bone (DR, WC). Several Elders, such as Elizabeth Aviugana, indicated that while they had knowledge of this type of scraper, "[since] we were born, we use knives and *ulu* for scraping hides" (also SS, LI). Others said that this type of scraper was used long before their time (JA, FS, JG).

The *ulimaun* was distinguished from another kind of scraper called *ikun* (HI, II, VA, RA, AH). Most Elders had more experience and knowledge with *ikun*, which

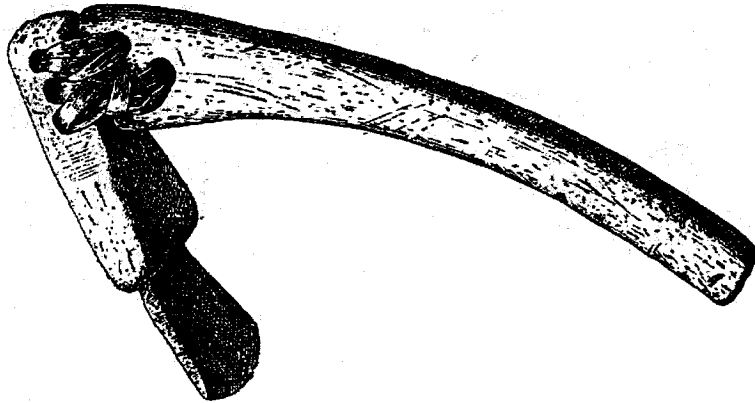


Figure 6. *Udlimaun* illustrated by Murdoch (1892:169)

has a wooden handle form-fit to the hand of the user and attached to a short section of pipe about 3-4cm in diameter that is used to scrape. I was

shown many varieties of *ikun* by Elders who still use them (see plate 8c). Says Ida Inglangasuk, "I use it lots! It's good thing to have." Other Elders did not recognize the term *ulimaun* and referred to all scrapers, including the artifact in question, as *ikun* (DR).

The other use for the *ulimaun* was as an adze for woodworking. Here, the waisted section of the artifact would have been attached to a long handle at 90°, as Ned Kayotuk said, "like an axe." Nellie Arey's grandfather showed her how to use the *ulimaun* this way for carving. "My Daduk used to have one about that big and that wide and he put a wooden handle on it. That's what he used to use to straighten his *uniabiq* (mud sled)." She added, "when he's making mud sled,...he used to make them from these real hard woods in the drift wood." Danny C. Gordon knew *ulimaun* only in its woodworking capacity: "[*Ulimaun*] is hatchet, it's not a scraper, it's for working with wood. Annie's grandfather's got one: *ulimaun*. It's made out of metal though. It's got a bone handle...[that's] still on it. And it's tied up with sealskin [binding]. But, it's got a regular steel head, and that's what we call *ulimaun*."

d. *Sledding*

Two artifacts categorized in the Parks Canada database as sledding apparatus, a sled runner fragment (*agalut*, pl. *agaluuk*) and a dog whip handle (*qimmilugatim ipua*), were questioned by the Elders. Their uncertainties stemmed partly from the fragmentary nature of the objects, and partly from the limitations placed by such narrow designations. They suggested that either artifact might be employed for a wider host of uses. Both the Elders and the published sources also have much to say about sledding and land travel in general.

'Sled runner fragment' (*Agalut*)

This artifact is made of decaying bone. It is long and thin, about 12 by 1.75cm at one end, tapering slightly at the other (plate 11e). Both ends are broken. There are two circular holes about 0.75cm in diameter, one towards the centre and one closer to the wider end; a third hole is visible where the break was made at the wider end. This artifact is labeled as a sled runner in the Parks Canada database. It was recovered from the site of *Niaqulik* (plate 2), located just west of Kay Point in Phillips Bay, on the Yukon North Slope.

There are a variety of descriptions of both sleds and sled runners in the anthropological literature of the Western Arctic. Petitot's description is typical and bears reading in full:

Tchiglit sledges consist of a wooden framework mounted on two rough hewn runners also made of wood. Their chief drawback is that they sink in the snow causing deep ruts that put a heavy strain on the dogs. Eskimos apply ice-shoeing to their sledge runners. Friction, of course, soon wears away this ice, so every two or three hours the Eskimo had to unload, upturn his *krémoutey* [ie. *komatiq*] and apply to the runners a new coating of mud and water which instantly freezes and, being made smooth when rubbed with mittens of walrus or polar bear skin, provides a fresh shoeing. To get water he has to dig 5 to 10 feet deep through sea ice. A team of 5 or 6 huskies spread fanwise is hitched to the sledge by a single line that winds once around the collar of each dog and then runs under its belly down to the sledge. The Eskimo drives his team without a whip, urging his dogs along with occasional shouts of *Koua! Koua!* repeated in

quick succession, supplemented on occasion by the oath *Atouwa!*

When a sudden extra tug is required [Savoie 1970:155-56].

There are several features of this account that differ from source to source, suggesting that traditions varied by regional group and perhaps even by family. These include: the size and design of the sled (called a mud sled because of the use of mud on the runners in spring); the length and material of the runners; the substance(s) used to ice the runners and the tool used to smooth them; the manner in which the dogs are harnessed and hitched; and the relative use of a dog whip (see below). Two further descriptive passages from Nuligak (1966:22) round out the picture of traditional sled travel: "Five, six, even nine Inuit families would travel together, piling all their belongings on sleds. A thick coat of frozen mud, *sermerk*, was smeared on the runners of the sled and its roughness smoothed out." "I would estimate the minimum weight of the load at about 2000 pounds per family, although a heavy load might weigh twice as much. I do not exaggerate—the heaped up load was most impressive: sacks of whale meat, game and fish, skin bags of oil, packets of boards cut from tree trunks found on the beach" (Nuligak 1966:23).

The Elders had a wide range of opinions about the artifact called a 'sled runner fragment', much of which was conjecture. Most were certain that it was too small to be a runner. A few suggested it might be part of a runner for a toy sled (MK, CH, FS).

Winnie Cockney had a dog team for many years before marriage and while she herself had a small store-bought toboggan, she traveled often with her father by mud sled, *uniabiq* (BA). I asked her how large the sled runners were for a mud sled: "For the bottom? Some of them, from the whale ribs, they use them for that, for the sled, from the black whale [bowhead]." She described the process of icing the runners during spring trapping season: "He always have those mud sled[s], my dad, when its time for us to come to [the] Delta, hunt rats. Big sled. They put, ah, pile up those moss from beside the lake, and mix it with water, and put it on [the runners]. When it's time to go down we always have to hold it [laughs]!" Because it's slippery, I asked? "*Really!* You have to

watch really good. When you have those mud sled [it's] that wide anyway. The bottom is slippery!" Other Elders gave similar accounts of how they iced their runners. Many, like Elizabeth Aviugana's father, used half-cooked flour spread on and then planed smooth with an *ikun* (scraper). A pair of sled runners is called *agaluuk* in Ummarmuit (DA, NA).

Sarah Meyook had a toy sled runner in her artifact collection which I discussed with her, her brother-in-law Ned Kayotuk, and her daughter Nellie Arey. Nellie said they used a "bull caribou's horn...when they make a [mud] sled for kids." Her Uncle Ned showed me how it would be bent up at the front for gliding. The runners, just like runners for a regular size *uniabiq*, were drilled along their length to be tacked to the sled. Ned explained: "[They] put bone for nails, that's why [they] make a hole like that." Nellie added that "they probably soak it in *ugruk* [bearded seal oil]" to keep it from cracking.

The Elders produced a variety of other speculative ideas about this artifact's function. David Roland described a traditional implement used for holding fish as they were caught. A line would run from the artifact, under the fish's gills, and hitch back onto it, presumably with a toggle (JG, JA). Winnie Cockney suggested that the artifact might be part of a sinew-backed bow. Another idea was that it was part of a net-making apparatus (II, RA), derived from the fact that the artifact looks somewhat like a netting needle: it is slightly pointed at the narrower end because of the way it is broken and widens to the other end which has a notch (made by the hole that is visible at the point where it broke). One last idea was that the object was part of a composite harpoon, although the part was not specified (VA).

'?Dog whip handle' (*Qimmilugatim ipua/ipirauta*)

This artifact is a long wooden object 35cm in length by approximately 4cm in diameter (plate 11f). One end is charred, but it is uncertain if it was charred to modify it into its present shape or charred after manufacture, thereby altering the original shape. The other end has a slight knob (2.5 cm in width) adjacent

to an 8cm stretch that looks like it was wrapped in cordage. The object is roundish in diameter, carved in long strips around the perimeter, with one side flatter than the others. At the centre of this flat section is a groove extending from the knobbed end midway into the corded section, where it ends with a 'T'. This artifact was identified as a 'whip handle' in the Parks Canada database. It was collected at a site on a small historic inlet just west of Catton Point where two log houses once stood (NiVj-8, Parks no. 30Y98; plate 2). There was a dog tether next to one of the house foundations.

A number of sources speak to the role of dogs in Inupiat culture. Ishmael Alunik talks about how dogs were trained to having a homing instinct, even in the darkness or the most inclement weather. He says "the lead dog could save their masters from getting lost or perishing in the cold Arctic climate" (Alunik 1998:92). Murdoch (1892:357-60, and following) suggests that puppies were often treated like babies, reared in the *iglu* and carried in the woman's *attigi* hood. The most spirited dog was often selected for lead, sometimes a female in heat to be sure that the others would follow. Generally speaking, a woman or child might guide the team and a man would follow to keep the sled on track; sometimes, the elderly would ride the sled, but the load was normally reserved for goods. In the eastern Arctic, dogs were harnessed in tandem and driven with whips, but these were seen less in the western Arctic, and not at all at Point Barrow. However, "when Lieut. Ray made a whip for driving his team, the natives called it *ipirauta*, a name essentially identical to that in the east" (meaning Greenland; Murdoch 1892:359).

There was widespread agreement that this artifact is a handle, *ipu* (DCG, II, HI, FS, VA, DA, AH, BA), but wide-ranging opinion on what it was a handle for. At first glance, the corded end appeared to many Elders to be where the object was held, but on second glance, they usually noticed that this was where something was bound in a groove with cordage. Several thought it might be for a dog whip (DR, WC, VA). David Roland convincingly explained that the 'T' in the groove was: "[for] the end of the whip, and it's tied up so it won't come

out. Mush! You put the line in there, put it this way, tie it up so it won't pull out." He then showed us how the other end had been charred to fit perfectly in one's right hand, including grooves for the fingers.

David Roland was one of the few Inuvialuit traveling long distance by dog team in the mid 20th century. He tells the following story:

From 1943-44, I came up [...] by dog-team...[It was] 300 miles, something like that...It took me twelve days to Tuk...Me and my wife. Our oldest daughter was just six months old. Travel all days, when the sun starts to go, I start to look for place for snow to build a house with, and when I find good snow to build a house I light the pilot stove and start to build snow house. And by the time I finish my snow house, tea is ready.

David said his daughter rode in the sled, and as for him, "Well, [I] ride on the dog sled, the toboggan. I was just young that time, after travel whole [day], I just have some tea and [I'm] ready to go again! Now I can't do that anymore!"

Consistent with the published sources above, many Inuvialuit Elders said they had not used dog whips but instead guided their dogs by whistling, snapping, and calling. Jacob Archie said that only the people before him had used whips. In a later conversation with his sister Rosie, he talked about whips used in the 1950s and 60s that were leather and had a wooden handle unlike this artifact. The type in question, he asserted, was used 'ages ago.' Winnie Cockney had a similar response: "I hardly used one. They listened to me. I had five dogs...Brownie, my leader was Brownie."

Other opinions about the length-wise groove of the artifact was that it might have held a seal hook (JA, MK, CH, JG, VA, EA), a bone chisel or spike (NK, CH), an implement for scraping or cleaning hides (DA), or a long slotted spoon or scoop to remove the snow for checking muskrat pushups (houses; EA). One argument against these latter interpretations, however, is that they are all hard objects that would not need to be secured by a 'T', but would rather just

be bound. Two additional explanations did not take the groove into consideration at all: that the object might be a seal (BA) or fish club (SS).

e. *Fishing*

Inuvialuit Elders had a great deal of experience with fishing in different seasons and conditions and extensive knowledge about fishing tackle. The artifacts described here include a net gauge (*kuvriugun*), possible net sinker (*kivvigutaaq* or *uyaraq*), fishhook (*nikhiq/niksiq*), and ice chisel. The sinker has been renamed from its designation as a 'handle' in the Parks database. Two distinctively Inuvialuit interpretations of the chisel are discussed here and in the ensuing whaling section.

'Net gauge' (*Kuvriugun*)

This wooden artifact is carved into a kind of key shape, with a long handle at one end, a point at the other, and a 4.75x 1cm 'key' or blade extending from the narrow end (plate 12a). Its entire length is 20.5cm and it is about 1cm deep. This object is labeled as a net gauge in the Parks Canada database. It was collected from an old sod house on the south side of *Qainuirvik* (plate 2). This lagoon is known to be a good spot for fishing herring.

Net gauges were in use for many centuries, starting from perhaps the 16th century, in Western Alaska (Giddings 1952, 1964 cited in McGhee 1974:57). McGhee (1974:57) recovered two bone and one fragmentary wooden gauge from Kittigaryuit. Murdoch illustrates a range of netting needles and a single gauge that he called a 'mesh stick.' He describes its use as follows:

The workman, holding the mesh stick by the handle in his left hand, with the blade downward, catches the mesh into which the knot is to be made with the hook, and holds it while the twine is carried down the left side of the blade, round the heel and through the mesh as usual, and drawn up till the preceding knot comes just to the point of the blade. This makes a loop of the proper length for a mesh round the stick. The point where the next knot is to be made is now caught between the thumb and finger of the right hand and the mesh stick taken out of the loop. The left thumb and finger, while the other fingers of this hand still

hold the handle of the stick, relieve the fingers of the right hand, which goes on to make the knot in the usual manner [Murdoch 1892:312].

This artifact was recognized by many Elders although none of them had used one themselves (VA, WC, DR, NA, AH, BA, DCG). The Elders called it *kuvriugun* or *kuvriugunuq*. David Roland, the oldest Elder interviewed, commented that you use “this one when you’re making net. I see one old man in Alaska making a net—you gotta be patient to do that [laughs]! [You put] that string like that, and then tie it up here.” This net gauge would make a small gauge net, either 1.5” or 3.0” if looped twice (DR); small gauge nets were made for herring or grayling and large ones for other fish (WC, VA). Victor Allen suggested that nets were made by “hang[ing] them on twines, every six inches or [so]. This one [the artifact] would be, you know, a measurement. You put couple of half knots. This [gauge] would be herring.” You make the gauge small because the babiche or sinew stretches when it’s wet, said Victor, and you make it solid so it doesn’t tear. He said they used sweep nets in mountain eddies when the fish are “coming down” and often, they caught lots at once. He said they would prop sticks in the eddy to indicate the amount of fish going by how much it jostled around. Nellie Arey concurs that this gauge would be used to make sweep nets, *kaktoon* (also NK), that functioned like ‘a big scoop’ where one person is on either side and ‘you sweep fish’ into it. On the coast, sweep nets were used in the fall time before the ice goes out for charr and herring (WC, NA, SM, NK). Frankie Stefansson’s father used a sweep net for fishing *quak* [ie. fish that would be frozen for winter fare] in the delta. Nets of larger gauges made for larger fish, seals, or whales were called *kuvraq* (SM, NA, VA, AH, BA, RA, JA, JG).

Many Elders were able to discern the use of this artifact based on their experience with fishing tackle and nets (FS, DA, EA). Other talked about or showed me netting needles (*nuvillaun*) that they had used (RA, DCG, BA). Traditionally, these needles were made of bone or ivory but more recently they have been produced in plastic.

'?Net sinker' (*Kivvigutaaq*)

This artifact consists of a piece of antler that curves in a slight arc. It is cut flush at both ends and measures 14.1cm in length by about by 4.2cm in diameter (plate 12b). It has not been worked but has two holes drilled through it on the concave side, one towards each end. There are nails in the holes, filed flush with the artifact. This object is identified as an *ulu* handle in the Parks Canada database but is renamed here as a possible sinker because the Elders did not agree with this designation. It was collected at site 76Y in *Qainuirvik* (Clarence Lagoon) in an old sod house (plate 2).

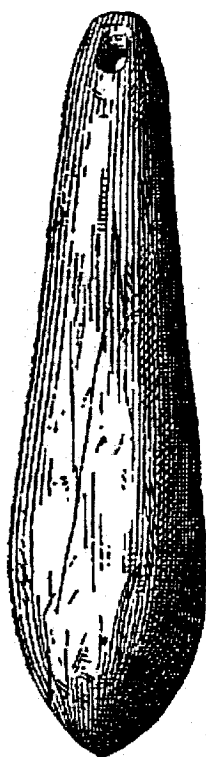


Figure 7. Tear-drop shaped ivory sinker illustrated by Murdoch (1892:282)

Sinkers are little discussed in the anthropological literature of the Western Arctic. McGhee (1974:57) collected six sinkers from Kittigaryuit that are all "irregular flat pebbles." Petitot, similarly, refers to a sinker as a "round stone with a hole in the middle" (Savoie 1970:182). Murdoch (1892:282) illustrates a tear-drop shaped ivory sinker with an eye at one end for a lanyard (Figure 7).

The Elders rejected the notion that this artifact is an *ulu* handle because *ulu* blades are inserted into either a long incision or a hole on the bottom side of a handle, and there is no incision or hole on the concave side of this artifact. The artifact was most frequently called a net sinker, *kivvigutaaq*. Sarah Meyook emphasized that this type of sinker was used long ago when you made nets from sinew. The holes drilled at either end were tied to the net to hold the edges down (NA, NK, ST, CH, II). Danny C. Gordon explained the advantages of making a sinker that tied at both ends: "This was good because it wouldn't get tangled up if you tie it [at] both ends. So when you pull it, it's always the way you want it."

Victor Allen talked about why they chose caribou antler for this kind of sinker: “when they're hard, they sink, but when the material gets old, they start floating. Horn is the same. They didn't use ivory for this purpose because it is too valuable. You can also measure with a sinker” (instead of a net gauge). Frankie Stefansson specified that bone sinkers of this kind would usually be made of bowhead ribs; he called these *givun*.

Hilda Irish pondered why you would spend the time to make sinkers when there are so many rocks around? In fact, several Elders used the word rock (*uyaraq*) synonymously with sinker (SS, EA, DA). Elizabeth Aviugana described how she used to sew rocks into pockets of cloth that could be tied to a net and be used as sinkers. Others just tied rocks to their nets.

It was also suggested that this object might have been used as some kind of handle, *ipu* (CH, VA, JG, DCG, ACG, EA, DR, WC). Barbra Allen observed that it was made from *tuktu* (or *tutu*), caribou antler, while her partner, Moses Kayotuk, added that you could also use the Ummarmuit verb *tiguulgiq* for something “that you hold on to.” Other suggestions included a handle for a saw (MK) or to stretch hides (DA). When we excavated this artifact at *Qainuirviq*, Inuvialuit Elder Andy Tardiff suggested it might be a door handle for a traditional house, like the ones that he had used growing up at Anderson River.

'Fishhook' (*Nikhiq/niksiq*)

This small teardrop shaped artifact is 3.75cm in length by about 0.8cm at its widest point, towards the centre (plate 12c). Both ends taper to a rounded point, one narrower than the other. There are two holes placed along the lengthwise axis at the narrow end, just over one millimeter in diameter and another at the wider end about 1.5mm in diameter. In cross-section, the object has been carved in a gentle curve from one end to the other. The artifact has a creamy colour with pinkish rings that run around its short axis. A brown spot on one surface is a natural inclusion in the material. The artifact,

labeled as a fishhook in the Parks Canada database, was one of many such objects recovered from a rock shelter at Engigstciak, on the Firth River (NiVk-10, Parks no. 56Y; plate 2).

Fishhooks are widely reported in many anthropological publications about the Western Arctic. Murdoch (1892:279-84) discusses and depicts small and large fishhooks, shore, river, and jigging tackle. Petitot wrote (though this seems doubtful) that the Sigliq made fishhooks out of wood (Savoie 1970:183).

Alunik talks at length about different Inupiat fishing strategies. His comments about jigging are insightful:

Ice fishing or jigging for fish was also practiced by the Inuit. Inuit made different size hooks out of bone. Some were four inches long and some two inches long. Some small ones for grayling and herring were about one inch long. The Inuit would put bate [sic] from the chin part of the fish and have a twisted sinew of caribou for each different kind of fish...Sometimes the ice would be over six feet thick and provided the Inuit with the first challenge of chiseling through thick ice before being able to use their ice fishing tools [Alunik 1998:63-64].

Most Elders' response upon seeing this object was '*Nikhiaq/niksiq* (fishhook)! How cute!' In fact, this was probably the most popular object in terms of stirring Elder's memories of their earlier days. They told stories of 'jigging' in mountain lakes, on the frozen rivers around Aklavik, and in the lagoons and estuaries of the Yukon Coast. It was quickly explained to me that the narrower end with two holes is where the line runs from. The hook—made of bone in traditional times and a nail or screw in historic times (JG, CH, JA)—occupied the other hole. Because the hook is so tiny, it was agreed that this was for a small fish. Most respondents suggested that it was made for grayling (MK, II, LI, FS, EA), but additional thoughts included sugar fish (NK), trout (II), *quak* [barrel fish] (EA), upstream charr (DR), or herring (VA). Elizabeth Aviugana was adamant that this hook was not for herring because, "they use fishnet for herring, *that's* [for] grayling."

The material that this hook is made from sparked a lively debate. While traditional fishhooks were often made from bone (and many Elders are still making these for sale [JA, DCG]) or as Jacob Archie told me, “anything [that] could sink, not wood [laughing]!” the pink rings on this artifact were thought to be more reminiscent of teeth (RA, LI, FS). The pink colouring of the rings brought to mind either polar bear (DR, DCG, ACG) or beluga teeth (ST, NA, DA). Other ideas about this material were walrus ‘teeth’ (DR), wolf teeth (HI), sheep horn (LI), and muskox horn (VA).

‘Chisel’

This metal and wood object is about 13.5 cm long and clearly of European provenience (plate 12d). At one end, the ‘chisel’ section is flat and wide with a rounded end, measuring 7.5 by 2.5 cm. It is visibly worn at the end. The object narrows to a 1.25cm wide waist at the base of the metal portion and expands to about 2cm where it meets the wooden handle. The handle originally inserted into and extended from the metal housing but is now worn nearly flush. This object is identified as a ‘chisel’ in the Parks Canada database. It was collected at the site of a historic occupation just west of Catton Point (plate 2).

There are a number of types of chisels used by the traditional Inuvialuit and Inupiat. Murdoch (1892:172-73) describes an implement called a ‘trinket-maker’ for working antler. Petitot discusses the use of ice chisels, which he names *toron*, and associated ice fishing gear, including the scoop called *illaun* (Savoie 1970:151). Traditional accounts of the uses of ice chisels or picks are rich in detail. Nuligak (1966:56) describes using an ice chisel to aid in making a snare. Alunik relays the use of an ice pick for setting nets in fall (1998:62) and for jigging in winter:

To make a hole in the ice, the Inuit used a chisel that was similar to those made by the Eastern Arctic Inuit. The chisel was made using hard sea mammal bones like the jaw bone of a beluga whale or the tusk of a walrus. Sometimes Inuit even used the big

green rock which is like jade stone and very hard...The handle of the chisel is about 5 feet long. The chisel head is fastened to the handle with raw hide made from seal or caribou. [Alunik 1998:64]

There was an interesting array of responses to this artifact, especially considering the fact that in western terms, it is a very straight forward object, a chisel. A number of Elders identified it as such (WC, ACG, FS). Most also mentioned that this item had been traded in from the outside. However, the way that Elders described its use was guided by their own experiences: they described the way 'chisels' were used traditionally and how those acquired through trade were adapted to Inuvialuit needs. A number of Elders related this artifact to the traditional ice chisel or ice pick (DR, SS, FS). David Roland said, "That could be an ice chisel. You see, long ago, before the metal start coming, we have [animal] bones like that, when we try to make a hole for fishing...Early in the morning, when the sun starts heading up, [you start work and] finally you make a hole before the sun sets down." Frankie Stefansson noted that Inuvialuit ice chisels are now made of metal, but in traditional times they were made from bone, teeth, tusk, and other hard objects.

Several explanations concerned the use of a chisel as something for making other tools: it could be used for wood carving (VA), with a hammer (HI, MK, CH), or for splitting wood (II). Danny A. Gordon said that he had seen chisels used to "smash rocks when you're looking for gold," a reference to the gold panning activities that were common on the Firth River in the first half of the 20th century. As a basic chisel, Barbra Allen called this implement *tuuq* in Uummarmuit, but I did not hear this moniker from other Elders. The most pervasive interpretation for this artifact is described in the next section.

f. *Whaling*

All of the Inuvialuit Elders interviewed spent substantial portions of their younger days whaling at the coastal sites, and many still participate in the annual beluga whale hunt. Whaling is a defining part of Inuvialuit identity, and *muktuuk* remains a favourite country food. The Elders associated two of the

artifacts with whaling. One was the chisel, which many associated with caulking iron for whaling schooners, and the other was the 'reinforcement,' a part of the harpooner's float and drag gear.

'Chisel' as caulking iron

Surprisingly, the chisel discussed in the previous section most often evoked childhood memories of whaling. The most pervasive interpretation of the chisel was in fact as an implement to 'cork schooners.' From the whaling period onward, schooners were adopted as a primary mode of summer travel among the Inuvialuit. After the close of the school year, many Elders traveled with their parents to bush camps in the delta and on to whale camp. Complete extended families, plus their dogs and other families picked up along the way, would travel to the coast for July and August (CH). Favourite spots for whaling include Shingle Point and formerly Whitefish Station on the west side of the delta, and Kendall Island and formerly (a different) Whitefish Station and Kittigaryuit on the east side. Sheba Selamio remembers that they always stayed down at Shingle Point for the whole summer, unlike today, where people stay only until they've caught their whale, enough to fill their freezer. She talks about the dangers of crossing Shallow Bay to get to Shingle Point, where sudden storms could affect you whether you are traveling in *umiaq*, schooner, or powerboat:

[My son] George always bring me down. He told me, 'Ma, my kicker [ie. motor] might [break] down!' [laughing] I don't like [to be] stuck when we go across! We always wait till good weather...I don't like taking a chance, you know, when you can't handle it when it come real fast [ie. the weather]. That's the way people drowned down there, huh? Windy, try to [cross]. When you hit a shallow place, that's the time you really gonna drowned, you can't go anywhere...It's gonna put water on you, drowned you. We might as well travel in a tank of water!

Other Elders talked about how quiet they had to be as children when whaling was going on, and about the roles men and women traditionally played in the hunt (HI, BA, ST, EA). When the men were successful, they raised flags for the

number of whales caught on the mast of their schooner. On shore, the following scene ensued:

Everyone rushed to the beach to help pull the white whales to shore. The children, with their jack-knives and ulus, cut bits of muktuk off the tail flipper and ate it raw. Then the women began to work and within an hour the whale was just a skeleton. The meat was sliced into big slabs and hung up on the racks to dry. The blubber was stripped off the hide, sliced into narrow strips and stored in the 45-gallon drums we brought with us. The first layer of the hide was made into muktuk. It was cut into nine-by-nine inch squares, hung on racks in bunches of ten and dried for two to three days. Then it was cooked and put into the same barrel as the blubber. This preserved it for eating through the winter months. [French 1976:72, 74].

Masak (French 1976:74) added of the roles of her grandparents:

"Grandfather was kept busy making ulus and sharpening them. My



grandmother's job was to teach us the art of cutting up the whale and making use of every bit of it. She taught us how to make containers from the stomach..."

Present-day Elders explained that cracks in the hull of the schooner were repaired by

Figure 8. Illustration of caulking iron

lining them with moss or cotton and hammering an object that looked like a chisel into the side of the boat (JA, NA, DA, EA, JG). Donald Aviugana affirmed: "That's for chinking boat. You know, long ago, they put cotton in and use that...That's what we used to use when we had our schooners." Other Elders, on hearing this explanation, refuted it saying that those objects were wider with a longer handle and are called caulking iron: they come with the schooners (LI, CH, FS; Figure 8). Jimmy Gordon, who once owned a boat company called 'Beluga Transport,' countered that caulking iron could come in all shapes and sizes. Frankie Stefansson, who formerly worked in a boat shop,

conceded that nature might have affected the shape of the present artifact: "Maybe it would be this shape now if it was in salt water." Both interpretations are likely true. Schooner captains probably used caulking iron, chisels, or any similar objects handy when they were doctoring their hulls.

'Reinforcement' for harpoon drag

This is a long narrow artifact made of bone, about 21 by 3.5cm (plate 12e). The ends, which taper to about 2.0 cm, are notched for lashing. There are three oval to squarish holes, one near the centre, and one toward each end. The artifact is slightly bowed lengthwise and the concave side has a groove down its centre. There is a blackening or staining on the convex side of the object. The Parks Canada database calls this a 'reinforcement,' but notably, does not specify the source of the information. This artifact was recovered during household excavations at the site of *Niaqulik* (plate 2).

Nuligak (1966:16) is the only published source to talk in detail about the mechanics of harpoon floats and drag lines:

Each kayak was furnished with two harpoons of very slender wood, eight or nine feet long. To one of the harpoons was attached a kind of skin bottle, rather small and inflated with air. A long string was tied to the end of the second harpoon. A wooden disc, *illiviark*, was fastened to the middle of the string, and at the end was another skin bag, larger than that of the first harpoon, and embellished by eagle feathers. The kayak itself was sixteen to eighteen feet long, and about fourteen inches deep. The two harpoons were placed on the foredeck.

He also viscerally portrays the scene of the beluga hunt and the first kill in the shallows at Kittigaryuit (Nuligak 1966:16):

Then, on the seaward side of the shallows, they faced the belugas and paddled forward all abreast. With loud shouts they struck the water with their paddles, splashing it in great cascades. Panic-stricken at the noise, the whale threw themselves on the sandbanks in their efforts to flee. The largest soon had but two feet of water beneath them, and found it impossible to escape. The Inuit called, then, at the top of their voices, the name of the oldest hunter. The first shot was reserved for him. The old man chose a very large beluga, snatched a harpoon from its place on the foredeck of the kayak, and hurled it at his prey.

As the animals try to escape, Nuligak (1966:65) explains how the drags function: "In a desperate effort to flee, she [the whale] whisked away dragging along the sealskin bottle attached to the harpoon line, as well as the wooden disc meant to check her flight."

This artifact was the source of a great deal of speculation and debate; all but the last identification are tentative. All Elders identified it as bone and several noted the staining and attributed it to *ugruq* (bearded seal oil). Several Elders suggested that it might be a sled runner section (VA, NK), perhaps for a child's sled (DR). The runner, in this case, would be oiled to stay flexible and slippery (NK). Two Elders thought that it might be a bow drill handle, where the notches at either end were tied with sinew (WC, II). Another suggestion was that it might have been a scraper with handles at each end for tanning and skinning hides (BA, EA). Jimmy Gordon, who worked as a reindeer herder throughout his teenage years, wondered whether the artifact might be part of a reindeer harness.

Frankie Stefansson, one of the last Elders to be interviewed, had the most convincing explanation. Interestingly, he used the same label as the Parks database, reinforcement. Frankie first debunked the idea that the artifact was a bowdrill because in that case, the holes would be round and it would not be covered in oil. He explained that the object is a reinforcement for a "disc...so when they harpoon a whale, the float would be on that side, this part is under water, like a drag, so it slows [the line and the attached whale] down." The reinforcement is placed cross-wise to the disc and tied where the holes are (they represent the centre and perimeter of the disc). Frankie drew a sketch of this drag gear (Figure 9). He said that he once found a disc like the one he describes at Kittygaryuit. The artifact is stained because "People always had oil [on their hands] when they cleaned it off, when they cleaned the harpoon off, their hands were greasy and then they get [on the harpoon gear]." He says whale oil will stain like that but seal oil (*ugruk*) will not. The reinforcement is made from a shoulder blade bone, presumably caribou.

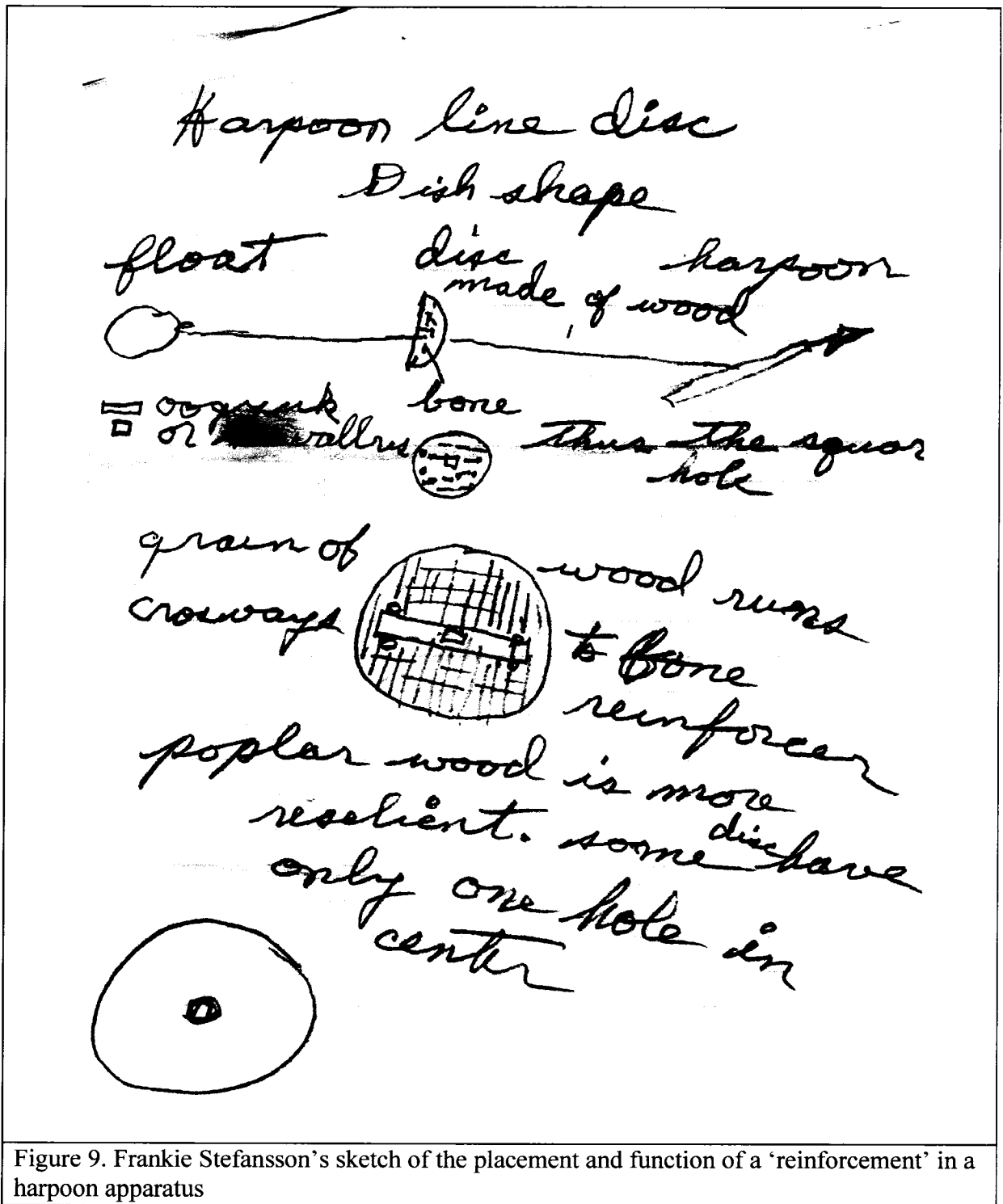


Figure 9. Frankie Stefansson's sketch of the placement and function of a 'reinforcement' in a harpoon apparatus

g. *Amusement*

Elders talked about numerous games they played as children, many of them using the natural objects around them. Below I talk about juggling (*iglukisaq/iglukihag*) and other amusements that Elders recalled.

'Juggling ball' (*iglukisaq/iglukihag*)

This object is a round ball or rock, 3.6cm in diameter, possibly made of clay (plate 12f). It has no distinguishing features besides its roundness. The Parks Canada database calls it a 'clay ball' and categorizes it as a toy. It was found in a historic log cabin at *Niaqulik* (plate 2) where other toys were found, including a toy boat, puzzle pieces, and the shred of a balloon.

Juggling is a pastime mentioned sporadically in the anthropological literature of the Western Arctic. Stefansson (1919:165) said: "Many seem expert jugglers, especially the women. They will keep three stones in the air with one hand, or keep one ball in the air a long time with the toe of one foot, kicking it several times in the air." Murdoch (1892:384) said this juggling is a favourite amusement,

...accompanied by a chant sung to a monotonous tune with very little air, but strongly marked time. I never succeeded in catching the words of this chant, which are uttered with considerable rapidity, and do not appear to be ordinary words. It begins 'yua yua yuka, yua yua yuka'; and some of the words are certainly indelicate to judge from the unequivocal gestures by which I saw them accompanied.

The majority of Elders identified this 'clay ball' as a natural though perfectly round stone like ones they'd seen at a variety of places such as Kendall Island (EA, ST), Herschel Island (HI), Firth River (II), Salmon River (FS), Stink Creek (RA), West Channel (NA), and on the coast in general (CH, SS). Some people speculated how these rocks were formed, such as by wave action (FS), rolling down hill (DCG, ACG), or by mud forming hard into rocks (WC). Only one Elder suggested that such objects might be made from clay by people (VA). Other ideas, usually presented in gest, were that these kinds of rocks were elephant eyeballs (DR) or swan eggs, the latter a type of rock that looks like a yoke

when it is cracked open (JA). Inuvialuit were generally very interested in the types of rocks that could be encountered on the land.

Most respondents made reference to the use of rocks for juggling, *iglukihag* in Uummarmuit, and *iglukisag* in Inupiaq, a game practiced by both children and adults (II, LI, CH, VA, FS, ST, BA, NA, SM, DA). Lucy Inglangasuk specified that juggling rocks were smaller than the artifact in question and were ‘real rocks, not those,’ possibly referring to the fact that this object is clay-like. The object of *iglukihag* was to juggle as long as you could, with either two or three balls (LI, NA). The mention of juggling compelled many Elders to talk about the toys they had (or didn’t) as children. Some had pet rocks (II), wax dolls (LI), or practiced other games such as *kipotuq*, a traditional game like horseshoes that uses a round ring, prisoner’s base (CH, VA), and *ayaqak*, the string game (like cat’s cradle; ST). Sarah Tingmiak demonstrated *ayaqak*, saying you could make “polar bears and caribou. All kinds of things, and fishnet and mountains in the sun” (see plate 7d). Her granddaughter, Breanna, a real expert, showed us how to make a swan. Sarah said that whoever lost a game when she was young would have to run around the house in the dark! She added, “Yeah, that’s all we play long ago. Now they got all kinds of toys!”

Chapter discussion

Inuvialuit Elders have expert knowledge of their culture, land, and history. They are the community scholars of their people. And, as representatives of the last generations born on the land, their stories deserve telling. This chapter has enfranchised Inuvialuit Elders from Aklavik and Inuvik, Northwest Territories, to tell stories about their social, cultural, and material history. When they talked about artifacts, they embedded them in a rich description of memories that are historically situated, and recall specific people, times, and places. Talking about artifacts compelled Elders to reflect on how they were raised, how they learned, and how they grew to be Inuvialuit themselves by emulating their parents and grandparents. This discussion comments on the distinctive ways that Inuvialuit Elders perceived the artifactual record of their

grandparents and ancestors. It then delves into the issue of how these perceptions provide a window into Inuvialuit understandings of the material record and the past, and its relation to present conditions.

The Elders' conceptions of the past issue from a culturally distinctive place. They were interested in telling Inuvialuit history from their own viewpoints, and specified the importance of passing this information onto their grandchildren and great grandchildren. Interested outsiders were welcome to listen, but their stories were intended mainly for their people. In examining and discussing artifacts, the Elders had little concern with the views of outsiders, but a great concern with 'getting it right' for their people (also see Loring 2001). As Moses Kayotuk said to his partner Barbra Allen, "[it] may take a while to figure it out; you gotta think lots...They didn't just make them for nothing, those old people." Another important feature of the way they worked was the central role of dialogue. Elders would discuss various interpretations with me or amongst themselves until they came up with a satisfactory answer, or alternatively, drew a blank.

Their interpretations sometimes agreed with the anthropological literature, sometimes departed from it, and most often broadened the interpretations recorded by archaeologists in the Parks Canada database. Those explanations that were in accord with the archaeologists' included: the fleshing knife, thought to be an all-round utility knife, the net gauge, and the fishhook. They agreed that the possible *ulu* fragment was a broken knife of some sort, and that the core and flake were 'broken rocks' of a flint-like material, *anmaak*, once used for tools. The Elders broadened and textured the interpretations of such artifacts as the snow knife, which could also be used for cutting meat and eating, the dog whip handle, which could ostensibly be used as a handle for a whole host of other things, and the wooden plug. Both the chisel and the object originally called a 'scraper' in the Parks Canada database were totally re-conceptualized in Inuvialuit terms. A regular, metal chisel evoked the use of ice chisels, caulking iron, and other things to Elders. The 'scraper,' or *ulimaun*,

was a tool for both scraping and woodworking, which was hafted and utilized in culturally distinct ways. The Elders also re-categorized what had been called an 'ulu handle' as a sinker, *kuvriugun*, and a clay ball as a natural rock used for juggling, *igluqihaq* or *igluqisaq*. They questioned the interpretation of a sled runner fragment because of its size and fragmentariness, as well as the whetstone, because they recalled a range of other types of sharpeners. One object, the bird blunt, was beyond all Elders' memory, though as hunters and manufacturers of traditional tools, they were interested in its features and design. Ned Kayotuk sagely told me to check the old books, where I'd surely find an explanation! Ned is referring to books such as Murdoch's (1892) 'Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition' and Stefansson's (1919) Stefansson-Anderson Arctic Expedition, which he knew existed but, not being literate, had never read himself.

The Elders' way of looking at the artifacts of their history provided a subtle critique of archaeological epistemology, and challenged assumptions about outsiders' classifications of Inuvialuit material culture. They tended to look at objects from a very pragmatic viewpoint borne of living on the land in its very literal sense: the Inuvialuit are very practical people that use whatever is at hand for their immediate needs. This is the reason that so many of the artifact functions designated by archaeologists were expanded to a host of other uses. And though these Elders may be a generation or more removed from the use of many of these objects, they are generally better situated than most outside observers to speculate on the intentions and objectives of their parents, grandparents, and ancestors who produced these items.

Beyond functional differences in artifact classifications, the Elders' discussions of the material history of their people yielded a second distinctive aspect of Inuvialuit perceptions of history. It quickly became apparent that the artifacts served as a visual representation, or mnemonic, of other times, places, stories, and emotions (cf. Tarlow 2000). The tangible material form of the artifacts was a real source of delight to Elders, but it was this sense of

personal history that came across as each Elder related the artifacts to their own experiences of the past, and discussed the artifacts' meaning(s) in the present. This experiential avenue into the Inuvialuit past provided a rich and multi-vocal commentary on the Inuvialuit past, where personal (his)stories and (her)stories came alive.

Archaeologist Matthew Johnson (1999:123) has explored the issue of agency in reference to the relationship between people and artifacts. He asks if people and artifacts are "actively making their own identities and histories," or, if they are "engaged in passive hopeless resistance to inexorable historical forces?" Johnson sees a tension between the "real and enduring structures on the one hand," referring to the passive and inert physical nature of artifacts (and past peoples), and the "constant shifting meanings on the other," constituting the active relationships that are (and were) created between people and objects (Johnson 1999: 129). Humans are material creatures that construct and modify the world around them; objects, in their stead, are actively given meaning by the people that create and use them. Adds Chris Gosden (2005:198), "the sorts of sensory and emotional responses that objects elicit are key to their social power."

The objects used in this study have individual life histories (Appadurai 1986:5). These histories were partially re-constructed in multiple fragmented narratives by the Elders that formed part of a wider historical context. The meanings and interpretations of artifacts were subject to a kind of ongoing construction and negotiation. They took on symbolic and practical meaning(s) both through their material forms and through their trajectories of use (Appadurai 1986: 17, 29; Beaudry et al 1991). Mary Beaudry and colleagues (1991:156-167) emphasize the importance of combining emic and etic perspectives of material culture that form a discourse which may or may not be in opposition to dominant ideologies. The artifacts used in this study have taken on an active life of their own, becoming visual and material representations of other times and places and at the same time, creating

statements about the present political context and situation in which they are located.

A good example of this process revolves around the object called a 'chisel' in the Parks Canada database. In western terms, it is a basic metal chisel with a worn wooden handle, manufactured in Europe and brought by either whalers or traders to the Inuvialuit region in the historic period. This seems like a simple interpretation, yet only three of twenty-five Elders identified it as such (WC, ACG, FS). A few called it an ice chisel or pick, a variety of others attributed its use to making other tools or wood carving, and another had seen it used for gold panning. The most pervasive interpretation, however, was the use of this implement to 'cork schooners,' referring to the caulking of holes in the hulls of whaling schooner when they were in dry-dock. This interpretation opened a rich archive of stories from Elders about the whaling era, when they traveled to the coast with their parents, grandparents, and sled dogs at the close of the school year in the delta.

This example provides a glimpse into Inuvialuit perceptions of the past, where multiple stories can arise from each artifact. Objects are not construed strictly as objects, *per se*, but *in relation* to the traditional seasonal activities of Inuvialuit families and individuals. Individual interpretations are drawn from the different Elder's experiences of the way material culture from the outside was adapted to suit the needs of their families and themselves. One Elder may contest another's interpretation, but consensus was not sought, nor deemed of importance. The fundamental purpose of telling stories about the artifacts was instead to imprint Inuvialuit identity onto the past from a number of distinct perspectives. The Elders' sense of themselves, pride in their heritage and their cultural identity, came out of the stories they told as they handled the objects that belonged to their grandparents and ancestors. The original maker and user, one assumes, would have held yet another set of meanings and attachments for the same object.

Inuvialuit material culture actively represents what it means to be Inuvialuit, and to negotiate that culture with the outside world. It provides evidence of their long tenure in the region and their claims to the land in the present. Many of these Elders have been politically active in a variety of senses, as progenitors of the Inuvialuit land claim, as legal interpreters, and as conscientious objectors to the Federal government's suggestion that they move from Aklavik to Inuvik. The motto 'Never Say Die' came out of this objection and has become Aklavik's enduring statement about itself to the outside world. It forms part of this ongoing discourse with southern government and industrial powers, and the dominant culture of the south. It is a comment on the colonial condition which the Inuvialuit are working hard today to move beyond. Currently, the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in are negotiating self-government agreements with the Government of Canada.

Inuvialuit perceptions of material culture and the past suggest that an Inuvialuit Archaeology be drawn from western, science-based archaeology, yet be distinct from it. It is an archaeology that draws on experiences of life on the land, and a time when the Inuvialuit were self-sufficient people. It is an archaeology where the material form of artifacts are actively discussed, negotiated, and contested, and are also subject to a shifting landscape of symbolic meanings, depending on the commentator. This shaping and re-shaping of the meanings of the material world by cultural insiders provides important insights into the social relations of the past and the present.

As suggested above, Inuvialuit Elders did not confine their comments about Inuvialuit material and social circumstances to days gone by. They had clear and articulate opinions about the state of cultural heritage in their territory and proscriptions for how their culture might be practiced in the present context. In the next chapter, both the Elders and their children's generation discuss the importance of Inuvialuit history to contemporary identity and cultural legitimacy.

Chapter eight. Discussion: Inuvialuit identity & the material past

There is a conflict between Western science and traditional worldviews—'scientists' think their knowledge is superior. Furthermore, anthropologists, and especially archaeologists, seem to have a romantic view of Aboriginal societies. The only way to reconcile these positions is for them to work in our communities.

Cathy Cockney, 2006

Maintaining the language, culture, stories and lifestyle is critical to maintaining Inuvialuit identity; the oil and gas will come and go but the culture will stay with us.

Jerry Kisoun, 2006

I began this thesis by naming the injustices (*sensu* Leone 2003) I saw in the one-sided representation of Inuvialuit in the written historical record, despite their ample, if untapped, archaeological history. My motivation has been to create a conscious dialogue with the Inuvialuit community about the past, and to enfranchise their voices into the process of writing about that past. Through this process, my goals were to gain a greater understanding of an insider's perspective on the Inuvialuit past, and its attendant material culture, and to maintain a critical and reflexive approach to observing and documenting the process of building a relationship with the community. I discuss both of these objectives in this chapter.

In formulating my thoughts for the first part of this discussion, I kept returning to a series of common threads that ran throughout the interviews. Both the Inuvialuit Elders, and the succeeding generations of community leaders and decision-makers whom I interviewed, two of whom are cited above, did not hesitate to express who they are as a people and where they have come from. They had a clear sense of their identity, its tie to the land, and the authenticity of their knowledge about their singular and collective pasts. Friedman (1992:854) tells us that "history is the discourse of identity, the question of who 'owns' or appropriates the past is a question of who is able to identify him- or herself and the other at any given time and place." Writing from a

vantage point in the dawn of postmodern thought in archaeology, he goes on: "If the fragmentation of a world order implies the multiplication of cultural identities [Friedman 1989:67], the latter is expressed in a proliferation of histories. Multiple identities imply multiple histories." Despite the passage of time, Friedman's words still ring true, and in the case of the Inuvialuit, articulate the ties that bind people to place, and constitute what it means to be Inuvialuit. Inuvialuit with whom I spoke always seemed certain, but never forceful, of where they stand in relation to 'others'. Their narratives were shared with me as an outsider, constructed in the present to meet the occasion of our present circumstances (cf. Leone 1995). The Elders charted me through the waters of their histories, tracing the relationships of families, the landscapes they frequented, and the changes witnessed in social, economic, and technological realms vis à vis the cultural others that entered and settled in their lands. The relationship of their children to cultural others has grown perhaps more intense and complex, but the defining us *versus* them dichotomy remains strong.

The Elders' knowledge about the world of their forebears is on display in the previous chapter. Here, we see their admiration for the ingenuity, adaptability, creativity, and cultural strength of their parents, grandparents, and the generations before them. In the critical analysis of Inuvialuit representation (chapter 5), we are drawn through many of the radical transformations that transpired in Inuvialuit territory in the 20th century, largely through the eyes of outsiders. In the first part of this chapter, I wish to stay in the present through a discussion of Inuvialuit views about practices related to archaeology and cultural heritage. Both Elders, and to a greater extent, Inuvialuit community leaders, spoke eloquently and at length about various facets of archaeological and cultural heritage practices. Below, I summarize their words concerning a range of salient issues: their experiences with archaeologists and anthropologists; their critique of the work of these outsiders and their assessment of its relative merits; their views on the care of cultural materials; their views on the current state of cultural heritage in the Inuvialuit Settlement

Region, and, finally; their ideas concerning Inuvialuit identity and the material past.

My intention in this first portion of the discussion is to listen to Inuvialuit talk about archaeology and cultural heritage as opposed to imposing my interpretations on their words. I feel that the greatest potential for enfranchising Inuvialuit into the process of representing their own past(s) comes from hearing and documenting their views about themselves and about us, as archaeologists and cultural outsiders. Similarly, the greatest potential for social action and change with respect to increasing Inuvialuit self-representation comes from educating younger generations about where they come from, a task very close to the hearts of many Inuvialuit Elders and educators. Both Inuvialuit Elders and community leaders talk below about how they see such processes unfolding, at least in an ideal sense.

I should pause here to introduce the Inuvialuit community leaders whom I interviewed in April 2006 whose views are cited throughout this chapter.³³ All of these individuals have worked diligently in political, educational, and/or cultural heritage contexts to preserve and sustain Inuvialuit culture and to bring increased cultural and economic opportunities to their people. Billy Archie is Inuvialuit Elder Jacob Archie's son, and the former mayor of Aklavik. Jerry Kisoun is Victor Allen's son and a community liaison for Parks Canada in Inuvik. Cathy Cockney is Winnie Cockney's daughter, and the manager of the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre. Mervin Joe was raised in Aklavik and is the nephew of Barbra Allen, Rosie and Jacob Archie, and Ida Inglangasuk, and the grandnephew of Hilda Irish. He is a Parks Canada warden working primarily in Ivvavik National Park. Nellie Cournoyea is the CEO of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation and was one of the founding members of the Committee for Original People's Entitlement and a signatory to the Inuvialuit Final Agreement. Finally, Alan Fehr is the superintendent of the Western Arctic Parks who has

³³ Because I took notes as opposed to recording these interviews, the words of these individuals are paraphrased throughout this chapter.

worked for many decades with the delta people in educational and joint management ventures.

The second part of this discussion is used as a site to reflect on the process of building a relationship between myself and the Inuvialuit community. I start by discussing and critiquing elements of the participatory research model that needed refining in my particular situation (a situation in which other community researchers might also find themselves). I then revisit the criteria for establishing an 'ideal speech situation' and evaluate how far we've come in terms of meeting those requirements, and at a broader scale, working towards the development of a localized critical theory in the Inuvialuit community. Finally, I consider best practices for engaging and sustaining a relationship with an Aboriginal community towards collaborative ends.

Inuvialuit identity & the material past

Inuvialuit experiences with archaeologists & anthropologists

The Inuvialuit are a relatively understudied group from an anthropological viewpoint, especially in comparison to the Inuit of the Canadian eastern Arctic. Chapter five documented the relative flurry of anthropological attention that accompanied the building of Inuvik. During this period, anthropologists John and Irma Honigmann (1970:5), in a rare moment of reflexivity, wrote about their struggle to engage with the Aboriginal population of the growing centre: "The community had known researchers before and had been exposed to house-to-house interviewing, and we sensed its resistance. Humorous comments about it being an early season for anthropologists alerted us to be wary." The present Elders generation, however, made no reference to such sentiments and moreover, were rarely aware of the terms 'archaeologist' and 'anthropologist.' A few Elders recounted passing experiences with these kinds of researchers and a very few had direct experiences.

What was apparent, however, was the caution or skepticism that the Elders extended towards outsiders and southerners generally, including southern

researchers. This attitude is understandable: Inuvialuit have grown accustomed to southerners streaming into their territory to acquire an authentic 'northern experience' who are full of promises that frequently go unfulfilled. Younger generations of Inuvialuit share this skepticism, which in some cases has intensified into dislike and disregard of southerners and outsiders alike. Their experiences are distinct from their parents'—this entire generation grew up in town, attended residential schools, and was prevented from learning their native languages. It is perhaps for these reasons that some of these individuals are resentful of southerners and cultural outsiders. Others among this generation, however, are warm and welcoming to newcomers. These younger generations are widely conversant with southern researchers and their various approaches, but their views are beyond the scope of this discussion. I focus below on the Elders' experiences with and reception of anthropological and archaeological outsiders.

Frankie Stefansson was among those few Inuvialuit who had direct experience with archaeology and archaeologists. As a teenager, Frankie worked with Richard (Scotty) MacNeish, who did some of the earliest archaeological work on the Yukon coast. Frankie talked fondly about taking Scotty and his wife June Helm to Tuktoyaktuk and Whitefish (whaling) Station to interview Elders like Duncan Cockney, Old Felix, and Old Raddi. He said that the oldtimers didn't mind talking to Scotty, especially because Frankie's father Alex had instructed Scotty to bring 'tongue-loosener.' Scotty loosened their tongues in order to ask the oldtimers where the old sites were. They responded obligingly, according to Frankie, who said: "Yeah, they went to [Whitefish Station] and Dad worked as translator. But those people, they didn't mind...we didn't bother them." Decades later Frankie would be employed as a guide by Icelandic anthropologist Gisli Palsson, who wrote an account of the 'hidden life' of Vilhjalmur Stefansson, referring to Stefansson's Inuvialuit family and their descendants (Palsson 2005). Frankie today maintains an attitude that is equal parts enthusiasm and criticism towards the anthropological enterprise. He is an avid reader of northern ethnographies, and spends hours each day in the

library, but at the same time, can be sharply critical of how Inuvialuit are portrayed by outsiders (see next section).

Victor Allen also worked with a number of archaeologists over the course of his life. He gives a favourable account of his time working with Yukon territorial archaeologist Jeff Hunston at Herschel Island when he was a ranger there. As described in Chapter five, Victor also directed Robert McGhee to Kittygaryuit in the late 1960s. At the time, he tells me, he wondered how such researchers could have no knowledge of this important site. Other Elders had more fleeting experiences of archaeology and archaeologists. Danny C. Gordon had passing contact with archaeologists doing work at Blow River. Ida Inglangasuk and Nellie Arey visited our excavations at Clarence Lagoon in 2003 where we documented their oral memories of the area (Lyons 2004). Lucy Inglangasuk's son Dennis (d.) did archaeological fieldwork with Parks Canada, and, she said, enjoyed his experiences despite the bugs!

Inuvialuit critique of archaeology & anthropology & assessment of its merits

The Inuvialuit articulated wide-ranging critiques of the practices of outside researchers surrounding the treatment of both Inuvialuit and their material culture. They also assessed the merits of archaeology, and its relative importance to the cultural heritage agenda of the Inuvialuit.

Some Elders, like Moses Kayotuk, didn't want to hear what outsiders had to say about Inuvialuit artifacts at first. He thought those ideas might be 'crazy.' Later in our conversations, he added in gest, "oh yeah, I don't mind to hear what it is [you folks think]." Others, like Frankie Stefansson, debunked the knowledge in much of the ethnographies as errant, and cited numerous problems with the early translations from Inuvialuktun languages. He himself is the grandson of the notorious explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson and has mixed feelings about this heritage, and about the role that southerners have played in the representation of Inuvialuit history. Frankie responded to the question of whether an outsider can or should try to help the Inuvialuit interpret their

material culture as follows: "I can't even speak for myself on that, cuz sometimes I go, 'what the hell is white man thinking?!'" Victor Allen had a similarly astute commentary on the historical practices of anthropologists and archaeologists and suggested a turning of the tables. "I ask you: why do you study us? Why don't we go down there, study all your bones, measure your earlobes, that kind of stuff [laughs]. All these explorers—they had anthropologists, archaeologists... [They] tried to look for the Northwest Passage; they thought the Orient was up there [pointing north]!"

Younger generations of Inuvialuit leveled similar criticisms at the anthropological disciplines and talked about the outcomes of years of foreign recording practices. Cathy Cockney feels that certain aspects of the ethnographic record which have become dogma should be problematized and re-evaluated. As an example, she criticizes population figures that are routinely cited in anthropological works that suggest that 80-90% of Inuvialuit died in the epidemics of 1902. She feels that the estimate is much too high. Her sense is that, at the time, a lot of people were out on the land, and not in the centres where the censuses were taken, at places such as Kittigaryuit and Herschel Island, which were hit especially hard. Cockney also denounces the cultural attitudes of outsiders that come north to work with Inuvialuit and other Indigenous groups. "There is a conflict between Western science and traditional worldviews: the scientists think their knowledge is superior." Furthermore, "Anthropologists, and especially archaeologists, have a romantic view of Aboriginal societies." She recommends, sensibly, that they work more closely with the Aboriginal community to become more in tune with the realities of community needs and objectives.

The union of scientific and traditional approaches could also alleviate other perceived shortcomings in archaeological methods. Nellie Cournoyea feels that the recording and categorizing practices of Aboriginal cultures by southern researchers have led to the imposition of outsider's classification systems on Inuvialuit cultural objects and activities. This criticism was addressed by Elders

in the previous chapter, who often named and categorized cultural objects in their own ways, and from their own perspectives. Cathy Cockney notes that this is why "it is especially important to have the raw data and results of archaeological work in report form. The traditional names (of both places and objects) should be used as much as possible."

Elders generally felt that documenting the past through oral history, archaeology, and other means, was an important pursuit. Some were cautious about my intentions, as an outsider, to help the Inuvialuit with heritage initiatives, but these individuals seemed to warm to the project as they became more informed (BD, VA, FS; and see final section of this chapter). Victor Allen was particularly skeptical about my intentions in the first year of interviewing. When I returned to do verification work in 2006, he was very pleased to see me again and voiced this opinion: "I just want to tell you the truth. I'm glad you done something for me right here. Now I *believe* you, eh? Yeah, I have faith in you...I'm proud of you." Hilda Irish expressed these feelings about the present project, "That's really good when somebody's working like that, you know. [Making] something to remember...long ago."

Many Elders, particularly those from Aklavik, asserted that not enough of this type of work is being done (HI, II, NA). Danny C. Gordon made the following comments about archaeology:

I think it's appreciat[ed] 'cuz we're actually retrieving what's on the ground. That should have been done years ago, you know. Because we can't even recognize some of the stuff you've got. [We] should be able to, but we don't. Because we've never used it. If somebody would've came 40 years ago when my dad was alive, you know, he would have said, 'oh yeah, I used that stuff, I know how to make it.' But I don't. Too young.

Ned Kayotuk saw the utility of archaeology as a way to document "old camps, old people, that way, you could find people, what they use for hunting [etc.]." When you find "the old people's stuff," Ned felt, you can "use it. That way, we could learn...[how] the old peoples long ago lived." He suggested that

archaeology was a good way to teach 'others' about the Inuvialuit: "if you took it to the south, [the people there] could find out how we lived."

I asked Inuvialuit community leaders how archaeology ranks in importance, in their estimation, with oral history, language, and other cultural heritage work. As opposed to the specialization of such activities in the south, I was informed that these activities work well in concert with one another. It was Nellie Cournoyea's opinion that "archaeology establishes facts and information that supplement a primarily oral tradition. It works together with oral history and language work to produce a common information base to draw on for curriculum development and other needs." Cathy Cockney feels that more archaeological work is needed, but that training and capacity building need to be a consistent part of this effort. Both she and Nellie state that language and oral history are the focus of Inuvialuit cultural efforts right now because of the time element related to the passing of Elders' knowledge. Billy Archie believes that archaeology is an important tool to document the culture, but senses that the wider community lacks the education to understand and appreciate its merits. He makes the inference, which is explored further below, that the information base gained from archaeological study needs to be transformed into educational mediums that are digestible by youth and other community members.

Care of cultural materials

This topic was touched on in the preceding chapter, but I felt it merited further exploration because it is a sensitive subject to many Inuvialuit. Both Elders and community leaders had clear ideas about the care of cultural materials from a distinctly Inuvialuit perspective. Elders shared common notions about the treatment of burials, but had more variable opinions about the display and circulation of Inuvialuit material culture. Both Elders and community leaders made certain recommendations about how the material record should be managed on the land and in the communities.

Elders' views about the treatment of burials and grave goods were summarized in chapter seven. Most Elders were taught not to touch objects associated with burials, though many collected artifacts from non-burial contexts. Colin Gordon suggested that many Inuvialuit desecrated graves because they didn't know any better (eg. they were in conflict between traditional values and the desire to respond to the requests of cultural newcomers who wished to make artifact collections). Later, of course, this kind of behaviour became associated with archaeologists. Victor Allen gave this astute critique in the first round of interviews: "Well, at one time there was a policy you're not supposed to touch [burials]. But see, these people that study stuff like this, they take it and they're not going to throw it back. They're gonna put it in a box like you got right now [laughs]." Victor was referring to the pelican case that I used to house the artifacts that I was asking Elders to interpret.

Inuvialuit community leaders further explicated the Elders' position. Jerry Kisoun said that Elders feel a little mixed when it come to graves—Elders don't want them disturbed because graves represent what is done and finished. Other kinds of features, like ice cellars or houses, are fine to excavate, and many Elders support this work. Nellie Cournoyea articulated:

Many Elders feel it's a natural process for graves to erode away. It's the younger generations that worry about 'saving' them through archaeological salvage. At one time, there was talk of excavating and reburying threatened graves at Herschel Island but it never went anywhere, primarily because of the Elders' wishes.

Cathy Cockney's sense is that most of the grave looting has been by outsiders and that her people picked artifacts up in eroding shorelines and similar locales. She thinks that there is good potential for community monitoring programs and for further education in the schools about preservation of the archaeological record, which is currently not addressed in the curriculum.

Elders were well aware that both the sites and artifacts are rapidly disappearing, and they had a diversity of ideas about how to address these issues. There was a very real sense that many of the artifacts have been

'liberated,' to use Frankie Stefansson's phrase, by looting and other means (blame seems to be placed equally on Inuvialuit and 'white' people). They have actively observed the disappearance of old sites through the forces of nature (JA, DAG, ACG). Donald Aviugana felt that there should be stronger enforcement of the use of old sites to protect the record that remains:

People picked up all the artifacts and...they're not supposed to. [There] used to be a lot around Whitefish Station...They're not allowed to [take them] without permission...People don't know [and] they just grab them...Yeah, some white people go down there too and they just pick it up or whatever. Every person that's around there, they're supposed to have a guide. They just can't go down there alone and dig around for artifacts...That's the only way to protect our land.

Moses Kayotuk felt that traditional sites "should be protected alright."

The Elders also made recommendations about the care of artifacts removed from the land. Danny C. Gordon held the following opinion: "Artifacts, if they're collected, they shouldn't send them south anymore. [They should] keep them in this region. We should be able to see them, [the artifacts] from Herschel Island, Shingle Point, Stokes, Point, *Niaqulik*..." He added: "Some of that stuff, I'd love to see. We could display them! But I haven't seen them displayed...It gives you all the smiles, you know, [when you see] what they made a hundred years ago." Winnie Cockney was uncomfortable with the idea of displaying artifacts. She has visited Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife and is aware of southern museum and other institutional collections. She makes the association between displayed artifacts and grave goods and it makes her feel 'ticklish' (ie. uncomfortable) because her mom told her not to touch graves. Other Elders did not make the association of grave goods and museum display.

The state of cultural heritage in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region

I asked Inuvialuit community leaders what the state of and most pressing concerns are for cultural heritage in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR). Their responses were diverse yet remarkably optimistic.

Cathy Cockney, who has been involved in cultural heritage development for over a decade, took stock of the cultural programming in the ISR. She commented that oral history documentation was done relatively well in the past, first by the Oblate priests and then by the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE), and has continued apace. She believes that both interest and opportunities have increased over the last two decades since the land claim was signed. Cathy feels there are strong language programs in Holman and Tuktoyaktuk. A drum dancing revival has occurred in communities such as Aklavik, Inuvik, and a youth dance group in Paulatuuq. Inuvik, she felt, was 'too modern' for the revival of some traditional cultural elements.

Jerry Kisoun, who runs the annual Inuvik Muskrat Jamboree and emcee's many cultural events, thinks there is a high level of cultural awareness in the Inuvialuit community. Although costs for machinery and gas are prohibitively high, he was optimistic about the numbers of families involved in annual trapping, whaling, and other land-based activities, including teaching children bush skills. He felt, unlike others, that there is considerable cultural interaction between Gwich'in and Inuvialuit, partly because many families, like his own, are of mixed origin.

Aklavik, it was generally felt, has languished somewhat in terms of cultural programming and practice. Billy Archie feels that Aklavik needs a place to tell local stories, like a more vibrant Visitor's Centre. He himself is working towards reviving the old Fur Shop, while Moose Kerr School Principal Velma Illasiak is working hard to introduce cultural and language programming into her school. Donald Aviugana, amongst other Aklavik Elders (II, RA, JA), noted that both the Aklavik Elders Committee and the Youth and Elders Committee have disbanded and Elders no longer get together on a regular basis to meet, fundraise, or discuss community issues. They are encouraged by the recent revival of an Elders Program by the nursing staff at Susie Husky Health Centre.

Community leaders cited the most pressing goals in cultural heritage in the Western Arctic as language and cultural revival. Cathy Cockney and Nellie Cournoyea have been working closely towards launching an Inuvialuktun language curriculum this year or next. Many Elders have commented to me that they think the language is nearly gone, but when I ask Nellie if she thinks the language can be revived, she replies in a very upbeat tone:

Anything is possible. We need to be more aggressive about it—there are not enough books, films, and the like on the Inuvialuit. I think we have partially suffered from a pan-Inuit approach to culture in the north in the past. Cultural heritage programming and projects are also dependent on financial resources. ICS [Inuvialuit Communications Society] has done a lot of work but we need to upgrade the level of TV programming.

Jerry Kisoun focused on other aspects of cultural revival: “We need to maintain the culture for the kids by teaching them to live on the land through hunting and whaling, practicing song and dance, participating in Northern Games, and recording all these things.”

Alan Fehr feels that social development is the greatest concern in the ISR. He talked about the critical role of Inuvialuit politicians who need to assess the state of their society and collectively seek action by finding internal solutions. Nellie Cournoyea agrees that the Inuvialuit are struggling as a people, and it seems to spur her to work harder. The critical step with oral history, archaeology, and traditional knowledge documentation, she feels, is to transform it into school curriculum. Publishing books is also important, as well as producing cultural programming in other media. She mentions two books presently in press that have been sponsored by the Inuvialuit, an Inuvialuit Ethnobotany, and a book about the history of Kittigaryuit. While it may be a daunting task, Nellie felt that the various Inuvialuit cultural organizations of the delta also “need to develop a clear [and, she insinuates, common] focus.”

Inuvialuit identity & the material past

As with many Aboriginal communities, outside observers are quick to comment on the critical need for improved health, education, economy, capacity, self-

motivation etc. in the Inuvialuit community. Most Inuvialuit, it is true, struggle on a daily basis to make ends meet, and many cope with crippling addictions and damaging social behaviours, either in themselves or in others that they take care of. Elders expressed great concern over the changes they see in the lifestyles and behaviours of their children and grandchildren. Their concerns, Nellie Cournoyea asserts, lie primarily with changes to Inuvialuit traditional values rather than with changes brought by the perpetual advance of technologies. Long ago, Nellie said, respect and discipline were the cornerstones of Inuvialuit behaviour; good behaviour was a cultural expectation. Today, Elders struggle to relate to their children and grandchildren and to pass on their Inuvialuit identity.

When Inuvialuit Elders and community leaders are asked about the most pressing goals in their communities, they speak to the history and language of their people and the identity and strength they draw from these. They view their historical narratives not as a secondary pursuit to more utilitarian concerns, but as a central and identity-constituting part of themselves. This theme has re-surfaced in different forms throughout this thesis: in the form of Inuvialuit authors, such as Nuligak and Masak, writing their memoirs not for posterity but as statements on the changing contexts of being Inuvialuit; in the form of Elders naming their relations and their places on the landscape that is and remains theirs; in the Elders' re-naming, re-contextualizing, and re-categorizing outsider's interpretations of traditional Inuvialuit objects as a way of re-asserting or imprinting Inuvialuit identity onto archaeological practice; and in the form of community leaders asserting who they are by where they have come from to formulate where they are going as a community. It is this last direction that I explore below, summarizing the statements of Inuvialuit leaders.

Jerry Kisoun states

Maintaining language, culture, stories and lifestyle is critical to maintaining Inuvialuit identity; the oil and gas will come and go but the culture will stay with us. In my life, culture and stories

became important when I had kids and started to raise a family, because they showed me how I wanted to do that. Jerry feels that with the introduction of the welfare state, Inuvialuit lost their respect and self-sufficiency. Today, this direction could be turned around through increased cultural awareness, by taking people back to the land, through cultural immersion and traditional knowledge. He admits this is a daunting task when so many Elders suffer from health issues, but it is not impossible.

Cathy Cockney feels that pride and identity in being Inuvialuit have blossomed since the signing of the land claim. During the residential school days, Aboriginal peoples were homogenized by outsiders and broadly stereotyped. The IFA helped the Inuvialuit to feel distinct and regain their identity and power. It is for this reason that Nellie Cournoyea emphasizes that young Inuvialuit need to learn their own history more closely, and to her mind, particularly the history of the claim.

Billy Archie concurs: "People have to know their history and their present circumstances in order to know the future, where they're going. Culture is their *backbone*." He describes what he calls an Inuvialuit cultural revival that has flourished in his middle years. When Billy was in school, there was no local content or Northern curriculum because it was not valued by the southern 'experts' who developed the educational infrastructure. Inuvialuktun languages were not only banned from schools (until very recently), but southern teachers discouraged their use at home so the children would not be 'confused' (also, NA, BA, SS). Billy sees archaeological and other forms of cultural knowledge as applicable to an emerging Northern curriculum. He campaigns for culturally relevant content that will challenge his children and others, who are presently in school.

Mervin Joe sees an important role for both archaeology and outside researchers towards these goals. He has been actively involved in teaching environmental stewardship in the delta's schools and in archaeological work in

the national parks. Teaching youth their history through material culture, he says, is like “showing them information on their family tree.” Mervin suggests that community-minded researchers from the south can be a positive influence on Inuvialuit youth, which in turn may help them choose a career path and stay in school (also, Velma Illasiak, pers. comm. 2005). Certainly, many Inuvialuit leaders stated that there is far too much cultural heritage work and far too little capacity for the Inuvialuit to conduct this important work on their own.

Reflexive comments on the process of building cross cultural relationships

In this section I reflect on several of the issues that arose during the process of building a relationship with different individuals and segments of the Inuvialuit community. I start with a critique of elements of the participatory research model that didn't ‘fit’ the way this project unfolded. I then comment on our progress towards creating an ‘ideal speech situation’ with Inuvialuit collaborators. Lastly, I make a series of suggestions about forging successful cross-cultural relationships between academic archaeologists and northern Indigenous communities.

Critique of the participatory research model

There are various and growing versions of participatory research. Kemmis and McTaggart (2005) observe the ever-emerging convergences and permutations of participatory, action, and emancipatory methods that are used in community development, political, and institutional settings. They suggest that “at its best, participatory action research is a social process of collaborative learning realized by groups of people who join together in changing the practices through which they interact in a shared social world...” (Kemmis and McTaggart 2005:563). The social and educational processes of the research, including planning, acting, observing, and reflecting are as much the object of research as the outcomes. These processes are likely to occur in a “fluid, open, and responsive” manner (Kemmis and McTaggart 2005:563). Kemmis and

McTaggart have been practicing and evolving their own distinct methods and protocols of participatory action research over the last thirty years and admit that its ideals seldom match the specificities, tangents, and realities of any given project.

The present project was intended as a participatory project, but for a number of reasons explored below, has followed some protocols of more traditional research. In the participatory research literature, the ideal model is one where there is a wheel or circle of people working equally together, rather than the more hierarchical situations where the principal investigator represents a hub at the centre of the wheel or the pinnacle of a triangle. The participatory action model derives from the idea that community members will feel empowered to take strong positions of leadership in the formation and direction of a project. Admittedly, this kind of formation may take years to reach, and in my particular case, may do so long after my dissertation project is complete. However, I have been limited by the constraints of conducting this research within the time parameters of a dissertation project.

As such, I instigated the research in a primary leadership role in the hopes that I might persuade community members to collaboratively participate in the decision-making, vetting, and other planning processes. My entreaties to the Aklavik Community Corporation were largely unsuccessful in this regard, as they rejected my request to discuss the project in an ongoing manner, plan or review the documents I produced (see chapter six). Towards mid-project, however, several Inuvialuit staff members from Parks Canada expressed great interest in the work I was doing and offered community and logistical support. Towards the end of the project, members of the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre began offering advice around community relations, and offered to vet chapters of this thesis, a most welcome turn of events. The Elders themselves, while seldom commenting on how the research process itself was conducted, subtly instigated conversations about topics that merited more attention.

Ultimately, however, I was unable to motivate individuals or collectivities into the process of sharing the research process in ways specified in the participatory literature. Partly, I am certain, it was my own naïveté and inexperience concerning the participatory methodology, and partly, I believe, this failure relates to the way Inuvialuit have related to outsiders in historical and contemporary situations. Since they first came north, outsiders—such as government bureaucrats, engineers, negotiators, RCMP, priests, and teachers—have taken on leadership roles in Inuvialuit communities. This relationship started with the culturally superior attitudes of early explorers, and perhaps to a lesser extent, trappers and traders, and was later replaced by the patriarchal stance of government. Inuvialuit, until recently, were not given the opportunity to develop leadership roles vis à vis outsiders, and now the appearance of outsiders is usually associated with an expectation that they are about to instigate something that will invoke the help of local community members. Because this kind of relationship is the norm, particularly in the smaller Inuvialuit communities, it may take some work to change and that change will have to be activated from within.

The second challenge to creating a participatory research environment is a real lack of both capacity and person-power in many of the small Inuvialuit agencies, including the community corporations and Inuvialuit cultural institutions. These agencies are taxed with administering services to their people, dealing with oil and gas representatives, jointly managing national parks, and manifold other tasks. There are few people available and more pointedly, able, from a scholastic viewpoint, to review the documents that I produce, either within or outside of these agencies. This situation could surely be transformed, as has been shown by the success of capacity-building efforts in participatory action research projects elsewhere in the Arctic (eg. Kassam and Tettey 2003; Ryan and Robinson 1990, 1996; Robinson et al 1994), but it will take a great deal more time and resources than are available to the present study. These are long-term and evolving objectives.

On localized critical theory & creating the ideal speech situation

What does a critical theory situated within an Inuvialuit worldview look like? The answer to this question awaits the work of young Inuvialuit scholars who might be particularly inspired by Kaupapa Maori research. Tuhiwai Smith (2000) and colleagues have situated Kaupapa critical theory within the specific social, political, and cultural milieu of Maori society, while retaining its emancipatory framework and more universal call to action. Critical theory, in such a context, implies that the voices of cultural insiders come to the fore, and in many cases, the work is driven from within the community. In this spirit, a critical archaeology is initiated in a collaborative atmosphere in which community members feel safe to re-visit, re-tell or revise community understandings of past narratives and outside representations of themselves (cf. McDavid 1997). In this way, insiders become knowledge producers.

One of the primary pathways to realizing a localized critical theory is through the creation of an ideal speech situation between research collaborators (also see chapter nine). Habermas specified that four types of claims or requirements had to be met, including comprehensibility, truth, correctness, and sincerity (Held 1980:333), for mutual understanding, unforced consensus, and intersubjective agreement to proceed (Kemmis and McTaggart 2005:576). It is difficult to assess how successful we have been in establishing effective communications, and bridging our respective worldviews in the present project, because I can only truly speak for myself. Below I reflect on my own views of the research process and offer statements made by my Inuvialuit collaborators about that process.

One of the major criticisms of Habermas's Theory of Communicative Action is that an ideal speech situation is rarely obtainable due to structural inequalities, conduct in the dominant language, and the imposition of a written discourse on non-literate cultures (Preucel and Hodder 1996:608). These latter criticisms are especially true regarding the issue of comprehensibility—the claim that what you are doing makes sense to others—because in the present

circumstance we are working across both cultural and linguistic divides. I consulted with each Elder prior to being interviewed about their language preference, and all but three chose to speak English during interviews. Elders frequently referred to terms in Uummarmuit and Inupiaq, which I wrote down and later checked with an interpreter. There was certainly an incredible amount lost in the context and flavour of the original languages, but also something gained in that the Elders provided their own translations as opposed to adding an additional layer of conversion through an interpreter. I found that I myself had a learning curve to understand how Uummarmuit and Inupiaq speakers speak English—they use certain words and terms in distinct ways, sometimes inverting grammatical structures. I also had to work diligently to speak in plain language. I found the non-literacy of most Elders rarely hindered communication, except for the fact that they could not evaluate written representations of their words. In one instance, however, when Elder Hilda Irish asked me to explain multi-syllabic words, such as 'archaeology' and 'collaboration,' that she had read on the ethics form, I felt incredibly ineffectual. This occurrence heightened my critique of university ethics procedures, and the mandated use of specific language on the ethics forms. For the Elders' part, their biggest challenge seemed to revolve around hearing me clearly (both literally and figuratively) and understanding my objectives. As time went by, however, they increasingly guided the direction of interviews and felt comfortable being more assertive about what I might have missed or overlooked.

The claim for truth, in the sense of accuracy of the information, seemed a relatively straightforward element in communicating with Inuvialuit. As suggested in previous chapters, honesty appears to be a longheld Inuvialuit social value. Elders emphasized that they didn't want to lie to me if they didn't have an answer to one of my questions or did not know what an object was (HI, EA, DAG). Hilda Irish, whose family primarily used trade goods, told me, "Oh, I don't know any of these. I don't know nothing about these. Unless I lie to you." A few Elders may have made statements to please me (ie. to provide

an answer), but generally speaking, I feel that the genuine and infectious enthusiasm of most Elders, youth, and community leaders that I worked with reflected the veracity of their words and perspectives.

Moral rightness or correctness revolves around the requirement that a speech act is legitimate and appropriate in the context in which it is spoken (Held 1980:333). Amongst the Inuvialuit and other Inuit peoples, there is little protocol about the sharing of knowledge. Elders and others did not have to consult with anyone in order to pass their knowledge on to me; in fact, the Inuvialuit prize individualism and autonomy to such a degree that I think they are proud to tell their own distinctive stories. Colin Harry, for example, enthused, "you [will] hear different things, you know" with respect to the use and function of artifacts. Victor Allen added, "Everybody have a theory!" These two old friends rejoiced in this diversity of expression because they seemed to consider it to be part of the fun, part of the process of telling the Inuvialuit story! A few Elders did suggest that I talk to their Elders when they did not know something, people like Ned Kayotuk, David Roland, and Sarah Meyook, who are among the oldest members of the Inuvialuit community.³⁴ Another moral compass guiding the statements of many Elders (but not their children) was Christian doctrine and sometimes, religious syncretism. Many of these Elders attended Anglican or Roman Catholic mission schools and have been dedicated adherents throughout their lives. For some of them, Christian language colours their speech, and in some cases, prevents them from addressing certain subjects, like shamanism. Danny A. Gordon divided his world into the time before Christ came to the Western Arctic, when there were big animals and people, and a time since the arrival of Christ, when both animals and people have grown smaller.

Habermas's final requirement for an ideal speech situation relates to the sincerity or authenticity of the speaker's words. I have consistently tried to maintain a posture of wanting to learn and hear from Inuvialuit rather than

³⁴ Sadly, David Roland and Ned Kayotuk passed on in 2006.

that of being an outside 'expert.' Elders seemed to respond to this very warmly, and at least one, Jimmy Gordon, told me about "those guys on TV who dig things up" before I clarified that I was one! Elders were also very clear about the provenience of their knowledge. They specified when objects and events were older than living memory. Their generation seems to harbour very little formulated anger surrounding colonialism and its connection to archaeological and anthropological practices; this is more prevalent in succeeding generations. In fact, I experienced only isolated incidents where I felt suspect of the sincerity of an individual's words. This reaction primarily related to the tone of particular interactions with Inuvialuit of the middle generations who were angry at me, either for my actions, or for what I represented. Over time, one of these relationships with a community leader has evolved to a place of mutual respect. In at least one other case, the individual's anger towards, and clear dislike of me, seems to be unwavering.

On forging successful relationships between archaeologists & northern Indigenous communities

The recent literature on Indigenous Archaeology and relationship building between archaeologists and Aboriginal groups is prolific (eg. Atalay 2006a; Colley 2002; Deloria 1992, Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; McNiven and Russell 2005; Nicholas and Hollowell 2007; Peck et al. 2003; Roberts 2003; Smith and Wobst 2005). Based on more than a decade of experience, this work is more nuanced than an earlier generation of 'Indigenous Archaeology' scholarship. In 1992, for example, Lynne Goldstein wrote an excellent article entitled 'The Potential for Future Relationships between Archaeologists and Native Americans,' that focused on educating archaeologists about their prospective Indigenous collaborators. In the dozen years between Goldstein's publication and the present, Indigenous Archaeology has become such a central part of archaeological practice that, in 2005, Watkins and Ferguson's paper 'Working with and Working for Indigenous Communities' was published in the 'Handbook of Archaeological Methods.' Watkins and Ferguson's paper provides recommendations for both

archaeologists and Indigenous communities towards building successful relations. Relationship building is further enhanced by a growing cohort of archaeologists of Indigenous descent (see Nicholas' 'On Being and Becoming Indigenous Archaeologists,' forthcoming).

Because of the depth of the recent Indigenous Archaeology literature in terms of proscriptions for decolonizing archaeological practices (see especially Atalay 2006b; McNiven and Russell 2005: chapter 8; Nicholas 2006; Smith and Wobst 2005), I will limit my recommendations to the elaboration of a few key points that have aided me in my work with the Inuvialuit.

1. Intentions

Tuhiwai Smith (1999) asserts that 'research' is a dirty word to many Indigenous peoples which cannot be divorced from imperialist intentions and the asymmetric power relations that pushed colonial agendas forward. Anthropologists and archaeologists have been particularly vilified as those researchers that objectified, scrutinized, and physically measured Aboriginal people, for one, because they were sure to disappear and their lifestyles should be recorded for posterity, and two, because by scientifically demonstrating that Native peoples were technologically, socially, politically, and spiritually inferior to the colonizers, it justified the atrocities of conquest (Trigger 1980, 1984).

For communities that have routinely been studied and 'anthropologized,' you should expect that they will reverse the tables on your approach (or the same even if they have approached you). In the current atmosphere of rapprochement, it is imperative that you understand why you wish to enter a research relationship with an Indigenous community. Evaluate the circumstances that have brought you here and ask yourself what your intentions are in considering the work—is it to serve as an advocate? To take a political position? To assist in undertaking community goals? To further your career? Your heart, literally, needs to be in the right place, in the spirit of

giving and receiving (in the sense of listening and learning) to proceed with a collaborative project. Expect the community with whom you are starting a relationship to evaluate your words and actions for honesty, sincerity, and character through your preliminary meetings and ensuing interactions (cf. Pohl 1998:91).

2. Collaboration

There is a difference between collaboration and consultation. The collaborative path is definitely the more lengthy and difficult, but I would suggest the more rewarding. Handsman (2003:30) says "collaborations are about making connections with indigenous peoples, about listening, and about a growing awareness of the richness, immediacy, and continuity in each cultural archive—oral tradition, community memories, family experiences, biography, and autobiography." Atalay (2006b:293) adds that collaborations will take a unique form in every circumstance, and each will face its own challenges.

Preliminary negotiations between potential partners will take time and flexibility on the outside researcher's part (see Watkins and Ferguson 2005 for suggestions around relationship development and expectations), while the subsequent research process will take these plus a commitment to dialogue and openness. In choosing a collaborative approach, you are also committing to a community-oriented project and a fluid research design and process. Expect and plan for these. The participatory action research literature is quite useful here (see Kemmis and McTaggart 2005 and their references), as well as collaborative work in Northern Canada (eg. Kassam 2005; Loring and Ashini 2000; Loring et al 2003, papers in Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Rowley 2002; Ryan and Robinson 1990, 1996).

3. Trust

For Northerners that have grown accustomed to southerners constantly streaming into their lives and never returning, it is imperative that you earn people's trust and respect. This is accomplished by basic etiquette: call or

show up when you say you will, and follow through on the promises you make. Generally speaking, you will have to earn the trust of your collaborators. I found that the more I demonstrated a willingness to learn and listen, the more people spoke with intent and sincerity. The second and third times I met with Elders were markedly different than the first, when they had been cautious and reserved. With community leaders, I needed to earn their trust by showing that I was committed to the community's interests (see no. 5 below). Happily, the more I gained the trust of community members, the more easy and enjoyable were our interactions, both socially and in work-related contexts. These kinds of processes, which involve growth at a personal and collective level, have been referred to as the 'transformative' aspects of community-based research (cf. Clarke 2000, 2002; Fordred Green et al. 2003; McDavid 2004; and see below).

4. Approach the negative reflexively, stay focused on the positive

Going into northern communities as a researcher of any sort is a political act; there is no such thing as an objective stance. You have to expect the fact that not everyone is going to like you all of the time, and that there are going to be roadblocks thrown in your path. You may act as the occasional straw man for people's anger towards government and southern culture. In most cases, in my experience, this is a passing phase. As the outsider, it is incumbent on you to reflect on the setbacks you have and to try to understand them in a wider context. Roadblocks often come down to mutual cultural misunderstandings that you can learn from and not repeat. This requires a commitment by the outside researcher to exercise self-reflexivity, flexibility, humility, and patience in their work. While we might not be able to change the course of interactions and events that occur, we can identify where we are in a situation and the series of factors, internal and external, that led us there. Kemmis and McTaggart (2005:571) state that the "action research process creates opportunities for feelings and to be made accessible and explored" as part of "a social process of transformation (of selves as well as situations)." We must evaluate our own standpoints to understand those of others. If you can

identify the cause of the emotion or feeling you have about another person or situation in yourself, your understanding will help to transform the situation. I think western scholars have difficulty deconstructing and understanding their own worldviews. Yet this process is contingent to effective communication across cultural borders.

One method for working towards a reflexive stance is to practice a conscientious self-dialogue. This may take the form of writing a journal, in the field and out, related to the project development. You should give an honest (and private) account of the positioning and trajectory of relationships you have entered into, and the decision-making processes made with collaborators. You should also constantly re-evaluate your goals and their outcomes. This journal may evolve into the most provocative and central of analytic tools, or at very least form a place of respite.

While a posture of self-reflexivity, honesty, and openness will help address the negative situations that might arise, it is best to focus on the positive aspects of the relationships you are building. In the spring of 2006, I was very pleased to discover that a previously difficult relationship with a community leader had transformed into a healthy and mutually beneficial association, and I was able to put our past troubles behind us. In general, however, there has been so much to enjoy in and about the Inuvialuit community that it was never hard to find a positive when a negative arose.

5. Giving voice & reporting back

Self-representation is vital to the health and wellbeing of an Indigenous (or any other) community. This thesis has negotiated this question in a certain way, but myriad others are available in the form of participatory video (eg. Huber 1999; Johansson et al. 1999/2000), collaborative websites (eg. Hennessy 2006; McDavid 2004; Moore and Hennessy 2006), collectively authored books (eg. Alunik et al. 2003; Kassam and Soaring Eagle Friendship Centre 2001; Kassam and Wainwright Traditional Council 2001; Loring and

Rosenmeier 2005; Thorpe et al. 2001), photographic and digital archive projects (Hennessy 2006), traditional materials studies (Hall et al 1994; Thompson and Kritsch 2005), and approaches in other media. Kaupapa Maori research demonstrates the power of an Indigenous group to take charge of their research framework, direction, and protocols (Bishop 2005). Other examples of Indigenous research and management frameworks are emerging in the cultural resource management initiatives of British Columbia's First Nations (Nicholas 2006). Whether you are an insider or outsider, Tuhiwai Smith (2000:230) underscores the ethical importance of reporting back to the community. Nicholas and Hollowell (2007) echo that there is an obligation to return the knowledge learned from descendent communities to the people who shared it. This knowledge, and the relationship created in its documentation, will likely have both tangible and intangible components that are meaningfully constituted and of equal importance to the community.

In my research, I have worked to keep the Inuvialuit community informed of the status and tangible outcomes of our ongoing project. I consulted community members about the form such updates should take and was constantly told to focus on the visual. I produced a visual summary of our 2005 research with a plain language update that was very well received by the community—in fact, several Elders had them posted on their walls when I returned in 2006! I have consistently reproduced photographs in hard copy for Elders and in both hard copy and CD form for community organizations. I am presently finalizing the interview transcripts to be given to individuals and community agencies in hard copy and disc form. Finally, the Elders and I are planning a glossy, public-oriented, collaboratively authored book to summarize the work we have done. However, the greater benefits of the work, in terms of the intangible lessons and outcomes, are much harder to articulate, but can be felt in the blossoming relationships and sense of collectivity around building an Indigenous Archaeology in the Inuvialuit community. These themes are explored in the final chapter of this study.

Chapter nine. Situating Inuvialuit Archaeology on a Global Canvas

The argument emerging...is that the authority for Indigenous studies must be located prominently among Indigenous institutions and rooted in Indigenous ways of knowing and being. From these essential sources of authority, Indigenous scholars and our non-Indigenous allies rightfully are empowered to discipline the disciplines and to subject Indigenous studies to the concrete needs of Indigenous Peoples.

David Anthony Tyeme Clark (2004:219)

It is not, therefore, a question of whether the knowledge is 'pure' and authentic but whether it has been the means through which people have made sense of their lives and circumstances, that has sustained them and their cultural practices over time, that forms the basis for their understanding of human conduct, that enriches their creative spirit and fuels their determination to be free.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2005:101)

This chapter brings together the final strands of this study. Rather than concluding the project *per se*, I suggest where my relationship with the Inuvialuit is at, and where it is going. The project of working at an increasingly collaborative level with the Inuvialuit has only just started. It is a project for myself, Inuvialuit community members, and many other archaeologists that are either practicing or entering graduate programs with a new set of skills, experiences, and agendas. Similarly, my relationship with the Inuvialuit is only just beginning, so the conclusion of this dissertation signals closure for the document but not the relationship.

The chapter begins with an evaluation of the development of a critical Inuvialuit Archaeology in the Canadian Western Arctic through discussions of the form and direction of an Inuvialuit Archaeology, and the progress towards the creation of a localized critical theory. The second and third sections attempt to situate Inuvialuit Archaeology on a broader canvas, first by looking at current directions in northern archaeological practice, and then by discussing some of the ideas emanating from Aboriginal scholars who are creating pathways to heal and empower their communities, including those

cited above. I conclude with a narration about a gathering with Inuvialuit Elders and other community members in the winter of 2007, when we concluded and celebrated this part of the project and made plans for our future collaborations.

Prospects for a critical Inuvialuit Archaeology in the Canadian Western Arctic

At the outset of this dissertation, I suggested that this study was motivated by the question, how can and should Indigenous peoples and archaeologists build better cross-cultural relationships? I named several intentions for conducting this study which revolved around the goals of collaboration, reflexivity, representation, negotiation, and in the most abstract sense, decolonization of archaeological theory and practice. I framed these goals in terms of a localized critical theory that would critique the historical relationship between the Inuvialuit community and the larger governing structures in the region and at the federal level. Below, I chart our progress towards the development of a critical archaeology in Inuvialuit territory and the prospects for a critical Inuvialuit Archaeology in the Western Canadian Arctic.

McNiven and Russell (2005:237) state that the recovery of the discipline of archaeology is signaled by the desire of Indigenous peoples "to set archaeological research agendas and initiate partnership projects" (also see Nicholas 2005). Such projects may be instigated by the community or by an archaeologist asking "What archaeological issues interest your community?" (McNiven and Russell 2005:237), as was the case with the present project. The increasing focus on the particular needs and objectives of individual communities, as opposed to the more global and generalist objectives of earlier archaeological paradigms, is reflective of a broader movement towards embracing more local and specific research agendas in Indigenous Archaeology (McNiven and Russell 2005:238). However, the pace, form, and trajectory of a program of Indigenous Archaeology will be different in every context. What works in one circumstance may very well not work in another (McNiven and

Russell 2005:242; and see following sections), a fact that leads to the openness and lack of specificity of Indigenous Archaeology methodologies (cf. Watkins and Ferguson 2005; Nicholas, in press).

Specific factors govern the reception of community-based approaches to archaeology in the Inuvialuit community. In this context, outside leadership on archaeological concerns is welcomed, as long as the research is relevant and sympathetic to community needs (Cockney 2006). This situation has produced a dynamic where knowledge is produced through a negotiated insider/outsider dialectic that, in my case, puts the onus on me, as the research facilitator, to represent the interests of the community accurately and respectfully. While these circumstances run somewhat counter to the doctrine of participatory action research (cf. Kemmis and McTaggart 2005; Ryan and Robinson 1996), it is currently the best fit for this situation. Inuvialuit community organizations generally do not have the time, capacity, knowledge, and in some cases initiative or interest to instigate archaeological work, but seem satisfied to work in a partnership where their support is relied on only to a moderate degree. This may seem to be an imperfect situation, but it is also one that may change as young Inuvialuit obtain degrees in the anthropological disciplines and generate more internal leadership.

The move towards more specific research agendas parallels the use of a localized critical theory in archaeology. This study has made some progress towards developing a practice for localized critical theory. Different chapters have incorporated elements of a critical practice in the form of reflection, critique, communication, interaction, and interpretation. The final two chapters work towards evaluating the prospects for social action in this research setting. Below, I discuss our progress towards addressing two specified objectives of a localized critical theory, including developing a dual focus on individual agents and the community collective, and, understanding the asymmetric relationships of these parties with larger governing bodies in the region and at the federal level.

Wilkie and Bartoy (2000) have emphasized the need for more agent-based approaches to critical archaeology. They suggest a re-direction towards the motives, needs, and goals of the individual that in turn helps to circumscribe the sweeping critique of global capitalism—which is the centre-point of critical archaeology (eg. Delle et al 1999; Leone and Potter 1999; Johnson 1995)—to the concrete local concerns of descendant communities. The agency of local collaborators is particularly resonant in community research programs that document oral histories of contemporary Elders. Inuvialuit Elders in the present study not only recounted memories of their forebears by interpreting the material culture that they left behind, but had clear and articulate opinions about the state of cultural heritage in their territory and proscriptions for how their culture should be practiced in the present.

Inuvialuit Elders depict the past in culturally distinctive ways, using artifacts as vehicles to talk about their individual pasts. Artifacts literally serve as visual representations of other times, places, stories, and emotions. The Elders' experiential approach to the Inuvialuit past provided a rich and multi-vocal commentary, where personal (his)stories and (her)stories came alive. The Elders' re-naming, re-contextualizing, and re-categorizing of archaeological objects can be seen as a way of re-asserting or imprinting Inuvialuit identity onto history and archaeology. In a sense, they are claiming their right to express relationships between themselves and the material past in ways of their own choosing. At times, they used names and associations that were at odds with conventional archaeological doctrine, or in conflict with each other. This can be construed as an expression of the diversity of Inuvialuit opinion and the independence accorded to the weight of individual's words in their society.

Beyond the Elders' agent- and context-centred approach to Inuvialuit material and social history, there is yet another way that critical theory can be made local. This is by highlighting the agency of Inuvialuit collaborators in the

research process. That is, critical theory is *made* local by naming, representing, and being inclusive of Indigenous collaborators in our textual productions. The words, feelings, and opinions of my collaborators, including both Inuvialuit Elders and members of their children's generation, the present-day Inuvialuit leaders, are represented throughout this thesis, but particularly in the latter chapters. Naming their contributions to the research process and expressing their interpretations and ideas in print is part of the process of enfranchising them to tell the Inuvialuit story from their distinctive viewpoints. It is part of the movement to 'unother' them from the research process (Wobst and Smith 2003), and to make their contributions more visible and valuable to the cultural outsiders for which this publication is aimed. One of our shared objectives is to produce publications in various media that are geared towards the Inuvialuit community itself which will reproduce Elders knowledge in ways that present-day youth find engaging and relevant.

At the level of the collective, the Inuvialuit have started to work towards addressing inequalities between themselves and the larger powers that govern them. This process began with the impetus of individuals such as Nellie Cournoyea and Agnes Semmler, who formed the Committee for Original People's Entitlement in 1969, and who worked tirelessly toward the settlement of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement in 1984. While there are many tasks awaiting cultural heritage practitioners in Inuvialuit territory, leaders such as Jerry Kisoun, Billy Archie, and Cathy Cockney feel that the land claim has given the Inuvialuit a renewed sense of pride and distinctiveness in their identity. Organizations such as the Inuvialuit Communications Society and Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre now have the means and knowledge to produce print, film, television, and web-based media that serve to represent Inuvialuit history, knowledge, interests, and viewpoints to themselves and the outside world.

This study has sought to address such structural inequalities at a meaningful but more modest scale. The most basic level is by representing Inuvialuit

voices in the production of knowledge about the Inuvialuit. At a broader level, this study continues the work of individuals like Cathy Cockney (Manager, Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, Elisa Hart (Consultant to the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre), and Charles Arnold (Director, Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre), by building new kinds of relationships between Inuvialuit insiders and archaeological outsiders through the development of a long-term and committed practice of community-based archaeology. Ideally, this work will be carried on by many different individuals as more archaeologists are invited into the process of doing Inuvialuit Archaeology and more Inuvialuit become interested in this homegrown practice. It is hoped that a committed collaborative practice will help spark the interest of Inuvialuit youth in their cultural heritage and perhaps attract them to their own critique and study of the anthropological disciplines.

This thesis has thus begun the process of creating a critical Inuvialuit Archaeology. Because of the specific histories of contact and later, the development of archaeology, in the Mackenzie Delta and along its adjacent coastlines, Inuvialuit Archaeology has and will take its own specific form, trajectory, and pace. It will need to be evaluated on its own terms and by its own merits. But it can and should look to broader movements in the north and around the world to seek inspiration and knowledge. In the following two sections, I situate Inuvialuit Archaeology on a global canvas by discussing current directions in northern archaeological practice, and more broadly, the expressed directions of Aboriginal scholars in the academy who are working to heal and empower their communities.

Lessons learned from elsewhere in the north

Histories of contact differ throughout the circumpolar north and have radically affected the relationships between Indigenous northerners and European-derived newcomers. Contact in Inuvialuit territory was among the earliest and most sustained in the Canadian North, leading to a loss of language, culture, and population. Today, the net effect is that Inuvialuktun and Gwich'in

languages are rapidly dwindling (whereas Indigenous languages remain strong in several other areas of the circumpolar north), and only select individuals are able to remember and pass on traditional stories, songs, and skills. One young Inuvialuk felt "that so much Inuit language and culture has been lost in the Western Arctic that the information gained from archaeology has become essential if young people are to learn about their history" (Webster and Bennett 1997:249). Yet, the utility of archaeology for understanding the near-past has been little explored in Inuvialuit territory. In fact, Indigenous Archaeologies are a relatively recent phenomenon throughout the circumpolar north. In the following section, I discuss the movements afoot in community-based archaeologies across the north as a source of comparison and impetus for the Inuvialuit context.

Inuit and Athapaskan peoples in different regions of the north demanded changes to archaeological practices as early as the 1950s, though these movements particularly gained momentum in the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, through to the present (see Greer 1997; Gullov 2002; Hollowell 2004; Loring et al 2003; Rowley 2002). The response of the archaeological profession, while differing by region, has overall been slow, a fact which Hood (2002:240) attributes to the insularity of the archaeological research community in the far north. Movement, however, has occurred by fits and spurts and is now witnessed by the general re-structuring of traditional research relationships between Native northerners and archaeologists. Foremost among these changes is the move to tie present-day social concerns in Indigenous communities to the goals of heritage research (Loring 1998:273; Loring and Ashini 2000:189). In practice, this has entailed placing community objectives on an even footing with or sometimes ahead of the 'scientific' goals of research, thereby making it relevant to source communities (Greer and Beaumont 2006; Rowley 2002:267-68).

In 1988, for instance, the Smithsonian Institution established its Arctic Studies Center, with the objective of providing outreach opportunities to northern

Indigenous communities. Outreach takes such forms as training Indigenous land managers and cultural administrators to deal with outside bureaucracies, fostering opportunities for Elders and young people to work with their ancestral objects in museum collections, and working to educate youth and give them a sense of pride in their respective histories (Loring 1998, 2001:186). The Arctic Studies Center places a priority on facilitating collaborative research with northern community members that focuses on both celebrating and reinterpreting traditional material culture (Crowell et al. 2001; Fienup-Riordan 1996, 2005). For instance, ASC sponsored the very successful Pathways Project with the Innu of Labrador and a repatriation project with the community of Mekoryuk on Nunivak Island in the Bering Sea of Alaska (Loring 2001). Similar intentions informed the creation of the Igloolik Field School in 1990, a program which continues evolving to meet the needs of Inuit peoples in the Qikiqtani region of Nunavut (Rowley 2002).

Inuit peoples are also actively re-shaping the ways that they relate to archaeologists. The *Ittarnisilirijit*³⁵ Conference on Inuit Archaeology, held in Igloolik in 1994, gathered Inuit Elders and cultural specialists “to discuss how Inuit can direct the course of archaeology in their homeland” (Webster and Bennett 1997:247). After a history of exclusion from the discipline, the Inuit asserted their expertise and right to represent their own past, and to this end, produced a series of fourteen guidelines for archaeological conduct in Nunavut and Labrador. Themes of these guidelines include accountability, consultation, respect, attention to traditional protocols, and reporting back to Inuit communities. The delegates also recommended the implementation of an internal permitting or approval system (Webster and Bennett 1997:250), a recommendation that has been widely followed throughout the Canadian north (eg. Andrews et al 1997; Loring 1998; Rowley 2002:269).

³⁵ *Ittarnisilirijit* means “those who deal with the distant past, the time of legends” (Webster and Bennett 1997:247). This conference grew out of a previous Elders Conference in 1992 sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution’s Arctic Studies Centre.

Growing awareness of Indigenous worldviews is witnessed by the attempts of southerners to bridge the gap between Western and Indigenous ways of seeing and knowing the world. Perhaps the most symbolic examples are the re-naming of Nunavut in 1993 at the signing of the land claim to reflect the collective identity of Inuit of the Eastern Arctic, and at a broader scale, the re-naming of communities across the north by their Indigenous names. The acknowledgement that Indigenous people understand their world differently has also permeated northern research practices. Northern peoples are finally feeling that their criticisms of the closed-mindedness of scientific scholars to Indigenous knowledge are beginning to be heard (cf. Huntington et al 2001; Laidler 2006). In Nunavut, the response has led Inuit to share their views of the world with archaeological practitioners through articulating their conceptualizations of Inuit landscapes (Stewart et al 2000; Stewart et al 2004), features (Henderson 1997), and artifacts (Loring 2001; this thesis) in their own languages and on their own terms. Commensurate with this increasing openness and fluidity in research interactions, many northern archaeologists are growing more reflexive about their practices and acknowledging the ways in which Inuit and Athapaskan peoples have influenced their own views (eg. Andrews et al 1997; Friesen 2002; Loring and Ashini 2000; Whitridge 2004).

While it may still be a ways off, there are concerted movements to pluralize archaeology in the circumpolar regions. For several decades, Inuit and Athapaskan peoples have been forcing the move towards negotiation, consultation, and collaboration. This de-centering of practice is slowly but surely upsetting the traditional balance of archaeological practice such that notions of 'expertise' are debunked and re-formed to fit new circumstances. Indigenous northerners want a say in the ownership of the past, from copyright and intellectual property rights to joint ownership or control over their self-representations. The northern landscape of research is changing, and archaeologists are wise to keep up with the times. One place where they may seek inspiration is in the active body of literature being developed by

Aboriginal scholars entering and transforming academic ranks, discussed below.

Situating the Inuvialuit experience on a global canvas

Indigenous scholars on the global stage are actively confronting, challenging, and re-creating colonial relationships. Says Mi'kmaq educator Marie Battiste of recent Indigenous scholarship:

The voices of these victims of empire, once predominantly silenced in the social sciences, have been not only resisting colonialization in thought and actions but also attempting to restore Indigenous knowledge and heritage. By harmonizing Indigenous knowledge with Eurocentric knowledge, they are attempting to heal their people, restore their inherent dignity, and apply fundamental human rights to their communities. They are ready to imagine and unfold postcolonial orders and society [Battiste 2000:xvi].

There are several avenues through which this work is being pursued, heritage issues being only one of them. In the previous chapter, Inuvialuit Elders and leaders made clear that they draw their identity and strength as a people from their history and its tie to the land. Their language and historical narratives are a central and identity-constituting part of themselves, the place from which the authenticity of their knowledge is derived. These Inuvialuit sentiments are not unique but shared by Aboriginal groups worldwide. Indigenous scholars in the social and humanist disciplines are articulating their distinctive ways of knowing the world to restore this knowledge to their people, and to share it with the cultural 'others' who formerly spoke on their behalf. Below I articulate some of the themes emanating from this scholarship, including authority, authenticity, and transformation, as a means of situating the Inuvialuit experience and other Indigenous Archaeologies on a broader canvas of Indigenous knowledge.

David Tyeme Clark asks us to look at authority in new ways. In summarizing the volume 'Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities,' he enumerates key ways that Indigenous people

can re-locate authority in scholarship produced about themselves. The first task is to “de-colonize what currently is widely accepted as knowledge about ‘Indians’”; the second is to “theorize, conceptualize, and represent Indigenous sovereignty so that our people may live well into the unforeseeable future”; and the third is to produce knowledge “for Indigenous Peoples rather than primarily as subjects for non-Indigenous curiosity” (original emphasis, Clark 2004:219). The pathways to pursue this agenda revolve around situating Indigenous knowledges in Indigenous ways of knowing and being. His call is to empower Indigenous scholars and their allies “to subject Indigenous studies to the concrete needs of Indigenous Peoples” (Clark 2004:219).

Clark’s statements in many ways mirror and expand the localized critical theory agenda put forward in this study. He is construing Indigenous studies in the widest sense of the term, spanning the work done in the anthropological, pedagogical, sociological, and other disciplines. His call applies equally to First Nations and other Aboriginal peoples who have shared and suffered similarly at the hands of colonizers. The appeal to study the ‘concrete needs’ of Indigenous peoples resonates strongly with the emphasis on ‘lived experience’ in the Indigenous Archaeology literature, where community needs are put on an equal footing with the goals of research (eg. Bray 2003; Clarke 2002; Nicholas 2001). In this vein, Anne Clarke (2002:252) speaks to the negotiations around building a daily practice that is in accordance with the routines and rituals of people who live close to the land. The practices she developed put community ahead of archaeological needs as she learned to live amongst the people of Groote Eylandt of Northern Australia.

While Indigenous scholars are challenging the traditional structures of authority in academia, they are similarly questioning traditional constructions of authenticity in the social realm. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2005:101) suggests that we invert our ideas about Indigenous authenticity in favour of the realities and contingencies of contemporary experience. In her view ‘pure’ knowledge is a fallacy in any culture: knowledges are produced, varied, diverted, and/or

reproduced by individuals in any community wishing to explain or interpret present circumstances. In Indigenous communities, thinking on your feet is often a means of survival. Smith (2005:101) thus asserts:

It is not, therefore, a question of whether the knowledge is 'pure' and authentic but whether it has been the means through which people have made sense of their lives and circumstances, that has sustained them and their cultural practices over time, that forms the basis for their understanding of human conduct, that enriches their creative spirit and fuels their determination to be free.

Archaeologists would do well to recognize that knowledge is always created in the present to meet contemporary needs. This applies both to the knowledge of 'informants' in source communities and 'scientific' knowledge produced in the process of excavating, analyzing, and interpreting an archaeological site. Increased reflexivity about how knowledge is constructed would go a long ways towards revealing the assumptions and biases surrounding how archaeological interpretations are constructed. This knowledge will not lead to value-free or objective representations of reality (including those about the past!), but to a more nuanced position and understanding of the standpoints and perspectives of respective stakeholders to the process of creating that past (cf. Wylie 1999, 2004).

A third topic of common importance to discourses in Indigenous and archaeological scholarship is transformation. Transformation relates directly to the question of social action, asking 'How can we individually or collectively change our situation?' This question is being increasingly asked by Indigenous groups, who may in turn seek the aid of cultural outsiders. In participatory research, transformation is considered a social process that occurs at multiple levels within the self and at the level of the collective (cf. Kemmis and McTaggart 2005:571). In archaeology, personal and collective transformations of research designs, personal agendas, and relationships at all scales are an increasingly reported feature of community, public, and Indigenous archaeologies.

One particularly eloquent example comes from a public archaeology project in northern Brazil, where Leslie Fordred Green and colleagues document the transformations involved in their work with the Palikur people of the coastal province of Amapá. At the outset, this project aimed to document local ceramic sequences, but was re-shaped over time “in the direction of mutuality” with the community “rather than control” by the outsider scholars (Fordred Green et al 2003:369). Fordred Green et al began the project by transliterating the phrase *'ikiska anavi wayk'* for archaeology, as the study of ‘things left behind in the ground.’ As the project progressed and local people became engaged with and trained in the methods of archaeological practice, the project shifted from one focused on material understandings of the past to one that focused on “questions of what it means, historically and contemporarily, to dwell in [that] landscape” (Fordred Green et al 2003:377-78, and following). The Palikur’s engagement with this work led them to describe it as *'ivegboha amekenegben gidukwankis'*, ‘reading the tracks of the ancestors.’ To the outside researchers, “This was far more than learning a new phrase,” this transformation “marked a different understanding of a local way of doing history in which past and present are part of a continuous sequence of actions and in which history is a form of mapping and geography is stored in narratives.”

This experience is reflective of new types of cross-cultural relationships developing between Indigenous and archaeological communities. Where there is intent on both sides to work towards partnership and mutually desired goals, new formations, directions, and trajectories open up in both the process and products of research. Fordred Green and colleagues’ statements echo those of the Inuvialuit Elders who have played such a critical role in the present study. Archaeology might be *Ingnilgaqnihat havalgutit*, the ‘tools that people worked with long ago,’ but the Elders’ role in constructing the multiple stories that create the past are better expressed in the phrase *'quliaq tohongniaq tuunga'* (II), meaning ‘I’m going to tell you stories’ or ‘I’m going to make histories’ for you. Eldon Yellowhorn (2006) offers a similar phrase in Blackfoot for seeking

the past through the frame of archaeology, *Nitaaksikaitapiitsiniki*, 'I will tell you stories of ancient times.' These sentiments are echoed in Greer and Beaumont's (2006) work with the Tr'ondek Hwech'in, a community who has taught them that "stories give material remains their meaning." Such statements inform archaeologists that their Aboriginal allies and colleagues are shifting the rules of the game of the past, and at the same time opening up to teach us something of themselves and their ways of knowing and being in the world by sharing their (his)stories and (her)stories.

An ending

On the 29th of March, 2007, I assembled many of the Inuvialuit Elders I have worked with for a luncheon, visit, and presentation of the work we have done to date (plate 9c). The Elders were thrilled to see me again after a year's hiatus, and I them. Over the last year, several Elders in the Inuvialuit community have passed on, which makes my time with the surviving elderly members of the community feel very precious and special. As they sat around a bright sunny table in the Aklavik Nurse's Station, the Elders turned to one another to catch up and chat about the [musk]ratting season, the weather, and the upcoming spring jamborees. I enjoyed the pleasant chatter of Ummarmuit, Inupiaq, and Gwich'in. Before we began our meal of traditional northern fare, including caribou soup and 'Eskimo donut,' and southern treats like fruits, vegetables, cheese, and cookies, Elder Danny C. Gordon said grace. He thanked the other Elders for coming, wished them and their families good health, and acknowledged the hurting and healing of families who had recently lost members.

After lunch I gave a presentation that began by describing my auspicious meeting with Inuvialuit Elders and youth at *Qainuirvik* (Clarence Lagoon) in the summer of 2003. I showed slides of the places I'd traveled in Inuvialuit territory, the different activities and events I'd celebrated with them, and the work we had done together. I thanked

them for sharing their time, knowledge, and infectious laughter with me. I told them that I hoped to be able to return this generosity and knowledge to the community in various forms. As the slides went by, Elders commented on the different artifacts used in the study, exclaimed at photographs of their friends and relatives, and discussed various historical events and locations represented in scratchy archival photos where they had been present. The Elders were very receptive to the idea of my writing a colourful plain-language book about Inuvialuit social and material history for circulation in the communities and use in local schools.

The most prevalent sentiment I felt, however, was the warmth and welcoming extended to a friend, someone who has continued to keep the promises they have made to the community, and is respected for bringing research back to the Inuvialuit. When we were done and the Elders turned to leave, they didn't say *'ilaanilu'* (goodbye), but just filed off one by one with heaping plates of food for later. In Inuvialuit culture, there is no need to say goodbye to friends who you know you will see again, the next time you chance to meet.

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Appendix 1. Elders' biographies

The following biographies provide a brief glimpse into the lives of Inuvialuit Elders who collaborated on the present study. My synopses are of varying length and detail depending on the subjects covered during our conversations together. Names in square brackets are the Inuvialuktun versions of anglicized surnames. Several of these Elders have recently passed on. They will be fondly remembered by the Inuvialuit community as members of the last generation to be born on the land, and as community members, historians, and relations.

David Roland:

David was born in 1922 in a snow house out on the sea ice in Prince Albert Sound off of Victoria Island. He was raised in and around Herschel Island. When David was a child, community members on Herschel Island were still using different types of traditional artifacts, but guns and rifles were by then the primary hunting implement. He married his wife Olga when he was 21. They spent time trapping together and soon moved into the Delta, where David built a house made of green logs, hauling them by hand. Because of this feat, his friends called him 'Little Grizzly.' David and Olga had two sons and adopted four more children. They moved into Inuvik in the early 1960s. David continued to trap until his passing in 2006.

Winnie Cockney:

Winnie was born in 1922 at a place called Peterson in the delta. She was one of nine children. As a girl, Winnie really wanted to go to school—at that time at Shingle Point—but never did because her mom was weak and her dad needed her help in the family. Winnie stayed home and as she said, "learned dog-team, trapping, and sewing." Her father was Lenny Inglangasuk, one of the first people to go to Banks Island with his uncle, Old Adam. They lived on the west side of Sachs Harbour with three other families. Winnie move to Inuvik when she married and said that she always felt nostalgia for the days when she had her own dog team. Winnie worked for the oil companies, cleaning and

sewing parkas, and until her passing in 2006, continued to take children out to her camp downriver.

Jacob & Rosie Archie.

Jacob and Rosie are brother and sister. Jacob was born in 1932 at Niaqulik, the year that the reindeer herders came through from Alaska. Rosie was also born in 1935 at Niaqulik. There were nine kids in their family. Their father was from Kobuk, Alaska and their mother from Old Crow. They never knew their paternal grandparents, who were from Alaska, but their maternal grandparents lived at Kobuk River and later Old Crow. They learned to speak Gwich'in there. Jacob did not go to school but Rosie went to All Saints in Aklavik for four years, from the time she was nine or ten. Jacob and Rosie both spent much of their lives on the land, and both are now long-term residents of Aklavik. Jacob has three children, Billy Archie being the youngest. Rosie has a daughter in Calgary.

Barbra Allen & Moses Kayotuk

Barbra and Moses are partners that live together in Aklavik. Barbra's husband died several years ago. Moses never married because he looked after his siblings when his mother was in hospital with tuberculosis. He has no children. Barbra was born in 1936 and Moses in 1939. Moses was raised at Ptarmigan Bay. They both went to the Anglican School in Aklavik. Barbra had nine children with her husband but lost four in several tragic accidents. Of the children in his family, Moses now has a sister in Paulatuq and one in Alaska. Barbra spent considerable time working as an interpreter for the land claims and other regional political processes. Today, she and Moses remain very active on the land.

Sheba Selamio

Sheba was born in 1921 in Wainwright, Alaska to Inupiat parents. She was raised on the east side of Barter Island and in the mountains of Alaska. As a girl, Sheba wanted badly to go to school. Captain Pederson offered to take her

to school in his boat at Point Barrow, but she stayed behind to take care of her parents. Sheba had five brothers and sisters, many of whom died young. Sheba and Ruth are the last children left. Sheba married Thomas Selamio from Alaska in 1941. They migrated to the Mackenzie Delta and started their life together in Aklavik, having ten children. Thomas is now gone, but Sheba today has many grandchildren and great-children.

Nellie Arey, Sarah Meyook, & Ned Kayotuk

Sarah Meyook was born in 1925 on Baillie Island, east of the delta. Her parents died young in a flu epidemic and she was adopted out. Her brother in law, Ned Kayotuk, was born in 1930 at Demarcation Point. His brother Jonas married Sarah. Sarah had Nellie in 1942 in Aklavik, but spent much of her children's youth in the hospital in Aklavik and Edmonton with tuberculosis. Nellie was raised primarily by her Daduk ('grandfather,' Paul Kayotuk), Ned's father. The Kayotuk family spent much of their time on the Yukon North Coast and up the Firth River. Unlike most of her contemporaries, Nellie did not attend residential school but was taught in a traditional way by her Daduk and uncles, who were all accomplished hunters and trappers. Sadly, Ned passed on in 2006. Nellie is one of the most active Elders in Aklavik, practicing traditional pursuits with her family at her many camps throughout the delta.

Donald Aviugana

Donald Aviugana was born in Aklavik in 1934. His mother was from around Tuktoyaktuk and his father from Alaska. He had thirteen brothers and sisters, several of whom died young. Today, there are just two of them left. When Donald was young, he would go out to the coast with his family to hunt whales and fish for the dogs at Bird Camp and Whitefish Station (on the Tuk side). They traveled by dog team in winter and by schooner in summer. They sometimes had as many as twenty-one dogs, enough for two or three teams. Donald's family came into Aklavik for occasions such as Christmas and Easter. Later, Donald traveled frequently to the coast with his wife Elizabeth. He has no children.

Elizabeth Aviugana

Elizabeth was born in 1932, right around the time the RCMP were hunting Albert Johnson, the Mad Trapper. Her parents were from the delta and she was raised around Bar C. Her mother, Nellie *Nunmuq*, was born around Herschel Island and her father, Tom Elanik, was from Husky Lakes. Her mother's parents were Eliza *Ayaq* and Owen *Nunmuq* from Alaska. Elizabeth had twelve brothers and sisters. Like many Inuvialuit girls of her time, she wanted to go to school but her mother needed help taking care of the children. Rather than sewing, Elizabeth had a trapline. Elizabeth had a daughter when she was young. Later, she met Donald and they married and moved from Inuvik to Aklavik, where they presently reside.

Danny & Annie C. Gordon

Annie C. was born in 1937 in Aklavik and is the fourth generation to use her trapline area. Annie was raised at Anderson River, mostly at Reindeer Station, where her dad was a herder. They lived in a double tent. Her parents brought her into school for three years when she was young, during which time she didn't see her family. Annie's dad, Edwin Allen, died young of appendicitis leaving six children, three boys and three girls. Following the death of her father, Annie's grandfather would take her out on the land during the summers. Later Annie and her brothers had dog-teams and traplines. Danny was born in 1936 at Kaktovik, Alaska. Danny's parents were from Point Barrow, but they moved to Barter Island (Kaktovik) where his grandfather, Tom Gordon, started a store. Danny's family came to Canada in 1946-47 because they had relatives that had come before and said the land was bountiful. He had twelve siblings. Annie and Danny met at 'night school' when they were children and married in 1956. They have six children of their own. Danny and Annie C. are among the most active hunters and practitioners of traditional crafts in Aklavik.

Danny A. Gordon

Danny A. was born in 1935 on Barter Island. He had three sisters and lots of brothers. Danny was the oldest child. His family migrated to Canada from Alaska in 1942. They moved because stores along the Alaskan coast couldn't get supplies during and after the Second World War. Danny's family came across by dog-team. His dad came first and then went back, with dogs. It took two years to reach Aklavik. In 1948-49, Danny's father had got a piece of land at Schooner Channel, which was good for [musk]rats, lynx, and spring trapping. At that time, Day School was full so Danny didn't go to school except for a very short time. Danny A. is married to Annie B., who is Gwich'in. They had nine children and adopted two. They are a very close and traditional family who are widely known for their generosity and open door policy. The extended family spends considerable time together on the land, often taking kids from other families out to teach them bush skills. Sadly, Danny A. passed on in the winter of 2007.

Hilda Irish

Hilda was born in 1926 in the hospital in Aklavik. Her mother was Mary *Mijuk* [Dick]; she didn't know her dad. There were six children, three girls and three boys. Hilda went to school briefly at Shingle Point. Hilda wanted to marry a white man, but her sister refused because she didn't want to have to speak to her brother-in-law through an interpreter. Hilda's family wanted her to marry Alex Irish, which she did in 1945 after four years of deliberation. Hilda and Alex had a happy marriage. Their first bush camp was about two days from Aklavik; later they lived closer. Hilda's father-in-law, Old Irish, ran the store at *Qainuirvik* (Clarence Lagoon) and is well-renowned for having taught himself to read and write in English and his own Inuvialuktun language. Hilda has spend time going through his 'diary' with me, which is a record of store transactions, correspondence, and weather recordings in English and Inuvialuktun. Hilda has four boys and two girls living.

Alice Husky

Alice was born in 1936 in Alaska. Her parents were Laura and Edward Arey. She had one sister and five brothers. Their family moved to Canada around 1941 because the game and trapping were better in the delta. Alice and her family lived at Ptarmigan Bay and King Point as they migrated across and then lived in the bush. She never went to school because when her father took her to the Anglican School in Aklavik, she was too shy and afraid to leave him, so he took her back home with him. Alice's family moved to Aklavik in the 1950s so her siblings could go to school. Alice later married John Husky and they adopted two girls. She has lots of grandchildren and is like a granny to many kids in Aklavik. Alice often takes kids out on the land in association with the hamlet. Only her younger brother Joe Arey is still living; he resides in Aklavik.

Ida Inglangasuk

Ida was born in 1933 at Demarcation Point, Alaska. Her natural father was Mickey Gordon, the storekeeper, but Old Irish [Keg-oya] and his wife Lucy custom adopted her from birth. Ida's natural mother was Alaskan and moved to Aklavik when Mickey died. There were numerous adopted children in the Irish family who lived at the Hudson's Bay store in *Qainuirvik* (Clarence Lagoon) when they were young. The family moved to Aklavik when Ida was about eleven and she went to school for a short time. She was frustrated not being able to speak her language, however, and ran home to Old Irish's camp. He took her to Herschel Island with him. Ida married John Inglangasuk, who worked for housing in Aklavik, in 1951. They had seven children. They spent all their spare time at their bush camp just down-river from Aklavik. John died in the late 1970's. Ida is still actively skinning and sewing.

Lucy Inglangasuk

Lucy was born in 1930 out in the delta. Her mother died when she was two, so she and her brother were raised by Old Dennis and Martha Harry. Her grandparents took her from around age four and raised her at Kendall Island. She had a brother and two sisters, while other children were adopted out. Lucy

says her grandfather wouldn't let her go to school, but she doesn't know why. Lucy married Fred Inglangasuk and they moved to Aklavik in 1952 so their kids could go to school. Lucy and Fred had ten kids but they lost two boys. After her husband died in 1994, Lucy moved to Inuvik where most of her children reside. Lucy has raised her youngest daughter's daughter, Robyn, who still lives with her.

Colin Harry

Colin Harry [Sokituq] was born in 1926 at Paulatuq. His parents were originally from Alaska and he was adopted by Old Harry. He had three sisters and a brother who have all passed now. Colin's parents were hunters and he traveled a great deal with them, especially east of the delta. He particularly enjoyed whalehunting. Colin went to school at All Saints in Aklavik for five years, until it closed down. In the summers, he would go hunting with his family and spend time with his nephew Victor Allen. After school, Colin spent a number of winters with his dog-team on the Yukon North Slope. Colin married Charlotte and they had four children. She died long ago and is buried in Aklavik; he stays in Aklavik so he can be with her when he goes.

Victor Allen

Victor Allen Kisoun was born in 1928 at Letty Harbour near Darnley Bay. Victor had three brothers and three sisters. Victor's dad died at Kendall Island when he was eight years old. His grandparents across the way at Hardy Bay took care of him from that time. Victor helped his grandfather with schooners and dogs. He went to school at All Saints in Aklavik for a year but got sick because he wasn't eating right and went back to his family. He later taught himself to read and write. Victor married Bertha, a Gwich'in from Old Crow, in 1951. They had seven children. Victor is still active on the land and goes with his extended family to whale at Kendall Island every year. His children are actively collecting their father's stories about his life and times.

Frankie Stefansson

Frankie was born in 1941 at the Anglican Mission Hospital in Aklavik. He's one of five siblings whose grandfather was the explorer Vilhalmur Stefansson (his dad's mother, Pannigabluk, traveled with Stefansson). Frankie's Inuvialuit name is *Mangilaluq*, which means the essence of a polar bear. Frankie was in the mission hospital in Aklavik for a number of years when he was very young and suffering from infant polio; there he learned to speak French and Latin from the nuns. When he was strong enough, Frankie attended Roman Catholic Mission School as an Anglican, which was very tough and caused him many fights. He spent his summers on the land helping Old Roland and his wife Kuttuq [Kitty] at their home in Roland's Bay. He overwintered alone on his parent's trapline for the first time when he was fourteen. At fifteen, Frankie's hunting partner shot him in the knee, thinking he was a bear. He continues to walk with a limp. Frankie has never married but tells me he has sired children all over the Arctic!

Sarah Tingmiak

Sarah was born on Kendall Island in 1922, one of twelve children. Her parents were Harry and Minnie Eyukylak; she was called Sarah Harry before she married. Sarah was raised all over from Paulatuq to Kendall Island to the delta and across the other side. Sarah attended school briefly but her mother needed her help and soon died at Herschel Island. Sarah moved to Aklavik when she married Rufus Tingmiak (from Alaska) and their kids went to school. They had twelve natural children and adopted one. She and her family moved to Inuvik in its early days, around 1956. They lived in a frame tent until 5-12's were built; Rufus worked for the school. He died in 1973. Sarah started drum dancing in 1969, which she is still doing today (Sarah opened the Northern Games in the summer of 2005).

Jimmy Gordon

Jimmy was born in Alaska in 1930. Parts of his family are Scottish but he identifies as 'Eskimo.' When Jimmy was about eleven years old, his

grandfather got sick and because the ice was so heavy around Point Barrow, they brought him to Aklavik, but he died en route. The family stayed on at Herschel and never went back to Alaska. Jimmy went to school in Aklavik for two years while his parents were out trapping, but he left because he figured he could do more with bush skills. In his mid-teens, Jimmy went to work as a herder with his father at Reindeer Station. It was very difficult work. Eventually, his father bought the herd from the government. Jimmy moved on to own several businesses, including a very successful barge company called Beluga Transport. Barging between Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk, Jimmy gathered a large artifact collection. Jimmy and his wife had eight children; she has now passed. Jimmy passed in the spring of 2007.

Billy Day

Billy was born in the Delta in the 1930s and raised throughout the region. His father was a southerner and his mother an Inuvialuk. Billy's father took him to British Columbia for parts of his boyhood, where he went to school and learned to read and write English. Billy returned to the Delta and married his wife Maggie, a Gwich'in. He worked for a period for the Government of Canada, and later returned to a traditional life of hunting, trapping, and whaling. He was heavily involved in the negotiations for the Inuvialuit Final Agreement, which was settled in 1984. Billy maintains a strong interest in his people's history and culture, and has served as an ambassador to the south in representing his people's interests. He was awarded a National Aboriginal Achievement Award in 2006.

Appendix 2. List of Elders initials

The following is a list of the Inuvialuit Elders' initials who are referenced throughout this study. They are alphabetical according to first name.

AH	Alice Husky
ACG	Annie C. Gordon
BA	Barbra Allen
BD	Billy Day
CH	Colin Harry
DAG	Danny A. Gordon
DCG	Danny C. Gordon
DR	David Roland
DA	Donald Aviugana
EA	Elizabeth Aviugana
FS	Frankie Stefansson
HI	Hilda Irish
II	Ida Inglangasuk
JA	Jacob Archie
JG	Jimmy Gordon
LI	Lucy Inglangasuk
K	Moses Kayotuk
NK	Ned Kayotuk
NA	Nellie Arey
RA	Rosie Archie
SM	Sarah Meyook
ST	Sarah Tingmiak
SS	Sheba Selamio
VA	Victor Allen
WC	Winnie Cockney

Appendix 3. Consent forms and thematic overview of interviews

Below is a series of documents used in preparing for and conducting the initial Elders' interviews in 2005. First are the consent forms that were approved by the Conjoint Faculties Research Board at the University of Calgary (Appendix 4), which were signed by and distributed to the Elders who agreed to participate in the study. Second is the verbal script that I presented to Elders when I met with them to describe the study, ask for their participation, and explain and request ethical consent. Third is a thematic overview of the interview and the questions that I originally intended to ask. As suggested in the chapters of this dissertation, these were expanded and re-directed by the responses and suggestions of individual Elders as the study progressed.

*Public archaeology for the 21st century:
Collaboration with an Arctic community*

Natasha Lyons, University of Calgary

Dear Participant:

Thank you for agreeing to participate in oral interviews related to the development of a public archaeology program in Aklavik.

This consent form is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you an idea of what the project is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully.

Purpose of study: The goal of the project is to understand more about Inuvialuit culture, including how Inuvialuit think about their culture and how they interpret traditional artifacts.

Your participation in the study: I will ask you to look at pictures of artifacts collected from Ivvavik National Park and to identify and explain their function, construction, and use(s), if possible. I will also ask you more general questions about your experiences working on archaeology projects or otherwise interacting with archaeologists in the past. On a subsequent visit to the community, I will attempt to contact all participants regarding follow-up questions and to provide an opportunity for participants to review their contributions to the study. At this time, you will be paid a \$100 honorarium for participating in this study through support from Parks Canada Western Arctic Field Unit.

Risk to you: There are minimal risks related to your involvement in this project.

Informed consent: Before we can begin the interview, I need your informed consent. You can provide this by reading and signing this form. I will tape your interview and take your photograph only if you give me signed permission to do so. Your participation is completely voluntary. You can refuse to participate, or withdraw without penalty or loss of benefits at any time. You are free to request more information about the study and you are also free to refuse to answer any specific questions during the interview.

Confidentiality: Any information that I collect will be transcribed for the final report of this study, and with your permission, will be cited in other documents. I request the right to disclose your identity in written form in my reporting. If you prefer to remain anonymous, either you or myself can choose a pseudonym to be used in writing.

Storage of materials: All materials, including tapes, transcripts of tapes, and any notes I might make, will remain confidential and will be stored in a locked cabinet in my office. Copies of tapes and photos will be given to the Aklavik Community Corporation and to individual participants.

Results: Your interview, and any other material I collect, will be incorporated into my dissertation at the University of Calgary, and into publications and presentations that I may produce. These latter products may take the form of plain language summaries, public or community-based heritage educational materials, and conference or classroom presentations. These products are intended to benefit the community by recording your knowledge for the use of younger and future generations. Some of these products may be produced in partnership with Parks Canada. Parks Canada Western Arctic Field Unit may also use a portion of this data to independently develop education materials and heritage policy. As the study also aims to create more cooperative relations between the Inuvialuit community and research and government institutions, Parks Canada Western Arctic Field Unit may also use a portion of this data to independently develop more relevant educational materials and heritage policy.

Consent: Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as an interviewee. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigator or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation. If you have further questions concerning matters related to this research, please contact Natasha Lyons, Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary, 2500 University Drive NW, Calgary, Alberta, T2N 1N4, 403-228-7072, nlyons@ucalgary.ca. If you have any issues or concerns about this project that are not related to the specifics of the research, you may also contact the Research Services Office in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Calgary at 403-220-3782 and ask for Mrs. Patricia Evans.

Today is _____ (*insert date*)

_____ (*Interviewee name*) is being interviewed about their

knowledge of traditional artifacts from the North Slope, involvement in archaeology in the past, and knowledge of Inuvialuit culture. They are from _____

(*Community*). The interview is taking place at _____ (*Location*).

May I take your photograph to use in reports and other materials? YES
NO

Do you (*Interviewee*) wish to be given credit for the information you provide? That is, have your name in the report? YES
NO

If not, confidentiality of your name is ensured.

You must understand that you do not have to answer any questions you do not want to, and that you can stop the interview at any time. Do you understand this? YES NO (*explain*)

By signing below, you give informed consent for this interview to happen:

_____ Participant name

_____ Date

I was present when the research participant _____
(name of participant), agreed to the research process, which was fully explained to him/her.

_____ Witness name

_____ Date

Verbal Explanation of Research project to be delivered to participants before consent requested, particularly those who are non- literate:

Hello, thanks for agreeing to consider participating in this study. This study concerns Inuvialuit ideas about culture and heritage and knowledge related to Inuvialuit artifacts. I hope to understand more about Inuvialuit culture, including how Inuvialuit think about their culture, in the past and present. I also hope that you can help me understand more about traditional artifacts. This interview will take one to a couple of hours and you can choose not to participate at any time.

I will ask you to look at pictures of artifacts collected from Ivvavik National Park and to identify and explain how they were made and used and who used them. I will also ask you more general questions about your experiences working on archaeology projects or interacting with archaeologists in the past.

This research is beneficial to the Inuvialuit community in a number of ways. First, your knowledge will be recorded and stored for the use of younger and future generations. This study also aims to create more cooperative relations between the Inuvialuit community and research and government institutions, which will lead to better heritage planning in the future. Some of this material may be used in future by Parks Canada Western Arctic Field Unit to produce educational materials and to develop heritage policy.

I am asking for your consent to tape our interview and take some photos. This information will be transcribed and stored at the Aklavik Community Corporation and at the Parks office in Inuvik. I will also use this information in my study. I would like permission to give you credit for the information you provide by using your name. If you would prefer that I don't use your name, we can make up a name to be used and your identity will remain anonymous. I would also like permission to use your photograph in reports, books, and posters. Before I produce these products, however, I will try to contact all participants to ask them to review their contributions for accuracy on a return visit to the community.

If you agree to these conditions, I'll have sign at the bottom to acknowledge your informed consent of this interview. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time without any loss of benefits. You will be paid a \$100 honorarium for the interview, supported by funding from Parks Canada Western Arctic Field Unit.

Thanks very kindly for your interest and participation.

Thematic overview of interview questions:

While the structure of these interviews will be somewhat open-ended, two central themes to be pursued include (1) Inuvialuit interpretations of material culture and (2) Inuvialuit conceptions of archaeology and heritage.

Interpretations of Inuvialuit material culture will be gathered by using traditional artifacts and photographs as a mnemonic to elicit participants' explanations of these items. A suite of questions will be asked of each of a series of artifacts, such as the following:

1. Do you recognize this object? What would you call it (in Inuvialuktun or English)?
2. How was this artifact used? In what context would it be used?
3. Who would use this type of object? Have you ever used one?
4. Do you know how was it was manufactured? If so, can you describe the process?
5. If the objects were manufactured prior to living memory, I will ask questions such as: where have you seen artifacts like this before? What knowledge do you have of them? Do you know who made them? Are there stories connected to the people/culture who made them?

Secondly, an Inuvialuit view of archaeology will be sought through a discussion of participants' experiences working on archaeological projects or otherwise interacting with archaeologists in the Mackenzie Delta region over the last half century. Thematic questions will include:

6. Have you ever been involved with an archaeology project? If so, where and when?
7. Can you describe the project? Who conducted it? How were you involved? What stories can you recall about the experience?
8. Have you known [other] archaeologists or been involved with archaeology in other ways? Can you describe these experiences? Where, when, and with whom did they take place?

9. Were other community members involved in these projects? Who, and in what capacity?
10. What was the level of community involvement in these archaeological projects? Did the community benefit from the project(s)? If so, how? What were the overall outcomes of these studies?
11. Do you think it is important for the young people to be involved in archaeology, oral history, and similar types of projects? If yes, for what reasons? Do you think there is a high level of interest among the young people in these projects? Do you think there are enough opportunities available for their involvement? If no, describe what additional kinds of programs might be offered.
12. Would you say there is an active heritage program in your community? Is there an active Elders group? What kinds of activities are conducted by these various organizations? What are the aims and outcomes of these activities? What additional kinds of activities would you recommend?

These general themes will serve to provide an insider's view of Inuvialuit view heritage, how it has been treated by outsiders, and how it may best be documented in the future. Interviews will be conducted, as appropriate, in Inuvik, Aklavik, and Shingle Point, the latter a traditional fish camp where many Inuvialuit spend their summer months.

Appendix 5. Excerpt of an interview with Sarah Tingmiak

Held at: Sarah's house, Inuvik

Date: 26 July 2005

Time: 2 hours

Present: Sarah & Natasha

NL: Okay Sarah, tell me your name.

ST: I'm Sarah Tingmiak.

NL: And what year were you born Sarah?

ST: Kendall Island, 1922.

NL: 1922! And you were born at Kendall Island? You're the first person I've met that was born at Kendall Island. So were you raised up there?

ST: Oh, um, we raised all over, in Paulatuuq, Kendall Island, in delta.

NL: Yeah, in the delta? And the other side as well?

ST: Yeah we were. Then I went to school for grade 4, and my mom come [to pick me up] and I never have school any more.

NL: No?

ST: 'Cuz ah, she wants somebody to work for her, [so I] go home from school.

NL: But your mom, when she asked you to be with her, where was she living, in the bush?

ST: Yeah, and then she died in Herschel Island, my mom.

NL: [Pause]. Mm-hmm...So did you travel out that way?

ST: Yeah.

NL: What kinds of things did you do when you were young?

ST: Just always help my mom, snare rabbits and fishing and trap [musk]rats and...

NL: Mm-hmm, so in the winter, what did you do?

ST: That's what I told you, in winter. We trap and fishing...

NL: And in the summer?

ST: Summer we go down to whaling, summertime. And after whaling, we go back to our camp.

NL: Mm-hmm. Where did you go whaling normally?

ST: Kendall Island.

NL: Yeah, always? Ever since you were this big [indicates the size of a small child]?

ST: Yeah. [laughs]

NL: And did you spend time in the Yukon as well?

ST: Mm-mm.

NL: No? Not too much. No. Is your family from the delta, 'Tingmiak'? Yeah, yeah. What were your mother and father's names?

ST: Harry and Minnie.

NL: What was their last name?

ST: You can't spell it, *Eyukylak* [?]

NL: Okay, yeah. I can't pronounce that but I could try.

ST: But they always call me Sarah Harry, before I get married.

NL: Sarah Harry.

ST: Mm-hmm.

NL: Are you related to Colin?

ST: Colin Allen?

NL: Colin Harry.

ST: That's my adopted brother.

NL: Oh, okay, I just saw him a couple days ago in Aklavik.

ST: Uh-huh.

NL: He told me lots of good stories. How many brothers and sisters do you have, Sarah?

ST: I had eight sisters. I'm only one out of twelve!

NL: Wow.

ST: I'm only one, yeah, out of twelve.

NL: Really? One out of twelve, hey?

ST: [laughs] Yeah.

NL: And then, did you live in Aklavik?

ST: Yeah, we used to live in Aklavik, when I got married we live in Aklavik and my kids went to school.

NL: They went to Day School?

ST: Yeah. They went to school in Aklavik and then when we move to Inuvik again, they going to school. Yeah.

NL: Mm-hmm. When did you move to Inuvik?

ST: 19...56 I guess. Since Inuvik start we move! And then, I used to tell my husband, 'how you fellas gonna take all your whales off?' So much whale! Yeah.

NL: So what did...they had to cut them all?

ST: Yeah, cut them.

NL: Where did you live when you first moved to Inuvik?

ST: We used to have frame tent in the bushes, yeah.

NL: Okay. Did you live in a tent for...

ST: In a tent, in a tent, yeah, for many years. Yeah, our kids going to school from down there, tents. Double tents is good. Frame it and double tent.

NL: Yeah, they're pretty warm, aren't they? Do you still have one?

ST: Yeah! And then when they start to building 5-12's, and then we start moving, when they finish 5-12's.

NL: And did your husband help build? Did your husband, did he work in Inuvik?

ST: Yeah, yeah. He work for school and he work...he died 1973.

NL: Oh! Long time ago.

ST: Yeah. And I start drum dancing 1969!

NL: You did!

ST: Yeah.

NL: Oh, that's great!

ST: Still drumming and dancing!

NL: Really? That's wonderful!

ST: Yeah, teaching and everything.

NL: Are you going to Midway [an annual summer festival in the Yukon]?
Teaching, yeah.

ST: Yeah, teaching kids how to dance.

NL: That's great Sarah. You're still doing that, still strong.

ST: 82.

NL: That's great. When I was in Aklavik, Danny A. Gordon did some singing for me, drumming and singing. His granddaughter was dancing.

ST: [laughs]

NL: I guess they went down to Midway, for the festival, or they're going down this weekend.

ST: Midway? They're gonna have Northern Games here [in Inuvik] too, eh?

NL: Yeah! Are you part of that? Are you gonna sing for that?

ST: Stay here.

NL: So you're gonna go?

ST: I don't know, if anybody ask me I say 'yeah', I gonna say 'yeah'. If anybody [asks], 'you wanna ride for...?', [answer], 'yeah, yeah.'

NL: [laughs] That's good! What happens at Northern Games?

ST: They always play games, and drum dancing, and dancing outside and jigging contest, make tea and everything.

NL: Sounds fun.

ST: Yeah.

NL: Sarah, how many children do you have?

ST: Twelve, I adopt one, make thirteen.

NL: Thirteen.

ST: Just like my mom I got eight girls and four boys.

NL: Really? Wow! So do they all live in Inuvik? Do they live here?

ST: Uh, I lost some, some, yeah. I got five girls and two living [boys] and one adopted son. Eight, eight out of twelve.

NL: Yeah. And they, do you live with some children here, some of your children?

ST: Only my granddaughter live with me now.

NL: Okay, and she's got a daughter or a son. You have a great grandson?

ST: Mm—hmm.

NL: Do you have lots of great grandchildren?

ST: Yeah, I don't know how many! MLA, that's my grandson, the MLA Robert McLeod?

NL: Okay, yeah.

ST: That's my grandson. I raise him!

NL: You did? Well, you raised him well, didn't you?

ST: Yeah!

NL: Yeah, you should be proud! [laughs] So, what was Aklavik like when you lived in Aklavik?

ST: We used to live in a tent across the river and kids always go to school.

NL: At Pokiak?

ST: Pokiak, yeah. No, other one!

NL: Hudson's Bay?

ST: Hudson Bay.

NL: Oh, okay, yeah.

ST: Kids always walk across, sometimes their dad bring them with dog-team.

NL: Wow. And Aklavik, it was quite busy back then, wasn't it?

ST: Mm. Somebody says it's gonna sink! Aklavik, and that's why we all move across here.

NL: That's right.

ST: It never sink yet! Getting big! [laughs]

NL: I know! It's true! I know. Some people say that the government tried to force people. Do you think they did?

ST: I guess so. And then we move.

NL: Yeah, but some people stayed, didn't they? Some people decided to stay in Aklavik.

ST: Mm-hmm, yeah.

NL: Lots of people. And they have that saying 'Never Say Die.'

ST: Yeah! [laughs]

NL: That's the motto of the school now, Moose Kerr. It says 'Moose Kerr School, Never Say Die.'

ST: Yeah.

NL: When you lived there, was Stan Peffer's store there?

ST: Mm-hmm.

NL: Did you ever work there?

ST: No, me I never work there. I never work, only when we move to Inuvik. I work for Police for three years and I work in the hospital about four years. And I work for TPW and Oils[?]. I used to cook. Twelve hours a day.

NL: Mm-hmm. Long day. Plus having all those kids! Pretty busy.

ST: Yeah. [laughs] Now I don't work any more: I waiting for my pension!
[laughs]

NL: Well, that's good! You deserve it! After all that! Raising all those kids! So when you went to school, did you go to Anglican school?

ST: Yeah, in Aklavik, Anglican school.

NL: What was it like?

ST: [sighs] I don't know.

NL: Did you like school?

ST: I like it but my mom took me home. She said she need help at home.

NL: Yeah. Did you do some sewing for her?

ST: Mm-hmm.

NL: Do you like to sew?

ST: Yeah.

NL: You do lots?

ST: Mm-hmm.

NL: Make parkies and stuff, yeah? And did you tan hides, skin?

ST: No no no. I don't know why I never learned that.

NL: Did somebody in your family?

ST: Somebody could make moose hide or what; Kathleen[?] Hansen used to make moose hide.

NL: Yeah, yeah. So when you got rats, did you used to skin them?

ST: Mm-hmm.

NL: And then you sold them?

ST: I never even skin one rat this spring! Nothing!

NL: No? You didn't get anything?

ST: [laughs]

NL: I heard there weren't very many.

ST: No.

NL: Yeah, that's what people told me in Aklavik. Not too many rats this year. Yeah, I wonder why?

ST: You know my mom and dad, my mom used to tell us if it's the weather...getting old, you know, the earth, and then they gonna have no more animals. That's what they used to tell us long ago. Look, there's getting less, less.

NL: Yeah. One Elder in Aklavik told me that when it gets cloudy that maybe the end is coming, 'cuz it gets cloudier and cloudier. That's what her mom told her. I don't know. [laughs] We'll have to see. Now, did your mom and dad, did they make they're own things? Did they make their tools?

ST: No, they used to live in the bush, my mom and dad. Mm-hmm.

NL: And they came in to trade?

ST: Yeah. They just go to, my dad just go to store when they get fur, go sell his fur, and get stuff.

NL: What did he trade for? Like, he would go get grub?

ST: Mm-hmm.

NL: Yeah? Sugar and flour and coffee and tea?

ST: Yeah. That's all they used to buy long ago. Flour, tea, lard, oats, cornmeal for dogs.

NL: Yeah, yeah, did you have a big dog-team?

ST: Yeah, we used to have two teams.

NL: Really?

ST: Me and my husband.

NL: How many dogs was that?

ST: Seven each.

NL: Whoa!

ST: 'Cuz he really could look after dogs, my husband.

NL: What was your husband's name?

ST: Rufus. Tingmiak, yeah.

NL: Rufus Tingmiak. Where was Rufus from? Is he from Aklavik?

ST: From, um, from Alaska I guess. He's up there, his picture. Way over there, in the end.

NL: Oh, this one.

ST: That year he got two wolverine. That's why everyone get new wolverine...parkies.

NL: Really? Yeah, did you make those?

ST: Yeah.

NL: Those are nice pictures!

ST: That's me and Abel right here, my son. Drum dancing. Right here.

NL: Oh, that's nice, nice parkies! Did you make those?

ST: Yeah.

NL: Where's that picture taken? Is that on the river?

ST: Yeah, in the river, yeah. Springtime.

NL: Oh, that's nice, nice. So you said that you had, that you traveled by dog team. Had lots of dogs.

ST: Mm-hmm.

NL: So were you fishing for your dogs all the time?

ST: Yeah. You have to work hard for dogs, look after dogs, all summer. In winter, all the time. Cook for them...Now no more dogs, not even one! [laughs]

NL: No! You don't even have one! Not even a pet? Do you miss it?

ST: I used to have pups alright but my little granddaughter she's allergic to dogs. That's why I don't have pup any more. I was gonna have one but [she] always get sick, sick, always funny breathing.

NL: Like asthma or something like that.

ST: Yeah, that's why I never have pup any more. But [she's] good now!

NL: Oh, that's good. And so when did you get your first skidoo? In the 60s?

ST: I used to have skidoo; I don't anymore.

NL: No? You don't like riding any more? Do you go skidoing with your kids ever?

ST: Yeah, my kids got skidoos. Yeah.

NL: But you don't go hunting anymore?

ST: No.

NL: Did you use to like hunting?

ST: I never hunt.

NL: No? Just fishing and snaring?

ST: Yeah. My mom, I used to follow my mom. Mm-hmm.

NL: And so your dad, he did all the hunting?

ST: Mm-hmm.

NL: And when he hunted something, your mom would cut it up?

ST: Yeah.

NL: And she'd take the skin and stuff?

ST: Mm-hmm.

NL: Yeah. What's your favourite kind of meat? Caribou?

ST: Caribou. And rabbit.

NL: Oh yeah? How 'bout whale, muktuk?

ST: It's good, I eat anything!

NL: So, where's your camp?

ST: My camp? My son got camp across the Mackenzie.

NL: Okay, on the far side?

ST: This side.

NL: Oh, just over here.

ST: Across Mackenzie.

NL: How far away is it?

ST: Not, not too far. You have to cross Mackenzie.

NL: Mm-hmm. Do you still go out there?

ST: Yeah. Once in a while I stay there, with them.

NL: Nice. Make dryfish?

ST: Mm-hmm.

NL: I love dryfish!

ST: I like to fishing! [Fish for] losch.

NL: Jiggling? Losch. You should go in the competition, at the Northern Games.

ST: [laughs]

NL: For jiggling. When you used to travel on the coast did you often see some of the old things? Yeah?

ST: Well, my dad used to have boat. We used to traveling to Paulatuq, Cape Parry, all over round there. Down to Herschel Island.

NL: Yup. Did you ever go to the Firth River?

ST: Firth River? My dad.

NL: Your dad went there?

ST: Yeah.

NL: Yeah? How 'bout Demarcation Point?

ST: My husband go there too.

NL: Oh yeah. And did you know some of the people that lived on the coast?

ST: Mm-hmm.

NL: No? Yeah, most of your people were in the delta. Yeah? Your family all lived in the delta?

ST: Yeah.

NL: I'm gonna show you some of these things I have. I'm gonna give you some gloves. We just normally put gloves on.

ST: For what? I put them on?

NL: Yeah, please. I'll put a pair on too. Just because these old things, we need to protect...

ST: I was just using these too before when I was in the hospital. One person, you can't visit him without gowns, and they put gloves on us to visit.

NL: Yeah, I had a friend like that too, when she was sick...So these are some things that you can help me...

ST: Oh! You pick up those?

NL: Yeah, we collected these in the park, and we're getting Elders to help us look at them and talk about them.

ST: Oh!

NL: So you can tell me if you recognize any of them.

ST: No I can't. I don't know what's this.

NL: Well, sometimes people say that maybe there was a hook in here. ['dog whip handle']

ST: Must be, huh? Maybe hook.

NL: Yeah. Like for seals or something.

ST: Yeah yeah!

NL: Yeah, could be, hey? It's maybe, it's a little bit burnt, but you would wrap the cord around this part.

ST: What's this, knife? ['snow knife']

NL: Yeah, yeah, pick that one up.

ST: Yeah. See long ago they used to do anything! Yeah.

NL: Mm-hmm. Have you ever seen one like that before?

ST: No no. My mom used to tell us stories.

NL: Did she? What did she tell you?

ST: About those knives and with, you know, they make a bone needle. Yeah, long ago.

NL: She used them, your mom?

ST: She said long ago. Yeah, they make needle to make parkies.

NL: That's right, and in the old days, they use rocks to make *ulu*.

ST: Mm-hmm.

NL: Stuff like that. And they would use bones to make harpoons. That's what a lot of these are.

ST: I don't know what's this. Me, I don't know much.

NL: No, that's okay. It's okay if you don't know. But I'm just asking. Um, do you know Frankie Stefansson?

ST: Who?

NL: Frankie Stefansson?

ST: Yup.

NL: He showed me how he used to use one of these.

ST: What's that?

NL: Frankie. He knew how to use one of these ['reinforcement']. One like this, he said you would use it as part of a harpoon. You know, on a harpoon line. You put a disc around like this, and it would drag in the water to slow the animal down. That's what he told me. Do you know that one? Have you ever seen one like that?

ST: No.

NL: It's a bit broken that one, and a bit old. Yeah. Did your family, did they ever have a schooner? Did your family travel in a schooner?

ST: Schooner? Yeah. My dad got schooner.

NL: And that's how you traveled in the summer?

ST: Yeah.

NL: Was it fun?

ST: Mm-hmm.

NL: Some people say that they used this with a schooner. Have you seen one like that before? ['chisel']

ST: Harpoon-like?

NL: No, well, they would put it, if there was a hole, in the side, to cork it. They would put cotton in the side and then they would put this in, and it would hold.

ST: Okay, okay! For the...

NL: To cork them.

ST: Yeah, when they make house.

NL: Yeah, that's right, they could split wood when they made a house, or they could, uh, fill the holes. Yeah, yeah, just like that. I have a few more. That one's a bit heavier.

ST: I don't know.

NL: Yeah? Do you know the word *ikun*?

ST: *Ikun*?

NL: *Ikun*, yeah.

ST: Okay! [makes scraping motion]

NL: Yeah, like that, yeah, yeah, exactly!

ST: Long ago they do anything!

NL: That's right. They're pretty clever.

ST: Bones and rocks and they make fire with the rocks.

NL: Yeah, with flint. Yeah, exactly, some people told me about that.

ST: My mom used to tell us that too.

NL: Yup. You could find those rocks on the Firth River lots of times I guess. Have you seen one like that? This one's really old. But I guess when you make fishnet, you tie it off, so this would be to measure the fishnet. ['net gauge']

ST: Okay!

NL: Yeah! So you would tie it, and then make another one, tie it, like that. David Roland said he saw an old man in Alaska using one of these when he was young. Yeah, long time ago. Yeah, but this one, I know you know one like this.

ST: Yeah. Hook.

NL: Yeah, hook. ['fishhook']

ST: I had little hook too. I don't know where is it!?

NL: Oh yeah? One like that?

ST: Yeah, black one, black little one.

NL: Where'd you find it?

ST: I don't know where is it.

NL: Oh yeah. Where did it come from?

ST: Um, one old lady gave me.

NL: Yeah? As a present?

ST: Yeah.

NL: Did she find it or did she make it?

ST: I don't know, she made it I guess. Or maybe her husband. You know, a little black one.

NL: Yeah? They're really cute, aren't they?

ST: Yeah.

NL: What kind of fish do you think you would catch with that?

ST: This is, ah, maybe whale teeth. I don't know.

NL: Yeah, yeah, could be.

ST: Must be, huh? Whale teeth.

NL: Is that, is that for grayling?

ST: How small hook! [laughs]

NL: Yeah, it's a cute little one. Some people say maybe polar bear teeth, but other people say...

ST: Maybe whale too.

NL: Yeah, maybe whale. Have you seen one like those before?

ST: It's a rock, huh?

NL: Yeah, a round one. ['clay ball']

ST: Yeah.

NL: You see those on the coast?

ST: I got two black ones like that. I don't know where, somewhere around here.

NL: Yeah. Where did you find yours?

ST: From Kendall Island.

NL: Okay, you brought them back?

ST: Yeah, long ago! Put it away someplace, I don't want kids to take them!

NL: That's right, some place special. [laughs]

ST: Yeah!

NL: That's what happens! Some people tell me that they used to juggle those kind. Yeah, yeah!

ST: They just take two rocks, some people had three. I never learned that.

NL: No, me neither, too hard.

ST: My sister.

NL: She could do that?

ST: Yeah. Three.

NL: Oh, that's good, with rocks?

ST: Yeah.

NL: Yeah, what do you call that in your language?

ST: *Igluqihaq. Igluqihaq.*

NL: Right. That's what Barbra Allen told me, that too. *Igluqihaq*. Yeah, oh, that's great. Did you have other kinds of toys when you were young?

ST: You know we play, to make a round thing and just like a hor, hors...

NL: Horseshoes.

ST: Horseshoes! Like that but round one.

NL: Oh! *Kipotug*?

ST: Yeah, *kipotug*, and we always play with that too, yeah.

NL: Yeah! That's right. I was just at Shingle and they were playing *kipotug* when I was there.

ST: Yeah, us too, we were playing it when we were down at Shingle Point.

NL: Yeah. Did you win?

ST: I don't know, I forget.

NL: [laughs] Looks like it's fun.

ST: It's all we play!

NL: Oh yeah?

ST: Yeah.

NL: It's pretty hard.

ST: Yeah, and we play, you know, *ajahaq*.

NL: String games! Yeah. Can you do that?

(Continued)