

**A Case of Access:
Inuvialuit Engagement with the
Smithsonian Institution's Macfarlane Collection**

(An Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage Case Study)

**Final report
By
Charles Arnold
for the
"A Case of Access" Project Team**

June 2014



L-R: Shayne Cockney, Cathy Cockney, Freda Raddi, Albert Elias and Helen Gruben at the Smithsonian Museum Support Center, Nov 17, 2009. (Photo by Kate Hennessy)



IPinCH

Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage:
Theory, Practice, Policy, Ethics

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Table of Contents

Project Description	4
Operating Principles	7
Activities and Accomplishments	8
Measuring Our Successes	23
What has made our project successful?.....	23
How has the project been received in the Inuvialuit community?	24
Concluding Observations	25
References Cited	26
Publications for the General Public	26
Publications in Academic Journals	26
Presentations	27
Other	28
APPENDIX A: Responses to IPinCH: Reflective Questions	29
APPENDIX B: “A Case of Access” Project Deliverables Included With Final Report	35
APPENDIX C: “The Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project: Winter 2009-Spring 2011.” Arctic Studies Center Newsletter 1, 2011	37

Project Description

“A Case of Access” was an Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage (IPinCH) Case Study that brought together Inuvialuit elders, youth and cultural experts with anthropologists, museum curators and others to generate and document Inuvialuit and curatorial knowledge about objects in the MacFarlane Collection that are housed at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, with a wider view to sharing and disseminating this knowledge in the Inuvialuit, anthropological, and other interested public communities.

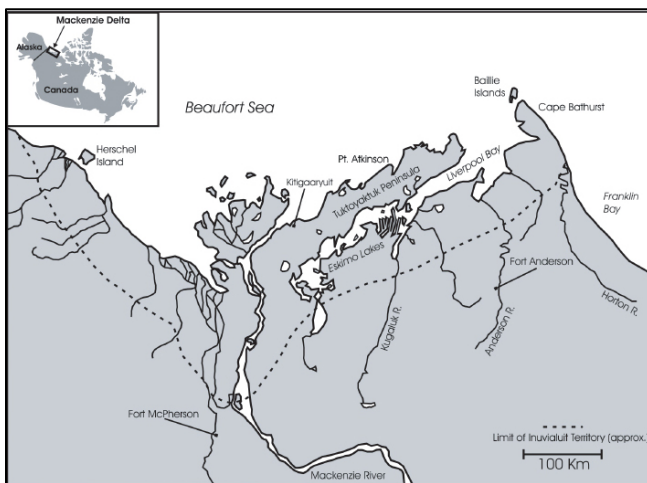


Figure 1: Location of Fort Anderson.



Figure 2: Noulloomalok-Innonarana, a “chief” of the Inuvialuit who traded at Fort Anderson (from Émile Petitot, *Les Grands Esquimaux*, 1887).

The MacFarlane Collection takes its name from Roderick MacFarlane, an employee of the Hudson’s Bay Company who was in charge of a number of fur-trading posts in western and northwestern Canada between 1852 and 1894. One of those posts was the short-lived (1861–1866) Fort Anderson, built beside the Anderson River in what is now Canada’s Northwest Territories, and on the extreme southern edge of the territory used by one of the ancestral groups of modern-day Inuvialuit. Although the name by which the Inuvialuit of that area self-identified as a people has been obscured by the passage of time, they are remembered in some Inuvialuit oral histories as the *Kuungmiut*, meaning “People of the River.” Today, they are often referred to simply as the “Anderson River Inuvialuit.”

Roderick MacFarlane was one of several employees of the Hudson's Bay Company who collected cultural and natural history specimens for the Smithsonian Institution in the mid- to late 1800s. In total, there are approximately 330 cultural objects at the Smithsonian Institution that were collected by MacFarlane, and about 5,000 natural history specimens. Together with other items acquired during the Smithsonian Institution's fledgling years, the MacFarlane Collection has gained institutional status as one of their founding collections. Despite this status, and the fact that the cultural objects comprise the largest known mid-19th century ethnographic collection of Inuvialuit material culture, the MacFarlane Collection has remained relatively unknown to the public, and in particular to the Inuvialuit descendants of the people who made and used the objects in the collection. Local interest in the collection stirred in 1992 when a few items were exhibited in Inuvik during the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, and became stronger when, from 2003 to 2004, a



Figure 3: Illustration of traders and others at Fort Anderson created by an anonymous Inuvialuk circa 1865. One of the people depicted is probably Roderick MacFarlane. (American Museum of Natural History, E2545-5B).

larger number of items were shown in the *Across Time and Tundra* exhibition at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec. Recognizing the uniqueness and cultural importance of the collection, Inuvialuit individuals and agencies began to explore ways that they could gain access to it, both to learn more about what the collection contained and also to ensure that museum documentation of cultural objects aligned with their traditional knowledge.

The initial call for proposals for Case Studies by IPinCH in 2008 provided an opportunity for Inuvialuit, in cooperation with individuals and organizations with whom they had collaborated on other cultural

projects, to formulate and implement a program of activities that would establish a solid foundation for Inuvialuit engagement with the MacFarlane Collection. A planning team was convened to set objectives for the project, to submit an application to IPinCH, and to carry out activities should funding be approved. The team was coordinated by Natasha Lyons (at the time a holder of a postdoctoral fellowship at Simon Fraser University, and subsequently with Ursus Heritage Consulting) and Cathy Cockney from the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, and included representatives of the Arctic Studies Center of the Smithsonian Institution, the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, and Parks Canada. The project conceived by the planning team was given the name "A Case of Access: Inuvialuit Engagement with the Smithsonian's MacFarlane Collection," reflecting its focus on questions of access and information sharing related to cultural and intellectual property.

Objectives of “A Case of Access: Inuvialuit Engagement with the Smithsonian’s MacFarlane Collection”:

- 1) To facilitate both the engagement and interaction of Inuvialuit with the MacFarlane Collection, and the documentation of Inuvialuit knowledge about this collection. Important elements of this work were to be the interaction of Inuvialuit youth and elders with the collection, and providing opportunities to build capacity amongst Inuvialuit youth in videography and ethnographic documentation techniques.
- 2) To investigate ways for Inuvialuit to interact at a broader scale with the collection, and to this end, to chart an action plan for the next phases of the project.
- 3) To explore and address intellectual property issues related to accessing and sharing information about the collection contributed by Inuvialuit cultural experts, by the Smithsonian Institution, and by museum and academic researchers.

IPinCH saw common purpose in the objectives of “A Case of Access” and those of the broader IPinCH initiative, which are to:

- Document the diversity of principles, interpretations, and actions arising in response to Intellectual Property issues in cultural heritage worldwide;
- Analyze the many implications of these situations;
- Generate more robust theoretical understandings as well as exemplars of good practice;
- Make these findings available to stakeholders—from Aboriginal communities to professional organizations to government agencies—to develop and refine their own theories, principles, policies and practices.

“A Case of Access” was accepted as an IPinCH Case Study and allocated funding in the amount of \$21,850 to implement the project. With major funding in place, a Project Team consisting of the following individuals and organizations was established to oversee all aspects of the “A Case of Access” Project:

Natasha Lyons, Ursus Heritage Consulting (Project Coordinator);
Catherine Cockney, Manager, Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre;
Mervin Joe, Western Arctic Field Unit, Parks Canada;
Charles Arnold, Adjunct Professor, Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary;
Kate Hennessy, Assistant Professor, School of Interactive Arts & Technology, Simon Fraser University; and
Stephen Loring, Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution.

Operating Principles

Most members of the Project Team had previously worked with at least some of the other team members on other projects, and overall we felt a common sense of trust and level of comfort amongst ourselves as we looked ahead to working on “A Case of Access” (as well as the later phase of our work, the “MacFarlane Collection Traditional Knowledge Repatriation Project,” which is discussed in a later section of this report). However, we felt it important to articulate operating principles for the Project Team as a whole, as well as setting forth roles and responsibilities for individual members of the team. The resultant “Charter” became a touchstone that the team could return to as required.

Charter for “A Case of Access” Project Team Members

All team members: Participate in team meetings; maintain honest and open communication about project directions and milestones; help keep the project on track and moving forward; recognize new opportunities or suggest changes/additions to the general project goals; help support a positive and constructive team-building atmosphere and working relationship(s). Each team member will also provide their ideas about the structure, orientation, and content of the proposed website and give feedback on the draft designs and content as we produce them. Each team member will advise on appropriate community deliverables and outreach, including educational materials. Depending on their time and interest, team members will advise on the content of academic papers and presentations, and provide feedback on drafts of these products.

Activities and Accomplishments

As summarized below, the “A Case of Access” project was able to meet (and exceed) all of its objectives:

“A Case of Access” Objective 1:

To facilitate both the engagement and interaction of Inuvialuit with the MacFarlane Collection, and the documentation of Inuvialuit knowledge about this collection.

In November 2009 a delegation of Inuvialuit elders and youth, seamstresses, anthropologists, archaeologists, educators and media specialists spent five days at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC. In addition to the Project Team (see page 5), the delegation consisted of:

- Helen Gruben (Inuvialuit Elder);
- Freda Raddi (Inuvialuit seamstress);
- James Pokiak (Inuvialuit Elder);
- Albert Elias (Inuvialuit Elder);
- Shayne Cockney (Inuvialuit Youth);
- Karis Gruben (Inuvialuit Youth);
- David Stewart (Inuvialuit Communications Society);
- Brent Purdy (Inuvialuit Communications Society); and
- Maia Lepage (Photographer, Inuvik).



Figure 4: Team members at the Smithsonian (L to R): Dave Stewart, Stephen Loring, Karis Gruben, Cathy Cockney, Natasha Lyons, Helen Gruben, Kate Hennessy, Mervin Joe, James Pokiak, Freda Raddi, Shayne Cockney, Albert Elias, Charles Arnold. Missing: Maia Lepage, Brett Purdy.

The Inuvialuit elders and youth members of the delegation were recruited by the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre through a media campaign, and the Inuvialuit Communications Society assigned staff to videotape the visit for use in a documentary and to assist with still photography. IPinCH funding was supplemented by additional funding from the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre and the Smithsonian Institution. In keeping with northern research protocols, a Northwest Territories Scientists License was obtained through Aurora Research Institute in Inuvik, NWT.¹ As IPinCH was administered through Simon Fraser University, ethics approval was obtained through that institution.



Figure 5: (L to R) L-R: James Pokiak, Dave Stewart, Karis Gruben, Mervin Joe, and Stephen Loring inspect an artifact. Smithsonian Museum Support Centre, Nov. 19, 2009. Photo by Kate Hennessy.



Figure 6: Inuvialuit elders Albert Elias and Helen Gruben discuss a glove in their language, Inuvialuktun. Smithsonian Museum Support Centre, Nov. 2009. Photo by Dave Stewart.

The purpose of the visit was to familiarize members of the delegation with objects in the MacFarlane Collection, to document elders' knowledge and other information about those items, and to provide a forum for planning future activities. Over the five-day period almost all of the objects were viewed, handled and discussed. Many of the items were familiar, while others were not. Albert Elias remarked: "A lot of the objects that we saw, we haven't seen before. I think [the collection] is a living document, a living project." Discussions touched upon about how items were made, what materials were used to make each of the items, and if objects and materials came from near or far. Elders told stories about land-based activities and memories of the use of some of the objects, and Catherine Cockney and Freda Raddi created patterns and sewing instructions for some of the skin clothing items.

¹ See <http://nwtresearch.com/licensing-research> for information on research licenses in the Northwest Territories, Canada.



Figure 7: L-R: Catherine Cockney and Freda Raddi look at a belt with musk-ox hoof adornments. Smithsonian Museum Support Center, Nov. 17, 2009. Photo by Kate Hennessy.



Figure 8: Inuvialuit youth Shayne Cockney interviewing elder James Pokiak. Smithsonian Museum Support Centre, Nov. 20, 2009. Photo by Kate Hennessy.

The Inuvialuit Communications Society delegates recorded the discussions and activities on video, and, under their guidance, the two Inuvialuit youth conducted and videotaped more formal interviews with the elders in the delegation. Many of the objects were photographed to supplement the reference photos available at the Smithsonian Institution.

Subsequent to the 2009 visit to the Smithsonian Institution, the Project Team engaged in a variety of outreach activities designed to communicate information to a diverse Inuvialuit audience about the “A Case of Access” Project and the results of the study visit, and to consult with Inuvialuit community members about next steps for the project. Tools used for the outreach activities included binders containing photographs of many of the objects in the MacFarlane Collection, a booklet with images of a representative selection of items from the collection together with questions for Inuvialuit elders about those items, various PowerPoint Presentations, and a documentary prepared by the Inuvialuit Communications Society titled “A Case of Access” that incorporated video documentation of the visit to the Smithsonian Institution.



Figure 9: Elders in Tuktoyaktuk look at photos of objects in the MacFarlane Collection. Photo by Natasha Lyons.



Figure 10: Catherine Cockney presents information on traditional skin clothing in the MacFarlane Collection to students at Samuel Hearne Senior Secondary School, Inuvik. Photo by Kate Hennessy.

The presentations resulted in lively discussions and many great questions and follow-up conversations. Students were universally attracted to the history and content of the MacFarlane Collection. Educators suggested using stories about the objects to build games, lessons, and art lessons, and the real need for “hands-on” activities, no matter what grade. They mentioned that websites are actively used in classrooms, especially when they are integrated with classroom activities and linked to approved curricula. Community members in Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk, who have the closest cultural connections to the collection, shared memories and ideas about specific objects. There was common interest expressed in all forums about how the collection was obtained, whether there is there proof that items were purchased, and whether the collection could be returned to the Inuvialuit. There was much discussion about who owns the intellectual property rights to clothing styles and other design elements. Community members were keen to know more about Fort Anderson, and the families and trappers that once lived there. Students, teachers, and community members recommended making replicas for use in school programs and exhibitions. The primary concern of all community members, however, was with the passing on and sharing of knowledge about the collection with younger generations of Inuvialuit. Time and again, we heard the importance of teaching Inuvialuit youth their history, and of giving them the opportunity to touch and engage with objects that represent their cultural heritage.

Information about the MacFarlane Collection, the “A Case of Access’ Project,” and various outreach activities was summarized in a newsletter prepared by the Project Team [*The Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project: Winter 2009–Spring 2011*, by Natasha Lyons et al. (2011)] that was distributed by the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation to households of all Inuvialuit beneficiaries, and through an article in a newsletter distributed by the Smithsonian Institution [“Inuvialuit Encounter: Confronting the Past for the Future. An IPinCH Case Study,” by Stephen Loring et al., *Arctic Studies Center Newsletter* 17: 30-32 (2010)]. The project was also communicated to the public at large through two articles published by the Inuvialuit Communications Society:

“Museums and Mukluks: Arctic Representatives Explore MacFarlane Collection in Washington’s Smithsonian Institution,” by Maia Lepage, *Tusaayaksat* 30: 29-37 (2010); and “Memory & Inuvialuit Elders,” by Natasha Lyons, *Tusaayaksat* 32: 16-19 (2011), and by way of an article in *Up Here* magazine [“An Inuvialuit Journey to the Smithsonian” by Natasha Lyons, *Up Here* (March 2010)], which is widely read in the north as well as sent to subscribers in many other parts of the world. In 2011 the Aurora Research Institute invited the Project Team to speak about the project for the inaugural presentation in the Northern Speaker Series to schools, college classes and the public in Fort Smith, Yellowknife, and Inuvik [“Inuvialuit at the Smithsonian” by Mervin Joe and Charles Arnold, Aurora Research Institute, Northern Speaker Series (2011)]. Other presentations, as well as academic publications arising from “A Case of Access,” are cited in subsequent sections of this report and listed in the References section. Finally, the larger context of this and related initiatives by the Inuvialuit are discussed in Natasha Lyon’s recent article, “Localized Critical Theory as an Expression of Community Archaeology Practice: with an Example from Inuvialuit Elders of the Canadian Western Arctic” (*American Antiquity* 79(2), 2014).

“A Case of Access” Objective 2:

To investigate ways for Inuvialuit to interact at a broader scale with the MacFarlane Collection and, to this end, to chart an action plan for the next phases of the project.

At the conclusion of the 2009 visit to the Smithsonian Institution, the delegation brainstormed options for providing information about the MacFarlane Collection to other Inuvialuit, including opportunities for meaningful engagement with, and interpretation of, objects in the collection, and shared control over the dissemination of knowledge related to those objects.

Recognizing that repatriating the collection to the North was not an option, at least in the short term, the delegates instead focused on “knowledge repatriation”—returning information about the collection, as well as some form of representation of the objects - to the Inuvialuit community. Consensus developed around three interrelated activities: developing a website as a vehicle for disseminating information about the collection and to permit Inuvialuit to share their knowledge; preparing print information about the collection; and providing information so that replicas and/or creative “re-imaginings” of items in the MacFarlane Collection can be made.

People who participated in the post-visit outreach activities offered similar suggestions. While there was strong interest in eventually repatriating the collection or exhibiting the collection in the North, most understood that specialized facilities for storing and exhibiting fragile and unique cultural objects do not exist in Inuvialuit communities. Amongst the comments we received in various public and school presentations were the following:

“I understand that the Smithsonian isn’t keeping these articles away from us. They’re keeping them for us.”

“I understand that these items are preserved perfectly, so I do not think these items should be brought back to the North until [we] are absolutely sure that the items will be preserved just as perfectly.”

One participant in our outreach discussions added:

“It is important that [the Smithsonian Institution] respects our thoughts about the [objects in the MacFarlane Collection].”

The last comment nicely articulated a common concern amongst Inuvialuit that knowledge repatriation and dissemination should be a two-way process, and that the Smithsonian Institution should accept and incorporate knowledge offered by Inuvialuit into their documentation on the MacFarlane Collection. It reinforced our commitment to creating a website that would be more than simply a reference tool, and that we should find ways for people to add their information, questions and comments that could be shared with others.

Implementing these recommendations was beyond the scope of and financial resources available through the IPinCH funding agreement for the “A Case of Access” Case Study. Wishing to build on the interest and momentum generated by “A Case of Access,” the Project Team reconvened as the ‘MacFarlane Collection Traditional Knowledge Repatriation Project’ (MCTKRP) to plan, secure funding for and implement the recommendations that came out of the Case Study. Funding for this phase of the project was obtained through the Museums Assistance Program (Department of Canadian Heritage) and the International Polar Year.

Although technically it was not part of “A Case of Access,” accomplishments of the MCTKRP are summarized below, as the two phases of the overall project are intertwined:

Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait/Inuvialuit Living History website

Following two years of planning, consultation, research and writing, the *Inuvialuit Living History* website (www.livinghistory.ca) was officially launched in May 2012. The website represents the MacFarlane Collection as a “Living Collection”— *Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait* in Inuvialuktun — as it provides tools for Inuvialuit (and others) to provide comments and contribute information about items in the collection. The website is divided into seven key sections:

- The “Home Page” features a blog updating viewers on the activities of team members, news about the website, and a changing presentation of featured objects, photographs, and video;



Figure 11: Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait/Inuvialuit Living History website home page.

- An “About” section provides background on the Inuvialuit people and the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, the history of the MacFarlane Collection, issues related to intellectual property and the Smithsonian Institution, the Reciprocal Research Network, and project credits and acknowledgements;
- “The MacFarlane Collection” section represents the heart of the *Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait/Inuvialuit Living History* website. Objects can be explored by “Type,” which are categories of objects in the collection that were developed by our Inuvialuit and non-Inuvialuit team of curatorial researchers, and by employing a series of tags that refer to materials used, manufacturing techniques and other attributes. This section includes photographs, descriptions, Inuvialuktun terminology, comments made by community members and historical references;

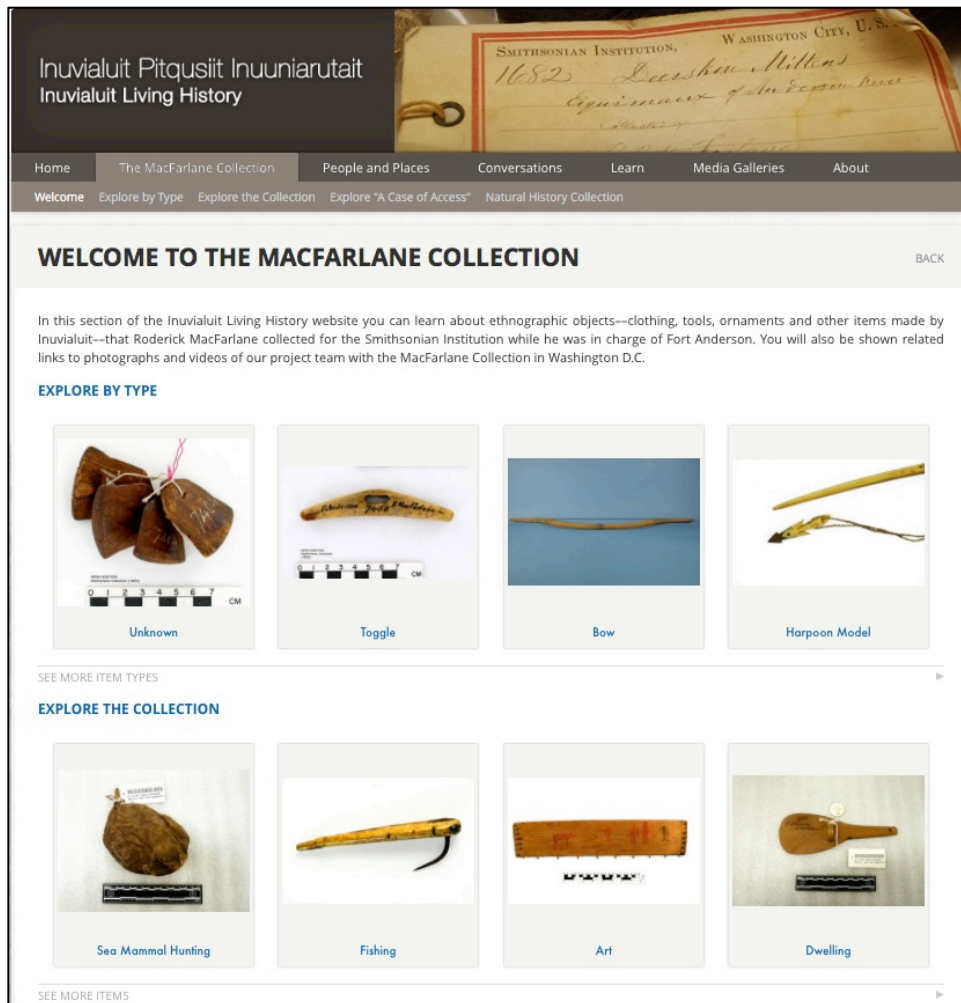


Figure 12: MacFarlane Collection main page.

Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait
Inuvialuit Living History

Home The MacFarlane Collection People and Places Conversations Learn Media Galleries About

Welcome **Explore by Type** Explore the Collection Explore "A Case of Access" Natural History Collection

BOW

[BACK](#)

SIGLITUN TERMS

Pitkivialuk

DESCRIPTION

Bows with sinew backing were one of the most sophisticated hunting weapons of the Inuvialuit. The bow stave was often made from a single piece of spruce somewhat more than a metre in length, with a continuous piece of braided sinew laid along the back of the stave in several strands that wrapped around each end. The sinew strands were attached to the stave near each end with a series of hitches, and between these hitches the strands were twisted into two tight cables. The sinew backing added strength and elasticity to the bow. There were two main types of these bows. Simple bows when strung curve in an arc from one end to another. They were often used when hunting small animals and birds. Recurve bows are constructed so that the centre of the strung bow curves towards the archer then bends away at each end. The recurve shape together with the sinew backing made this type of bow a powerful tool for hunting large animals. Bowstrings were made from braided sinew.

COMMUNITY INTERPRETATIONS

Darrel Nasogaluak's great-grandfather Kotokak hunted with sinew-backed bows. Darrel recalled hearing:

"One time when he was out on the ice with his dogs they were chased by a bear. He climbed onto a block of ice and shot an arrow that hit the bear on the side. The arrow went almost all the way through the bear, and came part way out the other side. The bows were that strong."

[Add your Knowledge](#)

RELATED CONTENT

5 related items

11 related media

Figure 13: "Explore Bows" page.

COMMUNITY INTERPRETATIONS

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[Add your Knowledge](#)



Figure 14: Community Interpretation of Bows.

- In “The MacFarlane Collection” section users can also “Explore *A Case of Access*,” the documentary produced by the Inuvialuit Communications Society about our visit to Washington, as a way of learning more about the collection. The documentary has been edited into web-friendly segments, each of which is time-code tagged with object records for artifacts that appear in the video. As a viewer watches a clip, artifact records appear to the right of the video window. These records can be clicked on to access information about the object in the video, making the video-viewing an interactive experience;
- The “People and Places” section of the website contextualizes the MacFarlane Collection with a detailed exploration of the region from which Roderick MacFarlane originally collected the objects. It includes maps of the Anderson River region, Inuvialuit place names, and information about the Inuvialuit people who used to inhabit the Anderson River area. It provides a history of Fort Anderson, information about Roderick MacFarlane, and introduces Émile Petitot, a Roman Catholic missionary who visited Fort Anderson and whose eyewitness accounts and illustrations of the Inuvialuit represent valuable documentation of that time, place, and material culture;

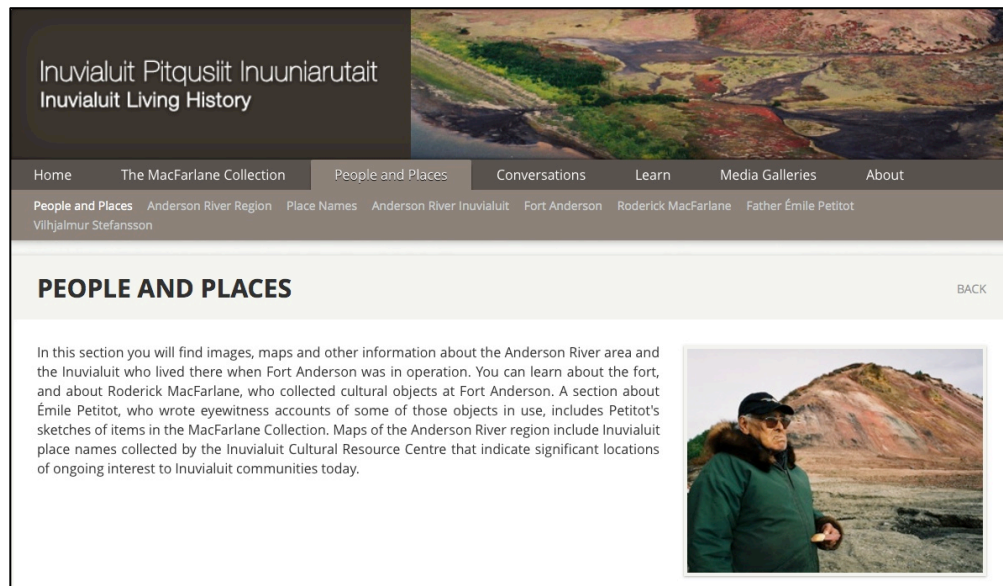


Figure 15: “People and Places” main page.

- “Conversations” presents comments from our team members about their experience working on the project, as well as an extensive interview with Elder Billy Jacobsen about his life on the land in the Anderson River region. It includes descriptions of the community outreach in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region that was conducted by our team in the course of producing the website, as well as a feedback page for users to “have their say”;
- “Media Galleries” presents photographs and videos that were documented or curated in the course of our project; and
- A “Learn” section offers resources for further study of the MacFarlane Collection and Inuvialuit culture and heritage, including interactive lesson plans developed for elementary and high school students to complement Northwest Territories school curriculum. Reports and articles related to our project, to the MacFarlane Collection, and to Inuvialuit heritage, culture, and intellectual property rights are available for download from this section.



Figure 16: Lesson Plan 1. (content by Myrna Pokiak; graphic design by Irine Prastio).

Published articles

Members of the MCKRP Project Team have published several articles elaborating on technical aspects of creating this website [cf. “Virtual Repatriation and the Application Programming Interface: From the Smithsonian Institution’s MacFarlane Collection to *Inuvialuit Living History*,” by Hennessy et al. *Proceedings of Museums and the Web* (2012)] and on its content and how the structure of the website has been designed to encourage ongoing interaction of the Inuvialuit cultural community with the MacFarlane Collection [cf. “The Inuvialuit Living History Project: Digital Return as the Forging of Relationships between Institutions, People, and Data,” by Hennessy et al., *Museum Anthropology Review* 7(1-2): 44–73 (2013)].

Printed materials related to the MacFarlane Collection



Figure 17: Cover of brochure on Skin Clothing in the MacFarlane Collection. (Graphic design by Irine Prastio).

The Project Team recognized that not all Inuvialuit have the ability or the inclination to use the Internet to access information about the MacFarlane Collection. In order to reach this audience, a plan was developed to produce and distribute a series of brochures featuring categories of objects in the collection, such as skin clothing, hunting, fishing and manufacturing tools, and illustrations on wood plaques in the collection that were made by Anderson River Inuvialuit and which show how many of the other items in the collection were used. To date, one brochure in the proposed series, featuring skin clothing, has been produced. Other brochures will be produced as time and resources permit.

Providing information so that replicas and/or creative “re-imaginings” of some of the items in the MacFarlane Collection can be made.



Figure 18: Inuvialuit seamstress Freda Raddi preparing clothing pattern. Smithsonian Museum Support Centre, Nov. 20, 2009 (Photo by Kate Hennessy).



Figure 19: Re-creation of infant’s footwear from the MacFarlane Collection (E1720) made by Freda Raddi (Photo by Freda Raddi).

During the 2009 visit to the Smithsonian Institution Freda Raddi and Cathy Cockney prepared patterns from several garments and sewing instructions in order that replicas or modified copies (“re-imaginings”) of those garments could be made. This has initiated a discussion of issues around commodification and appropriation of designs and techniques that will require further time to explore. At present, only generic patterns for some of the garments have been made available through the website.

“A Case of Access” Objective 3:

To explore and address intellectual property issues related to accessing and sharing information about the collection contributed by Inuvialuit cultural experts, by the Smithsonian Institution, and by museum and academic researchers.

Critical to the success of “A Case of Access” and the allied “MacFarlane Collection Traditional Knowledge Research Project” was gaining unfettered access to information about the collection from the Smithsonian Institution. In 2009, the Smithsonian Institution’s National Museum of Natural History had become an institutional partner of the Reciprocal Research Network (RRN), an online research environment that provides access to primarily First Nations collections from international heritage institutions. We requested and obtained approval from the Smithsonian Institution for their MacFarlane Collection data, consisting of reference photographs and catalogue information, to be made available in the RRN and accessed through the *Inuvialuit Living History* website.² The Smithsonian Institution also gave permission to re-contextualize and alter the MacFarlane Collection records on the *Inuvialuit Living History* website (while not changing the original records themselves)—in effect, providing a digital “knowledge repatriation.”

We suggest that our project and similar initiatives are eroding institutional reluctance to open collections to reinterpretation by source communities, and demonstrating the cultural, intellectual, and curatorial benefits of sharing control over representation [see, previously cited, Kate Hennessy et al., “The Inuvialuit Living History Project: Digital Return as the Forging of Relationships Between Institutions, People, and Data,” *Museum Anthropology Review* (Special Issue on Digital Return, 2013)].

With respect to Inuvialuit Traditional Knowledge that has been documented through our project, we have addressed intellectual property issues, at least in part, by assigning the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre as the holder of copyright and the primary repository of the data we gather. Unless otherwise indicated, other information that people share through the *Inuvialuit Living History* website is provided through a Creative Commons license, meaning that the contributors have agreed that it can be freely shared.

We fully expect that we will have to address other intellectual property issues as our project continues to move forward. For instance, as has been noted, some Inuvialuit have expressed concerns about how much specific information about material culture and traditional knowledge they are comfortable with sharing with the public at large. The example concerning patterns for garments in the MacFarlane Collection on one level touches upon the issue of

² Technical aspects of this process are described by Kate Hennessy et al. in “Virtual Repatriation and the Application Programming Interface: From the Smithsonian Institution’s MacFarlane Collection to ‘Inuvialuit Living History’.” *Proceedings of Museums and the Web 2012*, San Diego, edited by N. Proctor and R. Cherry, Archives and Museum Informatics, San Diego. (2012)].

commodification of cultural property, but deeper down it also recognizes that individuals or family groups often incorporated their own design elements in their material culture, and the question of who can grant authority to share that information remains unresolved. We remain confident that the principles embodied in the Charter that was developed for the project have established parameters for raising and addressing these Issues within a collaborative forum [for elaboration, see “Creating Space for Negotiating the Nature and Outcomes of Collaborative Research Projects with Aboriginal Communities,” by Natasha Lyons, *Études/Inuit/Studies* 35(1-2): 85-105. (2011)].

Measuring Our Successes

We have not undertaken a formal assessment of our accomplishments, but do plan to conduct an evaluation of the *Inuvialuit Living History* website in the near future in order to determine if it is fulfilling expectations that it will be a tool for Inuvialuit self-representation and reclamation of ethnographic authority. Elsewhere we have reported on feedback received from members of the Project Team and from the Inuvialuit community [Natasha Lyons et al., ‘The Inuvialuit Living History Project’. *SAA Archaeological Record* 12(4): 43-46. (2012)]. The essence of that informal evaluation can be summarized as follows:

What has made our project successful?

All of our team members noted the diverse strengths of individuals as a main contributor to the success of our project. Our team came together with a shared interest to learn more about the MacFarlane Collection, particularly from an Inuvialuit perspective, and to share this knowledge with the broader Inuvialuit community.

Another element of our project’s success is our deliberate attention to group process. We have made effective communication a priority for our project team, and have created space for dialogue about all aspects of the project—our goals, how they are prioritized, and how will we achieve them. We discuss these issues on an ongoing basis as the project evolves.

The different perspectives of respective team members has led to a cross-fertilization of ideas and also raised important intellectual property questions related to access, control, representation of Inuvialuit culture and ideas.

How has the project been received in the Inuvialuit community?

The Inuvialuit community has embraced this project with enthusiasm. Many Inuvialuit Elders once knew or used specific types of objects in the collection, and they are very interested in passing knowledge about these items, and the lifestyle they represent, to their grandchildren and great grandchildren. Inuvialuit hunters, seamstresses, and material culture specialists are actively studying objects in the collection and experimenting with making and using them. After one community presentation, Project Team member Mervin Joe was called a 'hero' by a young woman for making the collection accessible to Inuvialuit people. Other cultural communities have been inspired by our work and talked about pursuing the same kind of relationships with their ancestral collections

Concluding Observations

We consider “A Case of Access,” together with the MacFarlane Collection Traditional Knowledge Repatriation Project, to represent an exemplary collaborative project. As an IPinCH Case Study, it has contributed to the development of methods for community-based participatory research for intellectual property studies, including remote communication by harnessing the power of web-based media to connect and facilitate interaction between geographically distant groups. Overall, it presents a suite of best practices that can be used as models for other projects of this nature.

Best practices that “A Case of Access” team members want to share:

- Enter into a research relationship in the spirit of giving and receiving: it is incumbent on outsiders to respect the views and positions of cultural insiders on all questions of the partnership, and to negotiate plans and outcomes with an attitude of interpersonal respect.
- Be flexible and open about your goals and plans.
- Approach the negative with critical reflection and stay focused on the positive.
- Give voice to community partners and community members.
- Have plans for ‘giving back’ to the community, based on what the community wants from the research.
- Be inclusive; be humble. Work from an ethic of care that places a moral responsibility on instilling a compassionate and nurturing attitude towards research participants rather than one that is more distant or objective.
- Develop research guidelines and protocols during the initial planning stage.
- Decide collaboratively who will own and curate project data. Honest, open communication is a necessity.
- Consult with the community on an ongoing basis to report on progress and to determine the next steps for research.

We see our most visible product, the *Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait /Inuvialuit Living History* website, as a beginning rather than an end. The digital platform that we have developed to showcase the MacFarlane Collection is designed for ongoing contributions and contextualization with local community members. However, for it to be truly successful in the long-term, we foresee the need for active intervention to promote the website. To this end, we will be examining opportunities to embed the website in K-12 and post-secondary curricula in northern educational jurisdictions, to link it to other relevant websites, in particular to those that feature Inuvialuit cultural content, and to promote the website as a source of information that Inuvialuit will be proud to share with others through social media. The Project Team also stands ready to act on other suggestions that we anticipate will be offered by Inuvialuit and others as they increase their exploration of the website.

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APPENDIX A: Responses to IPinCH: Reflective Questions

The questions below were posed by IPinCH to stimulate reflection on the connections between community-based studies and broader IPinCH themes and questions. Although all members of the “A Case of Access” Project Team were invited to help formulate the responses, not all members contributed directly to the responses as they appear below. One of the reasons for the incomplete response is that the “A Case of Access” Case Study was essentially completed by the end of 2010, whereas the questions were circulated to Project Team Members at a later date. Also cited was the discomfort of some Team Members in being asked to provide responses that could be attributed to a cultural community, rather than as their individual thoughts. With this caveat, the responses as drafted are broadly reflective of discussions held at a variety of levels amongst most of the Project Team members over the course of the project.

What would you say are the most important reasons for protecting or safeguarding cultural heritage?

The core task of “A Case of Access” was to devise procedures and mechanisms for Inuvialuit (and others) to learn about and access an important collection of mid-19th century ethnographic objects at the Smithsonian Institution. Over the course of the project many Inuvialuit (as well as non-Inuvialuit) commended the Smithsonian Institution for safeguarding this tangible aspect of their cultural heritage, which they can use as a touchstone to their past and as a way of educating the younger generation about their cultural heritage. One participant in outreach discussions told us:

“I understand that the Smithsonian isn’t keeping these articles away from us. They’re keeping them for us.”

Inuvialuit elder Marcus Ruben, Sr., when looking at photographs of objects in the MacFarlane Collection, stated:

“I believe the MacFarlane Collection of Inuvialuit artifacts [have] much value. As historical items get older I think they gain more importance. Even [if] I don’t know much about many of the artifacts, when I see them on paper I feel connected to the past because my relatives once used them. As more people came from the south, much of the traditional hunting equipment or clothing was gradually replaced by modern ones. It is important to keep them in safe place. The collection is evidence of Inuvialuit history that must be taught in schools.”

Tommy Thrasher, also an Inuvialuit elder, concurred:

“Well, most of the things [in this collection] remind of the past, how our people [make] the clothing and the sled making and the harpoon making and the hunting material that has been made. Today some of us still make those things. We used to create those things that are...in this book. There are so few of us that remember, that know how to make those materials. So by seeing these pictures, to us I know how to make these things I’ve seen [in] these pictures [and can] re-create these things to pass onto the future.”

People also commented that it is equally important to collect and protect cultural knowledge embedded in and represented by the objects, and to ensure that these intangible aspects of their cultural heritage are linked to the objects to ensure that the objects are properly identified and interpreted. One participant in our outreach discussions pointed out:

“It is important that [the Smithsonian Institution] respects our thoughts about the [objects in the MacFarlane Collection].”

Implicit in many of the comments we have heard in response to “A Case of Access” is the notion that Inuvialuit have great pride in their cultural heritage. There is community-wide recognition that, for the Inuvialuit, culture has provided resiliency that has helped them to adapt and respond to enormous challenges that they have confronted with the coming of ‘outsiders’ – the earliest thrust of which is intertwined with the history of the MacFarlane Collection. Quoting Marcus Ruben, Sr.:

“Inuvialuit adapt to changes quite well. They exchange ideas and learn from other cultures. Everything we made in the old days was made for survival. I think everything is important because they all have a purpose.”

What challenges face communities who wish to be caretakers of their cultural heritage?

There is widespread acknowledgement in northern Aboriginal communities that preserving, protecting and promoting cultural heritage will only be successful if acted on by individuals, families and institutions. Some Aboriginal organizations have established their own institutions and programs dedicated to taking care of their cultural heritage by engaging individuals and families, as well as by seeking partnerships with outside organizations. The Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, mandated by the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, is exemplary in this regard. Many of the challenges faced by these institutions touch in some way on limited financial and human resources for archiving and accessing cultural information (such as oral history recordings) and for planning, coordinating and undertaking projects that document cultural

<p>knowledge and perpetuate cultural traditions, including use of Aboriginal languages. These organizations also have to address policy and legal issues with respect to cultural heritage such as: who has intellectual property rights to traditional knowledge and other cultural information entrusted to their care?; and, what can they freely share with others?</p> <p>Because the tasks involved with being a caretaker of cultural heritage are so enormous, most community-based organizations have to establish and rigorously adhere to priorities. One of the challenges they face is getting community buy-in to those priorities and resultant programs and activities.</p>
<p>What, in your experience, seems to work best as a strategy (or strategies) for protecting cultural heritage? Or: What do you see as the main path in a community's journey to protect cultural heritage?</p>
<p>There are several key elements that strategies for protecting cultural heritage need to address, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fostering awareness of issues within the community • Communicating the value of cultural heritage. School-based programs and projects are seen as an important vehicle for exposing youth to these values • Community 'buy-in'/taking ownership • Effective planning, so that needs are matched to resources • Seeking partnerships with other organizations and institutions <u>if</u> the partnership is based on mutual trust and equality
<p>What do you think are important guidelines or strategies for conducting community-based cultural heritage research (in your community, in general, or both)?</p>
<p>The "A Case of Access" Project Team addressed this issue by establishing clear goals and objectives for the project, and by developing a project charter that articulated operating principles for the Project Team as a whole, as well as setting forth roles and responsibilities for individual members of the team.</p>
<p>What are key ingredients for good research relationships and research outcomes? Also, what, in your experience, causes these relationships or projects to break down?</p>
<p>Some ingredients offered by Project Team members are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • set your intentions appropriately and enter a research relationship in the spirit of

giving and receiving;

- employ an attitude of flexibility and openness with respect to your goals and plans;
- expect that it will take time, commitment, and following through on promises to build trust;
- approach the negative reflexively, and stay focused on the positive;
- give voice in person and in various media to community partners and community members, and be sure to have plans for giving back.

Relationships break down when open and honest communication is not made a priority of the partnership. We are dealing in culturally sensitive matters, and it is incumbent on outsiders to respect the views and positions of cultural insiders on all questions of the partnership, and to negotiate plans and outcomes with an attitude of interpersonal respect (see Lyons 2011 for more on this with respect to the project).

What fundamental values should guide a researcher working on heritage issues within a community-based context?

Be inclusive, and be humble. One of the Project Team members has pointed out that the “Ethic of Care” model, developed by feminist researchers, provides a useful framework, one that places a moral responsibility on instilling a compassionate and nurturing attitude towards research participants rather than one that is more distant or objective.

What skills or capacities do researchers from outside a community need to be more effective in their research relationships? What skills or capacities do communities or other organizations with which you work need to be more effective in doing community-based research?

We talk about this question in Lyons et al. (2012) [“The Inuvialuit Living History Project.” *SAA Archaeological Record* 12(4): 43-46.] The most important thing is that the community must be ready and wanting this kind of a partnership. With this foundation, all else will fall into place. Outside researchers need the attributes described above. In our case, outside researchers have a range of expertise and skill sets, including the ability to find, access, manage and deploy funds. All partners have social and professional networks that have been very important in moving our project forward.

What legal frameworks, policies, protocols or other tools have you turned to help you in your cultural heritage work? What approaches have been useful and which have not? Does your community or any of the communities or organizations you work with have laws, practices, expectations, protocol(s) or guidelines for research that may be shared with others? *If so, please provide copies of these in the appendices of your report if it is appropriate for the IPinCH project to have them.* What advice do you have for communities regarding developing or using research guidelines or protocols?

At present, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation does not have its own research guidelines or protocols, instead often requiring projects that they are involved with to establish guidelines and protocols that address their concerns. Our project worked under the following legal, policy and protocol instruments:

- Northwest Territories Scientists Permit (a legal requirement for conducting research in the NWT)
- Simon Fraser University Ethics Review (a policy of SFU for research undertaken or administered by that institution)
- 'Charter for Project Team Members' (an internal protocol developed specifically for this project)

While every project will have its own unique circumstances, our Project Team advises that every project should develop research guidelines and protocols during the initial planning stage.

What, if any, government or other institutions or authorities have oversight over your work in this project? How has this affected planning, implementation, benefits, access to results, consequences, etc.

Throughout the project, team members recognized the authority of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (represented by the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre) to exercise oversight, as required.

What would the community you worked with like to see in place that would continue to help support its future efforts in regard to similar issues or research initiatives?

Our Project Team has not had this discussion at the "community" level. Instead we hope that "A Case of Access" will be seen by Inuvialuit as a 'best practice' that can help shape future community-based projects.

What other experiences and perspectives can you share that illustrate examples of good (or poor) practices, policies and lessons learned concerning community-based studies of cultural heritage?

For a comprehensive discussion, our Project Team defers to the 2013 book by one of the team members, Natasha Lyons, titled *Where the Wind Blows Us: Practicing Critical Community Archaeology in the Canadian North*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson)

APPENDIX B: “A Case of Access” Project Deliverables Included With Final Report

Project documentary: “A Case of Access”(DVD)

CD with the following in pdf format:

- Asset Inventories:
 - Audio and Video Inventory
 - Photo Inventory
- Consultation booklet
- PowerPoint Presentations:
 - Lyons, Natasha, Charles Arnold, Kate Hennessy, Albert Elias, and Mervin Joe. “A Case of Access: Inuvialuit Engagement with the MacFarlane Collection.” Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage (IPinCH) Case Study Workshop. Simon Fraser University and Squamish Nation Elders Center, October 15, 2010.
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**APPENDIX C: “The Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project: Winter 2009-
Spring 2011.” *Arctic Studies Center Newsletter 1, 2011.***

The Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project: Winter 2009-Spring 2011



BY NATASHA LYONS, KATE HENNESSY, CHARLES ARNOLD & MERVIN JOE

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY ALBERT ELIAS, STEPHEN LORING, CATHERINE COCKNEY, JAMES POKIAK, BILLY JACOBSON & DARREL NASOGALUAK

Volume 1, June 2011

The Project Comes Into Being

Inuvialuit take great interest in their past, as a source of identity to serve the present, and as a foundation to look to the future. The project described in this report came into being through the work of many people with knowledge of an important but little-known collection of objects housed at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC. Called the MacFarlane Collection after the Hudson's Bay trader who assembled the objects (see details, p. 2), the collection includes nearly 5000 natural history specimens, such as birds eggs and animal skeletons, and an additional 300 cultural objects collected from Anderson River Inuvialuit in the 1860s. Few people have ever seen the collection in its entirety, as it has been in the Smithsonian's care for nearly 150 years (p. 16-17).



Catherine Cockney sports snow goggles (idjgaak) from the MacFarlane Collection. Photo: K. Hennessy.

In 2009, we sought to change this situation. Stephen Loring (Smithsonian Institution), Catherine Cockney (Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre), Charles Arnold (former Director of Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre), and Natasha Lyons (Ursus Heritage Consulting) raised funds to take a small group of Inuvialuit to Washington for a week-long workshop with the collection. This modest start brought much interest from the Inuvialuit and museum communities, and from the local and national media. The trip launched a much broader program of outreach with Inuvialuit youth, Elders, and community members described in these pages.

At the same time, our team grew to include a wider variety of members with many skills and talents (p. 3). This report is not a final word on the project, but a summary of our work in progress. Enjoy these pages—we welcome your feedback!

Our Goals

The main goal of this project is to create greater access for Inuvialuit people to the MacFarlane Collection, which represents a rich record of their history. We are actively documenting Elders' knowledge and youth interest in the collection and developing different ways to share this knowledge with the Inuvialuit community, and with the wider Canadian public. One of the primary ways we are accomplishing this is through the development of an interactive and educational website about the collection and the project. Our ultimate goal is to bring items from the collection to the Western Arctic for display and use in community workshops. Stay tuned!



Arrow heads (kukiit) from the MacFarlane Collection (E7481).

Table of Contents:

THE MACFARLANE COLLECTION	2
PROJECT METHODS & PERSONNEL	3
A VISIT TO WASHINGTON DC	4-5
OUTREACH IN THE ISR	6
ELDERS INTERVIEWS	7
YOUTH ENGAGEMENT	8
CURATORIAL RESEARCH	9
ARTIFACT RE-CREATIONS & PATTERN-MAKING	10
THE MACFARLANE COLLECTION ON THE RRN	11
THE PROJECT WEBSITE & TYING INTO SCHOOLS	12-13
WORDS OF OUR TEAM MEMBERS	14-15
INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY & THE PROJECT	16-17
NEXT STEPS & PROJECT RESOURCES	18
THANK YOUS, CONTACTS, & ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	19-20

The short life of Fort Anderson

In 1857, Roderick MacFarlane journeyed to the Anderson River with Dene guides from Fort Good Hope to look into the possibility of trading with local Inuvialuit. In his report on this expedition, he noted abundant game in the area and described the Anderson River people as “tall and well formed, active in their movements, lively in their conversation, good-humored, with smiling open countenances” (MacFarlane 1890-91:34). MacFarlane and his guides ran into some trouble, as the locals did not appreciate the arrival of Dene into their territory. MacFarlane’s guides quickly abandoned him, and MacFarlane had to leave behind a quantity of his travel rations and stores. However, MacFarlane decided that there were good trade prospects with this group of Inuvialuit, and with their relations along the coast, and it was decided that a fur trade post would be built approximately 50 km downstream of the forks on the Anderson River. The fort was completed in 1861 and was run by MacFarlane for the next five years. During this time he met naturalist Robert Kennicott, who convinced him to start collecting specimens of the region for the new Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. MacFarlane soon became an avid collector of natural and cultural artifacts, and organized lengthy expeditions to search for birds, eggs, plants, mammals, and rocks, in addition to trading many objects of daily life with the local people. These activities came to an abrupt and sad end when the post was closed due to outbreaks of measles and scarlet fever.



A woman's parka (qusungaq) made from reindeer hides trimmed with wolverine fur (E1073A). This coat was on exhibit at the Smithsonian for over a hundred years beginning in 1876 (see the picture of it on a manikin on p.17)

SIGLITUN TERMS

USED IN THIS REPORT ARE PROVIDED BY ALBERT ELIAS.

The MacFarlane Collection

MacFarlane assembled a collection of 5000 natural history specimens, and purchased or traded nearly 300 artifacts from Anderson River Inuvialuit. The ethnographic collection is one of the earliest from Inuvialuit territory and shows the vibrant, land-based lifestyle of the local people. The objects are very diverse—a full range of skin clothing and bags; hunting and fishing gear; domestic tools, personal jewelry, and a wide range of pipes; carving tools and artworks; and model umiat, sleds, and kayaks—and show remarkable skill by their makers. Smithsonian museum anthropologist Stephen Loring said that “MacFarlane wanted one of everything so he collected as much as he could...That is what makes this collection so unique: how extensive it is. Most museums may have one or two pieces that were given to explorers while they were on their journeys, but this was the first collection that had breadth.” The wonderful preservation of the collection has helped our team of researchers start to puzzle out many questions about the objects. For instance, while most of the objects were made locally, some also show evidence of trade networks at work (p.9). Other objects have not yet been identified (p.7). Still others are clearly Inuvialuit-made, but have fallen out of use and memory (p.10).



Model kayak (qayaq), cockpit detail (E1097).

Tool board (nakatchiqtuun), awl, and wax for making fletching for arrows (E7438).



Project Methods

This project is a community-based research project derived from Inuvialuit goals to create greater access to and knowledge about the MacFarlane Collection. As a research team, we strive to have open, honest, respectful and effective communication in our working relationships. We aim to be flexible in our thinking, accept other's ideas, and to come up with ways to integrate different viewpoints into the products we produce. We aim for each team member to contribute to project planning and to give input and feedback on the products we are developing. We have consulted extensively with Inuvialuit community members throughout the project on planning and product development (see below). Our goal for our research participants—including Inuvialuit Elders, youth, and community members—is to make them feel comfortable and safe, and to put their health and well-being first in our research activities with them.

We are pursuing a range of outreach activities in the Inuvialuit community in order to gather and share Inuvialuit knowledge about the MacFarlane collection. Following our trip to the Smithsonian in November 2009, we shared our experiences through school and community meetings (p. 6), documented Elders' knowledge about the collection and the Anderson River area (p.7), and engaged youth interest in the collection and the project (p.8). In the winter and spring of 2011, we developed the design, structure, and content of the project website, and worked to gain feedback from community members in the ISR. The MacFarlane Collection was also launched on a museum web portal called the Reciprocal Research Network (p. 11), where it can be viewed and knowledge added by community members to each of the objects. The process we followed in putting together the various parts of the website—such as developing classroom activities (p.13) and patterns for sewing objects in the collection (p.10)—are described in these pages.

Project Team (in alphabetical order)

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| Charles Arnold | <i>Adjunct Professor, Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary</i> |
| Catherine Cockney | <i>Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre</i> |
| Albert Elias | <i>Inuvialuit Elder and interpreter, Inuvik</i> |
| Kate Hennessy | <i>School of Interactive Arts & Technology, Simon Fraser University</i> |
| Mervin Joe | <i>Parks Canada, Inuvik</i> |
| Maia Lepage | <i>Photographer, Inuvik</i> |
| Stephen Loring | <i>Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution</i> |
| Natasha Lyons | <i>Ursus Heritage Consulting</i> |
| James Pokiak | <i>Inuvialuit Elder and hunter, Tuktoyaktuk</i> |



Albert Elias and Helen Gruben discuss a pair of kammak in the Museums Studies Center in Washington, DC. Photo: K. Gruben.

“WE ARE PURSUING A RANGE OF OUTREACH ACTIVITIES IN THE INUVIALUIT COMMUNITY TO GATHER AND SHARE INUVIALUIT KNOWLEDGE.”



James Pokiak, Dave Stewart, Karis Gruben, Mervin Joe, and Stephen Loring look at MacFarlane Collection objects at the Smithsonian's Museum Support Center. Photo: K. Hennessy.

The Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project: Winter 2009-Spring 2011

A Workshop with the MacFarlane Collection

In November 2009, members of our delegation boarded planes in different parts of the continent to meet in Washington, DC. From the North, our group included three Inuvialuit Elders (James Pokiak, Albert Elias, Helen Gruben), two youth (Karis Gruben and Shayne Cockney), a seamstress (Freda Raddi), along with Brett Purdy, Maia Lepage and David Stewart (then of Inuvialuit Communication Society), and two of the trip organizers, Mervin Joe (Parks Canada) and Catherine Cockney (Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre). The southern contingent included anthropologists Natasha Lyons, Charles Arnold, Kate Hennessy and Stephen Loring. Our goal: to conduct an extended workshop with the MacFarlane Collection. Each day, we gathered in the climate-controlled conditions of the Smithsonian's artifact storage facility and looked at several groups of artifacts, such as gloves, mitts, boots, and skin clothing; hunting bags and hunting gear; fishing tackle; pipes and labrets (lip plugs); sewing implements; fire starter kits; scale model kayaks and sleds. As each set of objects came out, you could see each individual light up in anticipation, ready to handle, discuss, and ponder over the items. Many of the items were familiar, while others were not. We engaged in lively discussions about how items were made, what materials were used, and if objects and materials came from near or far. Many stories were told about land-based activities and memories of the use of some of these objects (see below).



James Pokiak testing a spear thrower (miluqsau) from the collection. Photo: K. Hennessy.



Skin bag holding ice scoop (ilaun) or scraper possibly made of muskox horn (E1093).

Personal Research Odysseys

The 150 year-old artifacts in the MacFarlane Collection set many of the participants on personal research odysseys. Albert Elias said: "A lot of the objects that we saw, we haven't seen before. I think [the collection] is a living document: a living project." Albert was amazed by the sinew-backed bows, a technology not used for over a century in Inuvialuit territory and requiring a great deal of skill to make. Albert Elias, Mervin Joe and James Pokiak were interested in all of the hunting equipment. Because of the care provided by curators at the Smithsonian Institution, organic objects such as scoops, hoof rattles, and a firebag (all pictured left), and the bait made of scrunched baleen with pointed tips, are in near perfect condition. They were keen to talk more with Elders back home, who had knowledge of the old ways and who had trapped, fished, and hunted in the Anderson River area (p. 7). Catherine Cockney and Freda Raddi were likewise excited to re-create the skin clothing patterns, especially objects such as gloves that had fallen out of Inuvialuit memory (p. 10). After Washington, there was no shortage of work to do!



Hoof rattles (aviluqutik) (E7443).



Probable tobacco pouch (E1663).

Delegation to Washington (L to R): Dave Stewart, Stephen Loring, Karis Gruben, Catherine Cockney, Natasha Lyons, Helen Gruben, Kate Hennessy, Mervin Joe, James Pokiak, Freda Raddi, Shayne Cockney, Albert Elias, Chuck Arnold, and Brett Purdy (taking photo). Photograph taken at the Museum Support Center (MSC) the collection storage facility in Maryland, a short bus ride from the Smithsonian Museums in downtown Washington.



Documenting the workshop

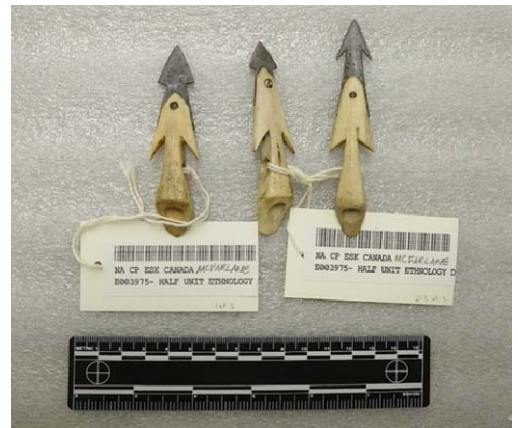
The Smithsonian workshop was a start towards a much larger documentation project. We knew that this first visit with the MacFarlane Collection would lead to a program of outreach and interviews in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. However, we also sought to record the knowledge, activities, ideas, thoughts, feelings, and interactions of our group as we together discovered the collection and Washington itself. Our two youth interns, Karis Gruben and Shayne Cockney, along with many of the other participants, wrote field notes about what they saw and experienced each day. Shayne Cockney conducted interviews about the experience with several of the Elders (R). Brett Purdy also interviewed each participant as part of the two half hour documentaries that Inuvialuit Communication Society is producing about the project for APTN. Kate Hennessy, Maia Lepage, and Dave Stewart shot many of the still photos of the workshop, but of course every group member took photos and personal videos of their trip.

The work ahead

While we were in Washington, Albert Elias noted: "When we go back home and we do our presentations and we show these objects to schools and communities, their input it going to be very important too." The various media produced about our trip are currently being transcribed, analysed, and edited for the project website (p. 12). The formal records will be housed, and copyright held, at Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre (p. 16). However, the broader goal of our current outreach work with youth, Elders, and other Inuvialuit community members is to bring wider awareness of the MacFarlane Collection, to integrate knowledge about the collection into classroom activities, and to have students and other community members and their families using the website as a place to learn more about their history and heritage. The sharing of knowledge about the collection has only just begun, and will hopefully make it part of the active lives and memories of today's Inuvialuit.



Workshop participants discussing painted plaques from box lids that show 19th C. Inuvialuit lifeways, with Dave Stewart holding microphone in foreground, Brett Purdy working camera behind. Photo: K. Hennessy.



Harpoon heads (mamaguat) in the MacFarlane Collection. Photo: C. Arnold.



Freda Raddi, Albert Elias, and Brett Purdy, foreground, on a bus tour of Washington D.C. Union Station is shown in the background. Photo: K. Gruben.



Albert Elias and Helen Gruben on documentary produced by Inuvialuit Communication Society.

The Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project: Winter 2009-Spring 2011

June 2010: Outreach in the ISR



Presentation at SAMS School to grade 4 classes, June 4th, 2010. Photo: N. Lyons.

Our project team gave presentations in Inuvik and Tuktoyakuk in June 2010 to share our experiences in Washington and to consult Inuvialuit community members about the next steps of the project. On June 4th, we set up a booth at Inuvialuit Day to showcase our video work and talk with Inuvialuit beneficiaries. On June 6th, we held a public meeting at Ingamo Hall in Inuvik, attended by about 20 people (see community and teacher responses below). On June 7th, we gave school presentations to grades 4 and 5 students and teachers at Sir Alexander Mackenzie School in Inuvik, and met with Principal Janette Vlanich and teacher Margaret Gordon about how our work could best be used in classroom activities. Several students mentioned visiting the Anderson River area with their families, and visiting the Prince of Wales Heritage Centre in Yellowknife. On June 8th, we gave a presentation to grades 7 and 9 to 11 at Samuel Hearne Secondary School in Inuvik, which was also attended by Aurora College students and instructors. We also met with SHSS Principal Roman Mahnic about how our work could best be adapted to highschool curriculum. On June 9th, we gave a presentation to grades 9 to 11 at Mangilaluk School in Tuktoyaktuk with teachers Betty Elias, Janie Jones and Paul Yanchus, and talked to Mr. Yanchus about the website we were planning and how it could be integrated into classroom activities. On the evening of June 9th, we gave a public presentation at Kitty Hall to about 40 community members (see their responses below).

“EVERYWHERE
WE TRAVELLED,
WE RECEIVED A
VERY WARM
RECEPTION.”

Responses to our presentations

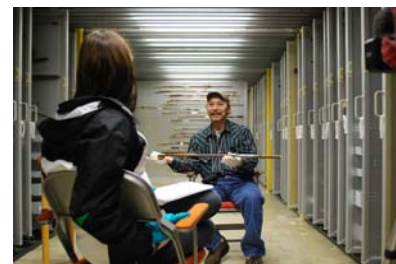
Everywhere we travelled, we received a very warm reception. Our presentations resulted in lively discussions and many great questions and follow-up conversations. Educators suggested using the stories of the objects to build games, lessons, and art lessons, and the real need for ‘hands-on’ activities, no matter what grade. They mentioned that websites are actively used in classrooms, especially when they are integrated with classroom activities. Community members in Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk were interested in all aspects of our project. They wanted to know if there would be return visits to Washington DC. They were very interested in the collection: how it was collected (is there proof that items were purchased, were any re-sold, and will the collection be repatriated? p.16-17), information about specific objects (including much interest from seamstresses, p. 10), questions about copyright of the clothing styles and patterns (p. 16), items potentially ‘missing’ from the collection (p. 9), and evidence for trade with neighbouring Inupiat and other regional groups or for scavenging from shipwrecks. Community members were keen to know more about Fort Anderson, and the families and trappers that once lived there (p. 7). Students, teachers, and community members recommended making replicas for use in school programs and exhibit (p.8, 10). The primary concern of all community members, however, is with the passing on and sharing of knowledge about the collection with younger generations of Inuvialuit. Time and again, we heard the importance of teaching Inuvialuit youth their history, and of giving them the opportunity to touch and engage with objects that represent this history. We are doing are best to address the ideas, questions, and concerns of the Inuvialuit community as we go about our work.



Albert Elias chats with Rita Pingo and Nellie Raymond after our presentation at Kitty Hall, Tuktoyaktuk, June 9th, 2010. Photo: N. Lyons.

Elders Interviews: October 2010 & February 2011

In October 2010 and February 2011, we conducted interviews with Elders in several communities of the ISR. Our goal is to record knowledge about the artifacts in the MacFarlane Collection, such as how they were made, with what materials, and what people called them in Inuvialuktun. We are also interested in collecting knowledge about the Anderson River area and Fort Anderson, and in Elders' perspectives about how to learn more and share knowledge about the collection. In October 2010, our team put together an interview kit with our questions and goals, as well as audio, video, and camera equipment and instructions for them. We did group training on interviewing and using the equipment. Albert Elias and Rachel Nakimayak interviewed 13 Elders in Inuvik, Paulatuk, and Tuktoyaktuk, listed at right. In February 2011, Mervin Joe and Natasha Lyons interviewed Billy Jacobson, who still today spends most of his time in the Anderson River area (below). The interviews are currently being transcribed by Letitia Pokiak and analysed by the project team. With the Elders' consent, excerpts of text, audio, and video will be used in the project website (p. 12). We would sincerely like to thank all of the Elders we have worked with, for their knowledge, patience, and humour. We also thank the Tuktoyaktuk Elders Committee—Julia Cockney, Lucy Cockney, Jean Gruben, and John Noksana Sr.—for their interest and input in the project.



Shayne Cockney interviews James Pokiak about his knowledge of the Anderson River, and his interest in the hunting equipment in the MacFarlane Collection. Photo: K. Hennessy.

Billy Jacobson on the Anderson River

Billy Jacobson has been going to the Anderson River area since he was fourteen years old in 1949. There he met Silas Palaiyaq, an Inuvialuk who had trapped in that area for many years, who was near the end of his life (d. 1954, and see p. 15). Palaiyaq taught Billy how to make the most effective deadfalls, which he's used for trapping ever since. Palaiyaq's parents had known the Hudson's Bay trader Roderick MacFarlane and told stories of him, most of which have been lost from memory. Not being able to pronounce his name, Inuvialuit called MacFarlane 'MacPauluk'. The graves of those who died in the epidemic that caused Fort Anderson to close in 1866 are buried on the hill behind the remains of the fort. Many of the old objects have been dispersed by the eroding river and the collecting of passing trappers, hunters, and canoers. Billy remembered a time, circa the late 1930s to early 50s, when the Anderson River was once again populated, by Inuvialuit and Metis families and white trappers. Those living at Stanton included the families of the Kimiksana brothers, Edgar Kotokak, Donald Silastiak, Edward Elias, Paul Steen, and Gus Tardiff. White trappers in the area included Finlay McInnis, Earl Maranda, and Tom Lessard. In 1954, when Father LeMeur left his mission at Stanton and the store that served the area, the remaining families at Stanton moved to Tuktoyaktuk.

At age 75, Billy and his wife Eileen are out on the land nine to ten months of the year. They have moved camp locations from time to time, but have been at Rendezvous Lake, 60 miles east of the Anderson River, since 1983. What remains of Fort Anderson is upstream of Stanton, at the mouth of the Anderson River, and about 30 miles downstream of the forks of the river. Billy likes the quiet of being out alone on the trapline. He and Eileen recount many stories of monitoring and tagging game throughout the region. Today, they trap mostly marten and some wolverine. They guide sports hunters and have taken out many naturalists, including a number of well known birders, over the years. Birds, fish, and game are plentiful in the area, though they too go through cycles of abundance. These days, there are few others in the Anderson River area.

ELDERS INTERVIEWED:

INUVIK:

William Nasogaluak

TUKTOYAKTUK:

Andy Kimiksana, Tom Thrasher, David Nasogaluak, Adam Emaghok, Fred Wolki, Eva Raddi, Gordon Agnaviak, Mary Ivik Ruben, and Billy Jacobson.

PAULATUK:

Marcus Ruben, Edward Ruben, David Ruben, and Elizabeth Kuptana.



Elder Billy Jacobson telling stories about the Anderson River. Photo: N. Lyons.

The Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project: Winter 2009-Spring 2011

Engaging Youth: Our Project Interns



Shayne Cockney & Karis Gruben in Washington DC, en route to our daily workshop. Photo: N. Lyons.

Elders often say that their main interest in telling stories and remembering the past is to pass this history onto future generations. We have worked to engage the interest of Inuvialuit youth in the MacFarlane Collection and in the larger project through classroom visits (see below) and student internships. Student interns Shayne Cockney and Karis Gruben, of Inuvik, each wrote an essay to be awarded their positions to come to Washington with us. There they learned about documenting their Elders' knowledge using ethnographic techniques. Shayne conducted video interviews with several of the Elders that will be incorporated in the documentaries produced by Inuvialuit Communication Society (p.18). Karis participated in some of the follow-up public outreach events in Inuvik. Rachel Nakimayak, of Paulatuk, joined the project to videotape outreach meetings and Elders interviews. She helped to log this video in preparation for the website, along with a student research assistant named Karen Truong from Simon Fraser University (p. 12). Rebecca Pokiak helped to organize the meetings and interviews with students and teachers at Mangilaluk School in Tuktoyaktuk for the website. Maia Lepage, of Inuvik, traveled to Washington with ICS to participate in and take still photographs of the Smithsonian workshop. She produced the article 'Museums and Mukluks' that appeared in the Winter 2010 edition of Tusaayaksat. Maia has continued to produce media and organize logistics for the project from Inuvik. We are always happy to hear from youth who are interested in the project—perhaps we'll even have a male intern one of these days!

Youth Meetings in Inuvik & Tukoyaktuk, February 2011

Students and teachers from Samuel Hearne Secondary and Mangilaluk school have been very enthusiastic about the MacFarlane Collection. They have given us feedback on our plans for website, selected objects that they would be interested in making in their classes, and gave us a range of ideas for classroom activities that would tie the website to their curriculum. Students indicated that they would like to do hands-on activities such as: building models; playing games related to trading, treasure-hunts, land knowledge, and puzzles; and, handling artifacts (p. 10). They were interested in learning more about MacFarlane himself and Fort Anderson, in tying Inuvialuit history and artifacts to present-day life, in hearing old-time stories, and in talking about ethics and repatriation issues surrounding the collection. Their teachers indicated the ties in the Grade 8 curriculum with ancient cultures, such as Egypt, and the popular units on archaeology. Senior grades were interested doing projects related to local and family history, using the Inuvialuktun language, traditional games, and using interactive maps to explore the Anderson River (and other) areas. We will address as many of these interests as we can as we develop lesson plans that tie the collection to the project website and share these resources with teachers and students throughout the Inuvialuit community (p. 13), and beyond.



Students from Mangilaluk School in Tuk examining photos of the MacFarlane Collection. Photo: R. Pokiak.

Students were interested in replicating the following traditional items in class projects (L to R): the ulu(E5813), man's knife (savik; E2315), and ivory pendants worn at the cuff (E2078).



Curatorial Research on the MacFarlane Collection, by Charles Arnold

Since most people are not able to travel to the Smithsonian Institution to see and hold the objects in the MacFarlane Collection, a team of museum curators is busy preparing descriptions of each of the items to go along with the photographs that will appear on the website. Joanne Bird from the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre is describing the clothing. Charles Arnold, former Director of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, in Yellowknife, and Stephen Loring, museum anthropologist at the Smithsonian's Arctic Studies Center, are preparing detailed descriptions of the other artifacts. Darrel Nasogaluak, an Inuvialuit expert on traditional materials from Tuktoyaktuk, is advising us during this process. Darrel's knowledge (p. 10) is like having an encyclopedia of traditional Inuvialuit technology available to us.

We are trying to identify what each of the objects was made of, how it was made, and how it was used. Inuvialuit elders have already provided much of that information, but to fill in gaps we are examining Inuvialuit artifacts in other museum collections for clues, and searching through books written by traders, priests and others who travelled to the Inuvialuit area in the 1800s and saw some of the objects while they were in use. Those sources of information will also tell us about objects such as scrapers that are not found in the MacFarlane Collection. We will also be analyzing iron, copper and other foreign materials used to make some of the artifacts in the collection, hoping that we can learn if those materials came from trade with the Hudson's Bay, or if they can be traced to trade networks with Alaskan Inupiat and Copper Inuit.

Among the objects in the MacFarlane Collection are parts of wood boxes that have scenes of various activities drawn on them. Elders recognized the activities, but we were all amazed by the drawings. Were they made at the request of MacFarlane, or were drawings of this kind an Inuvialuit tradition? Searching for answers took us to the writings of Émile Petitot, a Roman Catholic priest who visited Fort Anderson in 1865 and travelled with Noulloumallok-Innonarana to his home near the mouth of the Anderson River. Father Petitot wrote the following about Noulloumallok when he was staying in his house:

Taking from the shelf a round covered box ... he made drawings on it with ochre and carbon mixed with oil. He depicted a scene of the caribou hunt and one of a whale hunt and gave me the box.

Each of the artifacts in the MacFarlane Collection is interesting in itself, but stories about the artifacts from Elders and from historical documents help to bring the artifact to life. These drawings on box lids perfectly illustrate stories by Bob Cockney, in his autobiography 'I, Nuligak,' and Inuvialuit oral histories about traditional ways of hunting caribou and beluga whales.



Noulloumallok-Innonarana at Fort Anderson, 1865. Credit: Émile Petitot, Les Grands Esquimaux, 1887.



Chuck Arnold (L) presenting to students at Samuel Hearne Secondary, Inuvik, with Albert Elias, June 2010. Photo: N. Lyons.



When E25445 (2) was
MacFarlane Collection



When E2545 (4 & 2) was
MacFarlane Collection

Painted box lids depicting scenes of mid-19th century Inuvialuit life: spearing caribou at a river crossing; harpooning beluga whales from a kayak (E2545, 4 & 2).

The Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project: Winter 2009-Spring 2011

Re-creating old-time objects

A major goal of this project is to pass on knowledge about the items in the collection. Beneficiaries throughout the Inuvialuit Settlement Region—from school age children to Elders and educators—have shown interest in the objects as part of their heritage and history, but also as items that they would like to make for use today. Some of the items of specific interest include traditional gloves (pictured and discussed below), spear throwers (which have been of special interest to modern-day hunters), and snow goggles (which have been particularly intriguing to highschool students). To serve these various interests, we are producing: (1) colour pamphlets describing and illustrating skin clothing and tools from the collection to be distributed to Inuvialuit households; (2) patterns for a range of skin clothing pieces for distribution; and (3) re-creations (or replicas) of a number of objects for use in edu-kits in schools and also for exhibit. Darrel Nasogaluak, who is re-creating several of the objects in the collection to make school kit replicas, said: “This collection answers a lot of questions that I had regarding the artifacts that I’ve seen before, which were fragmentary. They came from archaeological collections, collections that locals have, or oral histories passed on from Elders. I have re-created some of the objects in the collection already, but looking at these complete objects helps to clarify the steps of how things were once made. These items bring us memories of a time when Inuvialuit were proud and self-sufficient; I would have loved to live then!”



Re-creations of baby kammak from the MacFarlane Collection pair (E1720) made by Freda Raddi. Photos (top): F. Raddi, (bottom): N. Lyons.

“BY MAKING CLOTHING PATTERNS AND EXAMINING THE STITCHING AND DECORATIONS USED IN THE PAST, WE ARE ABLE TO CONTINUE TO LIVE AND SHARE OUR TRADITIONAL INUVIALUIT HERITAGE.”

Skin clothing & the pattern-making project, by Catherine Cockney

While at the Smithsonian Institution, the group had the pleasure of examining a number of clothing items made by our ancestors. What is unique about the clothing is that since they were made in the 1800s, they are *adjgaat ingilraanittat*, *kamngit ingilraanittat* and *atigit ingilraanittat* or real, traditional clothing (translation by Beverly Amos), including Inuvialuit gloves, mukluks and parkas! We were fortunate to have Mrs. Freda Raddi on the trip. She is an expert seamstress, using the skills she learned from her mother. Freda immediately put her knowledge to work by making patterns of the clothing out of paper and cloth. Freda took great pride in her role, as she knew that the clothing is ancient and that there are very few examples of this style of clothing. One of the objectives of the project is to take the information and share with all Inuvialuit. Seamstress Heather Scott is currently making patterns of several of the skin clothing pieces to share with Inuvialuit seamstresses. Graphic designer Irine Prastio is helping us produce brochures about traditional sewing to be distributed in the Inuvialuit community and posted to our website (p. 12). By making clothing patterns and examining the stitching and decorations used in the past, we are able to continue to live and share our traditional Inuvialuit heritage.



Traditional gloves (adjgaak) in the MacFarlane Collection (E1665).

Needle Case (Mitqutausiqpiq) and Skin Thimble holder (E2088).



The MacFarlane Collection on the RRN, by Kate Hennesy

The Reciprocal Research Network (RRN) is a website that was co-developed by the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia and four northwest coast First Nations. It allows users to access the digital collections of northwest coast artifacts in partnering museums around the world, including the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa, the Oxford Pitt-Rivers Museum in the United Kingdom, the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, and the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C. The RRN also allows users (researchers, curators, community members, students) to use social networking to collaborate and communicate with other, and to exchange knowledge about collections and artifacts. While the Smithsonian Institution originally only made their northwest coast collections available through the RRN, our project team requested that they also make the MacFarlane Collection available so that we could use this exciting tool to help us develop our own website project. Now we are working with the RRN web developers, Nicholas Jacobsen and Ryan Wallace, to use the digital information in the RRN to build our own virtual exhibit, which brings the video, audio, photographs, and curatorial media from our project together with the Smithsonian's records of the MacFarlane Collection. The Reciprocal Research Network can be found at <http://www.rrn-pilot.org>. All you need is an email address; follow the links to request a user name and password; just let them know that you are interested in researching the MacFarlane Collection and in exploring the digital records.

"DIGITIZATION OF CULTURAL COLLECTIONS OPENS UP POSSIBILITIES FOR ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES TO USE THESE DIGITAL RESOURCES IN THEIR OWN CULTURAL LIFE."

Cultural Collections and the Digital World, by Kate Hennesy

Aboriginal Peoples in Canada and around the world have a common issue with museums: their material cultural heritage was often collected by foreign museums and taken far away to show to the rest of the world. While these artifacts are usually well conserved by museums, and are of great cultural value today, they have been taken out of their original context and away from their use in every day life. Many Aboriginal peoples want to access these collections, and have even begin the process of repatriating objects to their communities of origin. Many museums also want to build relationships with the communities that their collections came from; a great number of museums are now making their cultural collections available over the Internet by digitally photographing objects and digitizing what they know about the objects. Being able to see these collections over the Internet means that community members far away from museums can learn more about where their heritage has gone, and begin to reconnect their local cultural practices to collections in museums. Digitization of cultural collections also opens up possibilities for Aboriginal communities to use these digital resources in their own cultural life, in local educational programs, and to define how knowledge of their history is represented. In the course of our project, our team has visited the MacFarlane Collection in person, but has also looked for ways to use digital tools to make the collection available to all Inuvialuit, in a new form, and from an Inuvialuit point of view. This includes representing the MacFarlane Collection as a "Living Collection"—*Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait*—as the knowledge in the objects themselves is made a part of Inuvialuit lives once again.



Kate Hennesy specializes in the anthropology of media and is Director of Making Culture Lab, Simon Fraser University. Photo: I. Cameron.

The Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project: Winter 2009-Spring 2011

Goals of the Project Website, by Kate Hennesy



Catherine Cockney inspects a glove from the MacFarlane Collection (E1728). Photo: D. Stewart.

Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait (Inuvialuit Living History) is designed to create access for Inuvialuit people and the interested public to the Smithsonian's MacFarlane Collection. We are designing the website to provide a view into the dynamic relationship between Inuvialuit peoples and the MacFarlane Collection, and to promote the collection as a place for learning and teaching. The website will feature teachers' resources and lesson plans tailored to suit the NWT curriculum, so that Inuvialuit youth can reference their own culture and history online. We will use artifact descriptions from the Smithsonian, and those that were developed in the course of this project, as well as video and photographs of our workshop with Inuvialuit elders, youth, cultural workers at the Smithsonian, and our team's consultations in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, to show how the MacFarlane collection is becoming a "living collection" once again through its reconnection to Inuvialuit people. We will use interactive maps to connect the artifact records and related community media to places in the Andersen River area, and show how knowledge of the collection is being applied in every day life. The website will provide a history of the collection, including a short biography of Roderick MacFarlane and Fort Anderson; information about the Smithsonian Institution, and how it came to be in possession of these invaluable artifacts; and information about ownership and intellectual property rights to the collection. We also want the website to reflect the collaborative spirit in which the website is being built, by including video and photographs of our production process. Our goal is to create a website that showcases the relationship between community members and the collection by showing ongoing educational and cultural programs about the MacFarlane Collection.

"WE CAN'T WAIT FOR YOUR FEEDBACK AND SUGGESTIONS FOR MAKING THIS A VALUABLE RESOURCE FOR INUVIALUIT COMMUNITIES."

The Production Process, by Kate Hennesy

We are now in the production phase of our project website. Based on input and discussion with our team, and the feedback that we have received through community consultation with the Inuvialuit community (see p. 4-8), we are working to make a website that meets the goals of creating community access to the collection, learning, and representing the collection from an Inuvialuit perspective. Currently, the video and audio recordings documented in October 2010 and February 2011 are being logged and transcribed by Letitia Pokiak (Vancouver Island) and Karen Truong (Simon Fraser University). Albert Elias will transcribe selections of our Inuvialuktun recordings, and the knowledge of elders that we interviewed will be displayed with artifact types (for example, tools or clothing) from the MacFarlane Collection on our website. We will display a large numbers of photographs taken during our workshop with the MacFarlane Collection at the Smithsonian in Washington D.C., identifying specific artifacts in the photographs, so that in our website, Inuvialuit engagement with the MacFarlane Collection will be visually connected to the objects in our virtual exhibit. We will create video galleries that tell the story of the trip to Washington D.C., in November 2009, and our consultations with elders, teachers, and students in the ISR. We plan to launch our first complete draft of the website at Inuvialuit Day in Inuvik, June 2011. We can't wait for your feedback and suggestions for making this as valuable a resource for Inuvialuit communities as we possibly can.



Pipe detail showing a small lead man holding the pipe bowl (E2159).

URL: www.inuvialuitlivinghistory.ca

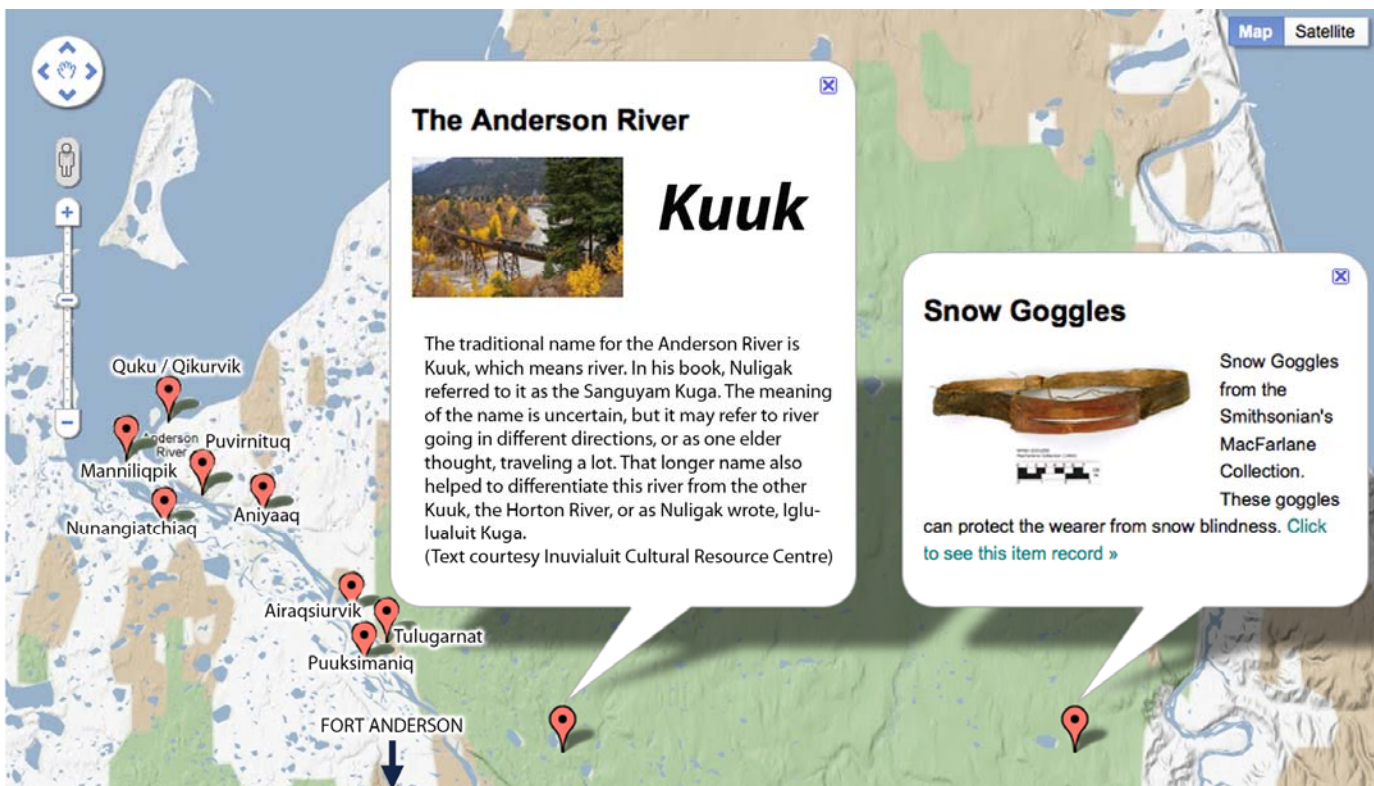
The Project Website: Tying into Northern Curriculum

Our team has gone through an extensive program of community consultation focused on the audience, content, and orientation of the website (p. 6). A major response from community members was to integrate knowledge about the collection into northern curriculum. We talked to both students and teachers about how best to do this, and some of their responses are seen on page 8. Myrna Pokiak, originally of Tuktoyaktuk, in addition to several students from UBC-Okanagan, is working with us to prepare lesson plans that tie the collection and with website to fun and engaging classroom activities. For instance, Robyn Mulligan and Samantha McCrae developed a board game called 'Anderson River Survival' that requires students to assemble the appropriate tools and clothing from the collection for each season of traditional land-based activities, such as trapping, fishing, and whaling. Selena Gaudet and Megan Dear developed a lesson plan on climate and species changes seen by both Elders and scientists in the Anderson River region. Other lesson plans—following requests by students and teachers—will focus on MacFarlane himself, the fur trade that he was a part of, the changing collection practices of the Smithsonian Institution, and many hands-on activities involved in making objects from the collection (p.10). The website will also feature interactive maps (see below) that link to on-the-ground images of the landscape of the Anderson River, artifacts that come from the area, and camps and place names documented with Inuvialuit Elders. As our project progresses, we will be able to add photographs and videos to the map produced by students and community members traveling in or doing projects about the Anderson River area.



Darrel Nasogaluak, James Pokiak, Rebecca Pokiak, and Mervin Joe meet with Elders in Tuktoyaktuk. Photo: N. Lyons.

Screen shot of the interactive map page on the project website



The Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project: Winter 2009-Spring 2011



Mervin Joe trying out labrets (angmaluak). Photo: S. Loring.

“I’M REALLY
HAPPY I’M PART
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Words of our team members: *Mervin Joe*

Mervin Joe says: “When I first did archaeology work with Max Friesen on Herschel Island, the first few days were kind of boring, not finding anything. Lower down, I started getting really interested as we started finding artifacts. Since coming to Parks Canada, I continue to do archaeology. I now have some background and experience and know the process of how things come out of the ground, how they get recorded, and how they go into museums. In the North, archaeology projects have to be reviewed by Elders Committees, Hunters & Trappers Committees, and Community Corporations, and sometimes they say that ‘they’re just taking our stuff away.’ I used to think that too, but now that I know the process, and I know how well taken care of the artifacts are in the south, especially those that need special climate-controlled conditions, I think that for now, they are best housed down south. But, it’s important to return knowledge to the communities, and good replicas are the best thing we have for sharing artifacts around—some Elders can’t even tell the difference! The MacFarlane Project can lead students into learning about science and archaeology—we never had that when I went to school. Young Inuvialuit students will have the chance to investigate our website, and it will be of great benefit to them, showing them what we used to use, how we made things, how we lived, etc. They can go to school and become archaeologists themselves. I’m really happy I’m part of this project. It makes me feel good that I’m doing something good for my community. My goal is to see this through from the beginning to the end.”

Words of our team members: *Stephen Loring*

“As a Smithsonian curator there is no greater honor or responsibility than that of caring for and respecting the cultural treasures in our custody. Even the most mundane objects—a dull knife, a broken doll, a harpoon head or stone pipe—carry stories of long-ago days and bare witness to the lives of extraordinary people if only we know (or learn) how to listen. The Inuvialuit material that MacFarlane was able to assemble is a unique and priceless legacy that attests to a powerful and ancient way of life when human beings and animals and the land they shared were much more attuned to one another than they are today. These old things really are gifts of the ancestors and they serve as a powerful means of connecting the past with the present and the future. My colleagues and I are tremendously honoured that such a distinguished group of Inuvialuit elders, scholars and young people would come to Washington to share with us their knowledge and appreciation of the collection. It is hard to imagine that the Inuvialuit that worked with MacFarlane to assemble the collection could have imagined the importance of it for their descendants more than 150 years later. We hope that this is the beginning of a new era of cooperation and interaction between Inuvialuit leaders, educators and community members and the Smithsonian in exploring the significance and meaning of the Inuvialuit collections at the Smithsonian and furthering an understanding and appreciation of their history, culture and homelands.”



Stephen Loring packing his canoe through the wilds of Labrador. Photo: B. Ritchie.

Words from Our Project Elders: *James Pokiak*

James Pokiak is very interested in the MacFarlane Collection, and has enjoyed being part of this project for a number of reasons: “Mainly, it’s my interest in how our people managed to survive in those days with just the tools and weapons they had. I’ve always been interested in Inuvialuit culture. All the people that I met out on the Anderson River taught me the basics of bush-life, such as Gordon Agnaviak and my uncle John Kikoak. Gordon first showed me the Anderson River area, how to get around out there, how to build a sod shelter, and how to trap. This started me out on my life as a trapper. I was always interested when the bush trappers were out for the entire season—you waited to see when they would come in and hear their stories. These days, they arrive out at their camp and you hear from them an hour later!”

Words from Our Project Elders: *Albert Elias*

Albert Elias told us about his time in Stanton, at the mouth of the Anderson River, as a boy. This experience is closely connected to his interest in the project: “Palaiyaq was my grandfather Raddi’s brother, making him my grandfather [in Inuvialuit kinship] as well. He was known to be a good hunter, trapper and provider, a sharp shooter. He adopted my uncle John Raddi, but had no kids of his own. I saw Palaiyaq when I was a kid in Stanton in 1948. Palaiyaq probably came from Kitigaaryuit, and traveled east to trap. He was around Anderson River for a good part of his life. He traveled with Diamond Jenness as a guide and provisioner, so if you read Jenness’s diaries, you’ll find many references to Silas Palaiyaq.

My interest in this project was based on the fact that I spent a winter with my parents at Stanton, on Wood Bay, in ‘48. We built a cabin there. The old-timers, such as the Kimiksanas, Kotokaks, Tardiffs, and Johnson Uqsusiaq, were there. What struck me as a boy was that their dialect (Siglitun) was old-fashioned. When they talked about something good to eat, like fish or berries, they used the expression ‘mamarviksairusimayuq’, referring to really special foods that were really tasty. You don’t hear that expression any more, but my wife and I sometimes use it. When I saw the artifacts in Washington, I was amazed at the similarities with what I saw as a child—I saw that style of clothing and the bows and arrows, made by the old-timers. At that time, they use a lot of metal tools, but they still used some of the old ones too. Another striking thing was the crimping of the toes of the kammak in the collection; ladies don’t do that anymore, as it was done with the teeth. I think the knowledge gathered from this project is important to pass on to our youth, by teaching them through doing: they learn the names of things by watching and doing and trying it themselves. I want to make some of those spear-points and harpoon heads myself!”



Silas Palaiyaq butchering a beluga whale at Horton River, 1935. NWT Archives/Charles Rowan/ N-1991-068: 0209.

“I SAW PALAIYQAQ

WHEN I WAS A
KID IN STANTON
IN 1948... HE
WAS AROUND
ANDERSON RIVER
FOR A GOOD
PART OF HIS LIFE.”



A bend in the Anderson River.
Photo: Aventure Arctique.

The Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project: Winter 2009-Spring 2011

Intellectual Property & the MacFarlane Collection: Community Questions & Project Team Responses



Mervin Joe & Albert Elias doing interview training during the IPinCH workshop, North Vancouver, October 2010. Photo: N.Lyons.

The Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project received its initial seed funding from the Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage project (IPinCH), housed at Simon Fraser University and led by Dr. George Nicholas. Our project is interested in questions of access related to the MacFarlane Collection, particularly how greater awareness of and access to the collection can be fostered in the Inuvialuit community. Below is a discussion of intellectual property issues raised by members of the Inuvialuit community during community outreach sessions, which is presented in a Question & Answer format. We welcome your feedback and further questions on these issues.

Q: Is there proof that the collection was purchased?

A: The correspondence between Mr. MacFarlane and the Smithsonian reveals that MacFarlane relied tremendously on his Inuvialuit associates to acquire objects, including both cultural items and natural history specimens (birds, rocks, fish and mammals), that he sent to the Smithsonian in Washington. MacFarlane and the Inuvialuit were economically linked through the fur trade. With respect to MacFarlane's collection, he had a team of Inuvialuit collectors, as well as individuals from the Anderson River community who brought items to trade. They were reimbursed for their things with trade-goods such as clothing, tools, tobacco, guns and ammunition.

Q: Were any of the items in the collection re-sold by the Smithsonian?

A: As was common practice at the time, a portion of the Inuvialuit material that MacFarlane collected for the Smithsonian (about 170 items) was subsequently exchanged with other museums, who were also working to build their collections. For the most part these were duplicate items and they were sent to museums as far away as New Zealand and Holland. One of the largest exchanges was to the National Museum of Denmark which received about 40 Inuvialuit items in exchange for a similar collection of objects from Greenland Inuit. Unfortunately, over 50 Inuvialuit artifacts loaned to the Chicago Academy were destroyed in the great Chicago fire of 1871. With time and the realization that the Smithsonian's ethnographic collections were a priceless and irreplaceable heritage, the practice of exchanging collections was abandoned. Today, items in the collection are often loaned out for short-term exhibitions before returning to the collections-care and conservation facility that houses them.



Lucy and Julia Cockney looking at photos of the MacFarlane Collection, Tuktoyaktuk. Photo: R. Pokiak.

Q: Can the collection be repatriated?

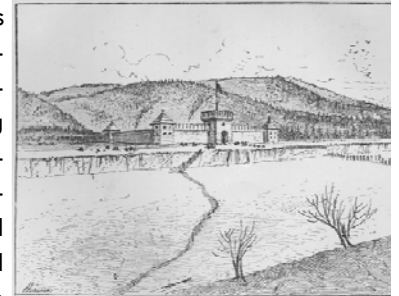
A: Under the North American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990), the everyday sort of objects that MacFarlane acquired for the Smithsonian do not come under the category of objects subject to repatriation. The Smithsonian's policy on repatriation seeks to return "sacred items" and "items of cultural patrimony" as well as any items associated with burial rituals to descendant community members. As best as we can tell, the Inuvialuit collections are composed of day-to-day items from domestic and subsistence contexts that do not have a special "sacred" context. However, it is in the spirit of repatriation that the Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project seeks to figure out ways to make the collections accessible to the communities in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region from which they were derived (p. 17-18).

Q: Who holds copyright of the clothing patterns (& other objects) produced by the project?

A: The Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre holds copyright of all knowledge and patterns for objects developed by the Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project. However, we very much welcome seamstresses, tool-makers, students, and other beneficiaries to re-create objects in the collection and share them with us. There will be various opportunities for displaying re-creations and posting them to our project website.

MacFarlane's role in 19th C. Smithsonian collecting, by Stephen Loring

The Smithsonian Institution, essentially the national museum for the United States, was founded in 1846 for the "increase and diffusion of knowledge". At the time the Institution was founded the United States was expanding rapidly and beginning to emerge as an international power. It was an active period of growth for the country as settlers, miners and ranchers streamed into the western territories and the newly acquired lands in Alaska. Seeking knowledge about these new lands, the people who lived there, and the potential for economic development, agents of the United States government, including the military, the Geodetic and Coastal Survey, the U.S. Signal Corps, and scientists from the Smithsonian, traveled extensively and compiled a wealth of scientific observations, natural history specimens and cultural artifacts. It was Spencer Fullerton Baird, who came to the Smithsonian in 1850, who was instrumental in fostering the collecting zeal of the Institution. With Roderick MacFarlane, Baird found a remarkably capable field naturalist and an opportunity to acquire an extraordinary array of over 5000 natural history specimens and hundreds of articles of Inuvialuit and Dene tools and clothing. From surviving letters and records it is clear that MacFarlane relied extensively upon his native contacts to find and acquire the specimens he desired. Already knowledgeable about the trading economy MacFarlane's Inuvialuit collectors took payment for the collections acquired on behalf of the Smithsonian in a wide array of non-native commodities including clothing, tools, tobacco, and even guns. Spencer Baird was so pleased by the materials and collections that MacFarlane sent that he arranged for parcels of special clothing and fabrics as gifts to some of MacFarlane's native collectors. MacFarlane's collections have, by the miracle of preservation and the passage of time, become treasures passed down from the ancestors to the modern day.



Fort Anderson as depicted by Émile Petitot in 1865 (from *Les Grands Esquimaux*, 1887).

The MacFarlane Collection on display, by Stephen Loring

While the Inuvialuit material that Roderick MacFarlane collected has never been exhibited in its entirety some of it has been on display almost continuously from about 1870 until just recently. The photograph at right shows manikins of an Inuvialuit couple wearing clothing that MacFarlane collected and sent to the Smithsonian that were on display at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876. The seated figure with the rifle is the Arctic explorer Elisha Kent Kane (1820-1857) one of the most celebrated men of his day. In addition to exhibits at the Smithsonian, part of the MacFarlane Collection of Inuvialuit artifacts was exhibited in the 'Across Time and Tundra' exhibit of 2003, which relied on Ishmael Alunik's knowledge. A few of the objects were also displayed at the 1992 Inuit Circumpolar Conference in Inuvik.

Currently, there are no immediate plans at the Smithsonian to put any of the Inuvialuit objects that MacFarlane collected on display, but they are always available for research and for future exhibitions. The Smithsonian is absolutely committed to making items in its collections available to the descendant communities from which the collections originated and we welcome the possibility that some of the objects might make a return trip to the Inuvialuit Settlement Region as part of a traveling exhibition. In fact, that is exactly one of the long-term goals of the partnership created by the Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project (p. 18).



Manikins at the Smithsonian wear skin clothing from the MacFarlane Collection. The woman's parka on the right uses reindeer hides, likely acquired by the Inuvialuit through trade network from the Siberian Chukchi in the mid-19th century. Such elaborate trade networks linked circumpolar peoples prior to contact with Europeans. Credit: Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution.

Next Steps

The Inuvialuit Smithsonian Project currently has several activities underway and others on the horizon. A brief summary of our ongoing activities and future plans is listed below:

Ongoing activities: We have a number of projects underway: producing colour pamphlets that describe and illustrate skin clothing and tools from the collection; preparing patterns and instructions for making skin clothing objects from the collection; re-creating objects for use in school programs and edu-kits (p. 10); conducting curatorial and community-based research about the collection (p. 9); and developing classroom-based activities that integrate the collection with the interactive features of the website (p. 13). Naturalist Joachim Obst is preparing a report about the natural history part of the collection and MacFarlane's collection routes based on his years of experience bird-watching and trekking in the Anderson River area. Inuvialuit Communication Society is producing two 1/2 hour documentaries about the trip to Washington and the ongoing project for APTN. Lastly, we are in the midst of producing the project website (p. 12), which will house many of the resources described here, in addition to distributing them in the Inuvialuit community.

Project plans: We are developing the project website as a site to showcase ongoing processes and activities related to the project. For example, we will produce and post short videos showing and explaining how certain objects in the collection are made; in collaboration with Parks Canada, we are discussing the possibility of creating a 'MacFarlane Kit' that can be presented in community outreach work and in schools; Parks Canada is installing climate-controlled cabinets in their Inuvik Visitor's Centre and is interested in sharing, circulating, and displaying MacFarlane re-creations and actual objects from the collection. Stay tuned for further plans!

Learn More: Publications & Links

The following publications and links and many other resources about the MacFarlane Collection, the Anderson River, and the project will soon be available on our project website (URL below).

Articles: Maia Lepage. 2009. Museums and Mukluks: Arctic Representatives Explore MacFarlane Collection in Washington's Smithsonian Institution. *Tusaayaksat*, Winter 2010: 29-37.

Stephen Loring, Natasha Lyons, and Maia LePage. 2010. Inuvialuit Encounter: Confronting the past for the future. An IPinCH Case Study. *Arctic Studies Center Newsletter* No. 17: 30-32.

Natasha Lyons. An Inuvialuit Journey to the Smithsonian. *Up Here* magazine. March 2010.

E.O. Hohn. Roderick MacFarlane of Anderson River and Fort. *The Beaver*, Winter 1963: 22-29.

Roderick MacFarlane. 1890-1891. On an Expedition down the Begh-ula or Anderson River. *Canadian Record of Science* IV:28-53.

David Morrison. 2006. Painted Wooden Plaques from the MacFarlane Collection: The Earliest Inuvialuit Graphic Art. *Arctic* 59(4):351-360.

J.K. Stager. 1967. Fort Anderson: the first post for trade in the western Arctic. *Geographical Bulletin* 9(1):45-56.

Links: Reciprocal Research Network: <http://www.rrnpilot.org/>

MacFarlane Collection online at Smithsonian: <http://collections.nmnh.si.edu/search/anth/>

Smithsonian's Arctic Studies Center: <http://www.mnh.si.edu/arctic/>

Project website: www.inuvialuitlivinghistory.ca



Helen Gruben, Freda Raddi, and Mervin Joe investigate skin clothing at the Smithsonian's Museum Support Center. Photo: S. Loring

STAY TUNED FOR
MORE PROJECT
PLANS!!



Hudson's Bay trader Roderick MacFarlane, who assembled the MacFarlane Collection. Credit: Glenbow Archives NA-1010-33.

Our sincere thanks to the Inuvialuit community:

INUVIALUIT SMITHSONIAN PROJECT

Our project team would like to sincerely thank the Inuvialuit community for your ongoing interest, enthusiasm, participation, and support of this project. It has been a real pleasure to help bring the MacFarlane Collection back to the Inuvialuit community, and to learn about it from Inuvialuit perspectives. We hope you have enjoyed this report, and we invite your feedback on its contents. If you have additional information, corrections, ideas, criticisms or requests, we would like to hear them. Contacts are below, or feel free to contact any member of our project team. We are very much looking forward to the future of the project as it unfolds.



Natasha Lyons in the wilds of British Columbia. Photo: I. Cameron.

Sincerely,

Natasha Lyons

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February sunset on the pingos, Tuktoyaktuk. Photo: N.Lyons.

Our thanks to:

INUVALUIT SMITHSONIAN PROJECT

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Prince of Wales
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Arctic
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Parks
Canada

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Canada



SCHOOL OF INTERACTIVE
ARTS + TECHNOLOGY



IPInCH

Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage:
Theory, Practice, Policy, Ethics