

The Role of Archives in Indigenous Language Maintenance and Resurgence

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Abstract

For centuries, Indigenous peoples have been advocating for their rights to their land, cultures and languages in the context of (settler) colonial institutions that have repressed and removed these rights and knowledges, as well as the mechanisms for their transmission. This thesis attempts to open up questions regarding what settler-colonial archives and archivists could do to support Indigenous language maintenance, resurgence and use, given the reality that most Indigenous languages in Canada (and globally) are declining in use and number of speakers. Using Inuktitut (Inuit languages) as a case study, it will outline the circumstances that have led to both this decline and the role that settler-colonial archives have had in it. By examining Inuktitut records held by the settler-colonial institution of Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA) and their Names and Knowledge Initiative as a case study, this thesis will illustrate both the challenges posed by Indigenous language records held by such institutions, as well as the opportunities for (settler) colonial archives to contribute to Indigenous sovereignty over their linguistic data, knowledge and records. It will also explore the use of Indigenous languages in the delivery of services by archives to further support their use as languages of daily life.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Table of Contents	ii
Preface: Positionality and Accountability	1
Introduction	4
Chapter One: A History of Inuit Language Shift and Resistance	4
Chapter Two: Language Records in the Archives: A Case Study at HBCA	49
Chapter Three: Archival Paths to Indigenous Language Maintenance and Resurgence	49
Conclusion	128
Bibliography	135

Preface: Positionality and Accountability

I want to begin by positioning myself. Not only will this location contribute to an understanding of my scholarly biases, limitations and background, “to emphasize that all knowledge is generated from particular positions,”¹ but it will also coincide with Indigenous traditions of grounding oneself in one’s family and place by way of introduction. I am a settler² Euro-Canadian researcher and archivist, born in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan in Treaty Six territory, but currently living and studying in Winnipeg, in Treaty One territory, and the original lands of the Anishinaabeg, Cree, Oji-Cree, Dakota, and Dene peoples and homeland of the Métis Nation. I recognize the long history of the place at the forks of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers as a meeting place for peoples indigenous to these lands, and the history of relationships between the peoples who have lived on and used these lands, including the Peguis-Selkirk treaty of 1817. I also recognize that we are not all treaty peoples, and that other relationships to each other and to the land are important and need to be honoured as well. I wish to acknowledge the harm and violence that settlers have enacted and continue to enact on Indigenous peoples, including through their record-keeping and archival systems, and to keep committing to reparation and the creation more just systems both in society at large and in my specific field of archives as I live, work, and own land as a guest in these territories.

Academically, I have a background in history and linguistics, which has led me to my present field of archival studies; it has also shaped my research topic, which is examining archives and their role in Indigenous language maintenance and resurgence. When I decided to do my case study based on the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives (HBCA)’s Names and

¹ Deanna Reder, “Introduction: Position,” in *Learn, Teach, Challenge: Approaching Indigenous Literatures*, ed. Deanna Reder and Linda M. Morra (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2016), 7.

² Following the definitions and framework laid out in Emma Battell Lowman and Adam J. Barker, *Settler: Identity and Colonialism in 21st Century Canada* (Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2015).

Knowledge Initiative, the existing relationships that Names and Knowledge had with Inuit were the strongest, which led my study to focus on Inuktitut. My motivations for choosing a topic about Indigenous (rather than other) languages came from wanting to make a meaningful contribution based on my strengths and interests; but they also came from a place of unexamined arrogance, that I, as someone who had not had academic or other significant relationships with an Indigenous community, organization, or even area of academic study, could make a meaningful contribution in this area. Although my intentions were from a desire to do good, they were also steeped in paternalism, white guilt and white saviourism. Once it became clear that I would be unable to undertake any collaborative research with Indigenous peoples or communities as part of this project, which would have been the way that would have felt the most responsible and ethical to do it, I often questioned whether I was the right person to be writing a thesis about a topic that impacts Indigenous peoples, and have struggled with how to do so in a way that feels right. I have tried to be careful about whose knowledge and expertise I centre, and to focus my discussion on addressing other settler/white archivists and archival institutions, with the full expectation that there are things that I have likely gotten wrong, and hopefully with humility to have these shortcomings pointed out, so that I can do better.

I would also like to address my relationship with HBCA, which provides the basis for my case study. I was employed there for almost three years, first as an archival studies intern for 10 months in 2016-2017, and then as an archivist for almost two years from 2017-2019; I have also received a further offer of employment as of March 2020, although I had not started working there again yet as of May 2020 when this thesis was submitted. My knowledge of how the institution works (e.g. its descriptive practices, its research tools, its access systems) is coloured

by my position as an “insider,”³ and some of the following discussion is informed by work that I did as an employee at HBCA. I swore an oath of confidentiality as an employee of the Province of Manitoba, and I strive to uphold that throughout this thesis, drawing only on publicly available information about HBCA and their Names and Knowledge Initiative; but I need to be clear that I was involved in some of the decisions that I will discuss in this thesis, and likewise have an intimate understanding of research processes at HBCA that might not be arrived at as a researcher alone. In an ideal research project I would have requested internal records under the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act (FIPPA) and conducted interviews with those involved in the programs I discuss, but within the time constraints of completing this thesis was unable to pursue that avenue.

³ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2nd ed. (New York: Zed Books, 2012).

Introduction

For centuries, Indigenous peoples have been advocating for their rights to their land, cultures and languages in the context of (settler) colonial institutions that have repressed and removed these rights and knowledges, as well as the mechanisms for their transmission; “since at least the 1940s, serious concerns have been expressed by Indigenous organisations in Canada about the decline in the use of their languages.”¹ In 2007, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) laid out a framework of “minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the [I]ndigenous peoples of the world,” including their tangible and intangible cultural heritage such as language.² And 2019 was named by the United Nations as the International Year of Indigenous Languages, a “cooperation mechanism dedicated to raising awareness” about the critical state of Indigenous languages across the globe, and to support their protection, maintenance and resurgence.³ In recent decades, settler-colonial institutions such as archives have begun to shift their attitudes and policies to be more receptive to Indigenous perspectives and ideas around the rights of Indigenous peoples to their cultural and linguistic heritage, and more and more archives have started the work of trying to rebuild (or in many cases, build for the first time) relationships with Indigenous peoples and communities. One of these institutions, the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives (HBCA) based in Winnipeg, MB, has developed the Names and Knowledge Initiative to reciprocally connect Indigenous peoples with

¹ Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Robert Phillipson, and Robert Dunbar, “Is Nunavut Education Criminally Inadequate? An Analysis of Current Policies for Inuktitut and English in Education, International and National Law, Linguistic and Cultural Genocide and Crimes against Humanity” (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, April 22, 2019), 4, <https://www.tunngavik.com/files/2019/04/NuLinguicideReportFINAL.pdf>.

² United Nations, “United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples,” UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs - Indigenous Peoples, November 2019, <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples.html>; UN General Assembly, “United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples,” *UN Wash* 12 (2007): 1–18.

³ UNESCO, “About IYIL 2019,” *2019 - International Year of Indigenous Language*, 2018, <https://en.iyil2019.org/about/>.

their records while also incorporating any perspectives offered within HBCA's descriptive systems. From this milieu, this thesis will focus on the role(s) settler-colonial institutional archives can play in the safeguarding and resurgence of Indigenous languages, using records held by HBCA in Inuktitut, the languages/dialects spoken by Inuit in Inuit Nunangat,⁴ as a case study.

This research is premised on the idea that it is important for Indigenous languages to keep being spoken and transmitted, an idea that is challenged in an era when English or French are the languages of commerce, education, technology, popular culture and work.⁵ However, it is clear that language is an integral part of the epistemology or worldview of a culture, encoding kinship structures, ways of relating to the world, and connections to the land. As Mary Jane Norris puts it, "a language is not just about speaking as a way of communication – it is much more than that: it represents a way of thinking, of perceiving the world, interwoven with the knowledge, culture, and identity of a people....so losing a language is not just losing a way of communicating: it is like losing a world."⁶

This emphasis on the connections between language, culture, identity, knowledge, and spirituality is echoed by the overwhelming majority of Indigenous peoples, and voices the

⁴ "Inuit Nunangat [...] is the Inuit-preferred name of the geographic, political, and cultural region whose various descriptions include "the Arctic", "North", and "North of 60", including the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (Northwest Territories and Yukon), Nunavut, Nunavik (Northern Québec), and Nunatsiavut (Northern Labrador). Danny Ishulutak, "National Inuit Strategy on Research," *Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami*, March 22, 2018, 4, <https://www.itk.ca/national-strategy-on-research/>. For the official use of "Inuktitut" rather than "Inuktitut" as the term for Inuit languages (of which Inuktitut is one), adopted in 2016, see Walter Strong, "'Talk to Me in Inuktitut': Old Word Nothing New, Says Inuit Language Organization," CBC News, July 1, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuktitut-prompts-correction-requests-1.5153188>. For further discussion of Inuktitut dialects, see "Inuit Dialects in Nunavut," Inuktitut Tusaalanga, accessed November 13, 2019, <https://tusaalanga.ca/node/2503>; "Inuktitut Lexicon Atlas - About," Interactive Resource, Geomatics and Cartographic Research Centre, Carleton University, accessed December 12, 2019, <https://inuktitutlexicon.gcr.ccarleton.ca/index.html>.

⁵ Mary Jane Norris, "Aboriginal Languages in Canada: Generational Perspectives on Language Maintenance, Loss, and Revitalization," in *Visions of the Heart: Canadian Aboriginal Issues*, ed. David Long and Olive Dickason, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 116, 141; Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, and Dunbar, "Is Nunavut Education Criminally Inadequate?"

⁶ Norris, "Aboriginal Languages in Canada," 115.

anxieties that these groups have about the loss of their culture and way of seeing the world. Piita (Peter) Irniq, former Commissioner of Nunavut, simply states that “our Inuit identity is meshed tightly with our language,” while also pointing out the language-contingent cultural practices of traditional naming, stories, and a wide variety of songs, including ceremonial, hunting, and rivalry songs.⁷ Nigaan Sinclair, an Anishinaabe scholar, intellectual and columnist, wrote that “Indigenous languages are the lifeblood of Indigenous cultures. It’s not that Indigenous nations end when their traditional language is no longer used, but a significant archive and way of understanding the world does. In other words, you continue to be Anishinaabe without speaking Anishinaabemowin but your most important venue for understanding what being Anishinaabe is and means is lost.”⁸ And Stephen Greymorning, an Arapaho man and linguist, writes that “if we lose our language we will lose our ceremonies and ourselves because our life is our language, and it is our language that makes us strong,” but also goes further, believing in “the significance of language as a political force de resistance.”⁹ Indeed, simply existing as an Indigenous person is an act of political resistance in the face of colonization, assimilation and genocide,¹⁰ and speaking one’s own language is part of that greater whole. Lorena Sekwan Fontaine also points to the desire of Indigenous parents and grandparents for their children “[to learn] to speak their

⁷ Peter Irniq, “The Staying Force of Inuit Knowledge,” in *A Will to Survive: Indigenous Essays on the Politics of Culture, Language, and Identity*, ed. Stephen Greymorning (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 2004), 19–27.

⁸ Nigaan Sinclair, “Loss of Indigenous Languages Is Canada’s Shame,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, April 26, 2019, <https://www.winnipegfreepress.com/opinion/columnists/loss-of-indigenous-languages-is-canadas-shame-509134752.html?fbclid=IwAR05frm0R5yM5Yd6ClYlD22VqOwQmaxjs6sK0QkF7KLd2KdZOwtSj6A5B1I>.

⁹ Stephen Greymorning, “Culture and Language: Political Realities to Keep Trickster at Bay,” in *A Will to Survive: Indigenous Essays on the Politics of Culture, Language, and Identity*, ed. Stephen Greymorning (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 2004), 4, 11; Stephen Greymorning, “Running the Gauntlet of an Indigenous Language Program,” in *Revitalizing Indigenous Languages*, ed. Jon Reyhner et al. (Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University, 1999), 6.

¹⁰ See e.g. Ryan McMahon, “Everything You Do Is Political, You’re Anishinaabe. Or, What Idle No More Is to Me,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* (blog), January 1, 2013, <https://decolonization.wordpress.com/2013/01/01/everything-you-do-is-political-youre-anishinaabe-or-what-idle-no-more-is-to-me/>.

mother tongue fluently as a form of reparation” for the loss of language that happened at residential schools.¹¹

Language, then, is an integral part of Indigenous societies and cultures, and its maintenance is not just considered significant for the purposes of communication, although that is also meaningful – it is necessary for the continued existence of Indigenous identities, knowledge, and spirituality. Moreover, there have been a number of recent studies that suggest a connection between learning one’s cultural language and health, self-confidence, and general well-being, even to the point of potential suicide prevention.¹² Learning a traditional language also connects the learner to their family, community, culture, and land base.

The idea that Indigenous languages in Canada need maintenance and potentially revitalization has been widely acknowledged by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, including historians, linguists and educators. In 2010, UNESCO’s *Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger* considered all of the 86 identified Indigenous languages spoken in Canada as “vulnerable” at best, and 32 of those languages as “critically endangered,” meaning that they are most likely to be spoken only by the grandparent generation, and least likely to be well documented.¹³ In the 2016 Canadian census, “1.6 million Canadians reported having an Indigenous identity, with only 260,000 reporting the ability to conduct a conversation in an Indigenous language;” even Inuktitut, some of the most robust Indigenous languages spoken in Canada and designated as official languages in Nunavut and the Northwest Territories, have had

¹¹ Lorena Sekwan Fontaine, “Redress for Linguicide: Residential Schools and Assimilation in Canada,” *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 30, no. 2 (September 2017): 185, <https://doi.org/10.3828/bjcs.2017.11>.

¹² Irniq 2004, 29; Norris 2011, 116, 141; Onowa McIvor, Art Napoleon, and Kerissa M. Dickie, “Language and Culture as Protective Factors for At-Risk Communities,” *International Journal of Indigenous Health* 5, no. 1 (2009): 6-25.

¹³ Christopher Moseley, *Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger*, 3rd ed. (Paris: UNESCO, 2010), <http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas>; Norris, “Aboriginal Languages in Canada,” 114–24.

decreases in their first-language and conversant speakers.¹⁴ Inuktit dialects like Innuinaqtun and Inuvialuktun, spoken in western Nunavut and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in the Northwest Territories and Yukon, have seen a decline in speakers to less than a quarter of the population in the areas where they are spoken,¹⁵ while Labrador Inuttit and Rigolet Inuktitut, spoken in Nunatsiavut, also qualify as “endangered” to “critically endangered.”¹⁶ Beyond that, more Indigenous peoples than ever, including Inuit, are living outside of their communities of origin, for a variety of reasons within and outside of their control, and have become disconnected from their traditional languages or are no longer able to use them in their daily lives.¹⁷ As such, it should be clear that Indigenous languages, including Inuktit, do need action to stabilize and increase their number of speakers to prevent further language shift and loss.

As can be seen from the statistics, the vitality of Indigenous languages and their user needs are variable. As such, it is necessary to identify whether a relatively vital language needs to be maintained, an endangered language needs to be preserved and reinvigorated, or a “sleeping” language needs to be “reawakened.”¹⁸ Each of these situations requires different

¹⁴ Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, and Dunbar, “Is Nunavut Education Criminally Inadequate?,” 4.

¹⁵ Innuinaqtun is spoken primarily in the Nunavut communities of Kugluktuk (Coppermine), Kingaok (Bathurst Inlet) and Iqalukuttiaq (Cambridge Bay), while the Inuvialuktun dialects of Sallirmiutun, Uummarmiutun, and Kangiryuarmiutun are spoken in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in the Northwest Territories.

¹⁶ Kenn Harper, “Will Inuktit Survive?,” Nunatsiaq News, March 26, 2019, <https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/will-inuktit-survive/>; Kumiko Murasugi and Monica Ittusardjuat, “Documenting Linguistic Knowledge in an Inuit Language Atlas,” *Études Inuit Studies* 40, no. 2 (2016): 169–90, <https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.7202/1055437ar>; Catharyn Andersen and Alana Johns, “Labrador Inuttit: Speaking into the Future,” *Études/Inuit/Studies* 29, no. 1–2 (2005): 187–205, <https://doi.org/10.7202/013939ar>.

¹⁷ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, “Inuit Statistical Profile 2018” (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2018), <https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Inuit-Statistical-Profile.pdf>; “Inuit Dialects in Nunavut”; Kyle Muzyka, “Preserving Indigenous Languages Full of Challenges, Advocates Say,” Unreserved, on CBC, November 22, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/radio/unreserved/reclaiming-and-revitalizing-indigenous-languages-1.5365745/preserving-indigenous-languages-full-of-challenges-advocates-say-1.5365746>. See also Ellen Cushman, “Language Perseverance and Translation of Cherokee Documents,” *College English* 82, no. 1 (September 2019): 115–34 for similar considerations for Cherokee, another Indigenous language with a fairly robust speaker base.

¹⁸ See Bernard Perley, “Remembering Ancestral Voices: Emergent Vitalities and the Future of Indigenous Languages,” in *Responses to Language Endangerment: In Honour of Mickey Noonan. New Directions in Language Documentation and Language Revitalization*, ed. Elena Mihás et al., vol. 142, Studies in Language Companion Series (John Benjamins Publishing, 2013), 243–70. for a discussion of the terminology of “sleeping” (as opposed to “extinct”) languages. It is important to also acknowledge Indigenous peoples’ agency over whether they wish to

approaches, which have been illustrated by a number of interesting and useful initiatives both in Canada and elsewhere. For language maintenance, the examples generally come from education; many of these projects involve intergenerational learning, where elders and children come together for the transmission of knowledge; early childhood immersion programs; and the use of technology, such as language applications, games or keyboards/fonts for smartphones.¹⁹ For preservation, the renewed field of documentary linguistics has grown up alongside community education and technology initiatives; the documentation of language by means of sound and video recordings, creation of wordlists and other publications; and the use interactive technologies to create databases, websites, and other support tools to facilitate not only learning, but also the storage and preservation of knowledge.²⁰ For revitalization, using material sources

continue speaking or revitalizing their languages and how they would like to do it, rather than outsiders' opinions. See e.g. Bernard Perley, *Defying Maliseet Language Death: Emergent Vitalities of Language, Culture, and Identity in Eastern Canada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011); Sam L. Warner, "Kuleana: The Right, Responsibility, and Authority of Indigenous Peoples to Speak and Make Decisions for Themselves in Language and Cultural Revitalization," *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (1999): 68–93; Natasha Warner, Quirina Luna, and Lynnika Butler, "Ethics and Revitalization of Dormant Languages: The Mutsun Language," *Language Documentation and Conservation* 1, no. 1 (58-76): 2007.

¹⁹ See e.g. Erika Stark, "Teacher Develops App to Teach Students Blackfoot Language," *cbcnews.ca*, April 11, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/blackfoot-language-app-1.3527750>; Candace Kaleimamoowahinekapu Galla, "Multimedia Technology and Indigenous Language Revitalization: Practical Educational Tools and Applications Used within Native Communities" (Ph.D., University of Arizona, 2010), <http://gradworks.umi.com/34/27/3427681.html>; Onowa McIvor, "Strategies for Indigenous Language Revitalization and Maintenance," *Encyclopedia of Language and Literacy Development*, 2009, 1–12; National Research Council Canada, "Revitalizing Indigenous Languages through Mobile Apps and Human Connections," backgrounders, Government of Canada, December 12, 2019, <https://www.canada.ca/en/national-research-council/news/2019/12/revitalizing-indigenous-languages-through-mobile-apps-and-human-connections.html>; Lenard Monkman, "Ojibway Language Card Game Teaches Kids over 100 Variations of 'Farts,'" *CBC News*, December 7, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/ojibway-boogidi-game-1.5338636>; Patrick Moore and Kate Hennessy, "New Technologies and Contested Ideologies: The Tagish FirstVoices Project," *The American Indian Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (2006): 119–37, <https://doi.org/10.1353/aiq.2006.0006>.

²⁰ See e.g. "About the Ojibwe People's Dictionary Project," *The Ojibwe People's Dictionary*, 2016, <http://ojibwe.lib.umn.edu/about>; Murasugi and Ittusardjuat, "Inuit Language Atlas"; "Three B.C. First Nations Receive UBC Funding to Preserve Oral Histories," *Indigitization*, December 15, 2014, <http://www.indigitization.ca/three-b-c-first-nations-receive-ubc-funding-to-preserve-oral-histories/>; "Indigitization | Toolkit for the Digitization of First Nations Knowledge," *Indigitization*, accessed March 14, 2016, <http://www.indigitization.ca/>; Steve Silva, "Yukon First Nations Aim to Preserve, Revitalize Their Languages through Video," *CBC News*, October 11, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/yukon-first-nations-language-revitalization-preservation-videos-1.5316423>; Heather Rivers, "Teacher Uses Twitter to Revive Munsee Language," *The London Free Press*, August 2, 2019, <https://lfpres.com/news/local-news/teacher-uses-social-media-programs-to-revive-munsee-language>.

such as existing written and spoken documentation that can include interviews, stories, songs, word lists, and grammars can help reawaken languages whose last speakers have died.²¹

Due to limitations in scope and positionality, I will not be addressing the breadth of these topics in this thesis. In particular, there is a great need, and has been a huge surge recently, both to document Indigenous languages and to preserve existing, community-held documentation of Indigenous languages – that is, to create or manage records that are not currently held by settler-colonial archives. The extent to which community-held archives could potentially be involved in the ongoing production, preservation and dissemination of Indigenous language materials is a complex and useful question, but they are outside the purview of this thesis. I will also not be addressing online linguistic data repositories, often created or maintained by documentary linguists, that could fall under the term “language archives,” such as the Open Language Archives Community (OLAC), the Endangered Language Archive (ELAR) or the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (Paradisec).²² Instead, as a settler Euro-Canadian who has worked in non-specialized settler-colonial archives, I will maintain a focus on those types of institutions, such as organization-based, school/university or governmental archives, and how they can be involved in Indigenous language maintenance and resurgence, especially with regards to the materials already in their holdings. For the purpose of

²¹ See e.g. Perley, “Remembering Ancestral Voices,” 245; *Unreserved*, with Rosanna Deerchild, “Voices from the Past: Musician Jeremy Dutcher Gives New Life to Wax Cylinder Recordings of His Ancestors,” CBC Radio, March 9, 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/radio/unreserved/lost-and-found-indigenous-music-culture-language-and-artifacts-1.4563023/voices-from-the-past-musician-jeremy-dutcher-gives-new-life-to-wax-cylinder-recordings-of-his-ancestors-1.4569534>; Kirsten Thorpe and Monica Galassi, “Rediscovering Indigenous Languages: The Role and Impact of Libraries and Archives in Cultural Revitalisation,” *Australian Academic & Research Libraries* 45, no. 2 (2014): 81–100, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00048623.2014.910858>; “Breath of Life,” Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival, accessed March 14, 2016, <http://www.aicls.org/>; Jeffrey Mifflin, “‘Closing the Circle’: Native American Writings in Colonial New England, a Documentary Nexus between Acculturation and Cultural Preservation,” *The American Archivist* 72, no. 2 (2009): 344–382.

²² “Open Language Archives Community,” last modified 2011, <http://www.language-archives.org/>; “ELAR,” accessed March 14, 2016, <http://elar.soas.ac.uk/>; “About Us,” PARADISEC, October 30, 2012, <http://www.paradisec.org.au/about.html>.

this thesis, I will be focusing on the more robustly spoken Inuktut in need of maintenance rather than less robustly spoken Indigenous languages that might require revitalization or preservation more urgently, although I will attempt to indicate where my discussion can be more broadly applicable as well.

The records I have chosen to examine are Inuktut records in various media held at HBCA. The primary motivation for using Inuktut records is the simple reason that the Names and Knowledge Initiative at HBCA has already established relationships with Inuit communities, organizations and stakeholders, so in the interest of time and scope, it made sense to examine how the already fruitful exchange that HBCA has had with Inuit individuals, communities and organizations for Inuit photographs could include Inuktut language records as well. Some might question the use of Inuktut records for this study rather than records of Indigenous languages that have fewer first language speakers, or who have greater difficulties in intergenerational transmission, as illustrative about the role settler-colonial archives can play in language maintenance and resurgence. But there is value in records of language spoken in previous generations regardless of the vitality of that language in the present day, particularly in the context of cultural shift – documentation of words and expressions surrounding cultural practices that are declining or disappearing can help keep those traditions alive, or at least allow for the possibility of that knowledge to remain.²³ And even in a more mundane sense, language is dynamic and constantly changing, both in sounds and meaning, and knowledge of how language was used in the past can help inform the present. Beyond that, with the adoption of a recent

²³ Murasugi and Ittusardjuat, “Inuit Language Atlas.” See also, for examples, Sara Frizzell, “Arctic Bay Elder Remembers Inuktitut Weather Words Rarely Used Today,” CBC News, December 24, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/tommy-tatatoapik-arctic-bay-elder-1.5039743>; Selena Ross, “For Young Inuit, Getting an Education Can Mean Choosing between Cultures,” National Observer, November 1, 2017, <https://www.nationalobserver.com/2017/11/01/news/which-way-knowledge-young-inuit-getting-education-can-mean-choosing-between-cultures>.

resolution by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), the national organization representing Inuit in Canada, to create a standardized Inuktitut orthography using the Roman alphabet (*Qaliujaaqpait*), the use and understanding of records written in Inuktitut syllabics (*Qaniujaaqpait*) has an increased chance of disappearing as well.²⁴

As such, I believe that the main points of this study can be applied more broadly to include languages in a variety of states of vitality. I chose HBCA as the representative archives for my study to illustrate that any repository can hold Indigenous language records, and to show the places where they might be found. The basic arguments of the recognition of Indigenous rights to Indigenous records, the development of relationships between Indigenous peoples and settler-colonial institutions, and the provision of mechanisms for consultation and collaboration are the basis for any projects involving Indigenous languages moving forward.

The first chapter of the thesis will outline the circumstances that led to the need for the maintenance and revitalization of Indigenous languages in Canada, focusing more specifically on Inuktitut in Nunavut and Nunavik.²⁵ It will sketch the role of the long history of colonialism in the appropriation, assimilation, and eradication of Indigenous languages and cultures, including first contact, traders and disease; the mission school, residential school and day school/hostel systems; official language legislation; and other government interventions. It will also outline some of the relevant developments at HBC, including the formation and functions of Hudson's Bay House Library and the Archives Department (later HBCA) in collecting and archiving Inuit

²⁴ This orthography would be used in conjunction with local orthographic practices, so syllabic writing may still be in use in various places, but decrease in use. See Patricia D'Souza, "ITK Board of Directors Adopts Inuktitut Qaliujaaqpait as Unified Orthography for Inuktitut," Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, September 26, 2019, <https://www.itk.ca/itk-board-of-directors-adopts-inuktitut-qaliujaaqpait-as-unified-orthography-for-inuktitut/>; Bob Weber, "For the First Time, Inuit Have a Common Way of Writing the Inuktitut Language," CTV News, October 6, 2019, <https://www.ctvnews.ca/lifestyle/for-the-first-time-inuit-have-a-common-way-of-writing-the-inuktitut-language-1.4626312>.

²⁵ The records that I have chosen to work with originate from Nunavut and Nunavik, so my discussion will focus there.

language records. The second chapter will examine the kinds of language-related records that can be found in settler-colonial institutional archives, using the Inuktut records held by HBCA that I have identified as a case study. It will discuss a variety of issues that can accompany the identification, provenance, documentation, description, preservation, and access provisions of these types of records, focusing on archival theory as well as Indigenous theories of knowledge and methodologies.

The third chapter will explore ways that settler-colonial institutional archives can move forward in their responsible stewardship of Indigenous language records, continuing with the examples from HBCA introduced in the second chapter, within the framework of the *National Inuit Strategy on Research* (NISR), First Nations principles of *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession* (OCAP®),²⁶ the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP), the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)'s *Calls to Action*, and the *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials* (PNAAM).²⁷ It will consider various models of description, dissemination and repatriation, especially the possibilities offered by utilizing the existing HBCA Names and Knowledge Initiative, and outline both the opportunities and some of the difficulties posed by existing models. It will also identify ways for archives to support Indigenous languages at a structural level, including strategies to provide services in those languages. The conclusion will assess the role of HBCA in Inuktut language maintenance and resurgence, which could be more broadly applied to other Indigenous language groups and other

²⁶ OCAP® is a registered trademark of the First Nations Information Governance Centre (FNIGC) – see www.fnigc.ca/ocap for more information.

²⁷ UN General Assembly, “United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples”; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, “Calls to Action” (Winnipeg, 2015), http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf; “The First Nations Principles of OCAP®,” First Nations Information Governance Centre, last updated 2019, <https://fnigc.ca/ocap>; Ishulutak, “NISR”; First Archivists’ Circle, “Protocols for Native American Archival Materials,” 2007, <http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>. It is important to note that OCAP® is specific to First Nations and *not* applicable to Inuit, but the definitions provided for each of those principles can provide a useful framework for discussion.

settler-colonial archives. It will emphasize the shifting of power and control over Indigenous records in settler archives to Indigenous stakeholders, and the holistic presentation of cultural material, including in the languages they speak.

Chapter One: A History of Inuit Language Shift and Resistance

“The traumatic dispossession of the Indigenous peoples of their lands and cultures also entailed linguistic dispossession.”²⁸

Although it is difficult to summarize in such a short space the various processes and forces that have led to the need for Indigenous language maintenance and resurgence in Canada, including Inuktitut, I will attempt to broadly identify the major contributors. Indigenous languages and cultures have been endangered through centuries of warfare, widespread disease, and imperial and colonial policies by the British, French, and Canadian governments and churches. The outcomes of these forces were physical population decline, disruption of Indigenous ways of life and social units, and assimilation. Often, the decimation of populations was achieved through a combination of these forces. The decline and destruction of the knowledge and use of Indigenous languages have also been widely acknowledged and identified in a number of different ways, including language/knowledge shift (LKS), linguistic genocide or linguicide, and as part of a greater cultural genocide.²⁹ As the records for this study primarily pertain to people and places in Nunavut and Nunavik, those will be the focus of my discussion of the history of Inuit language

²⁸ Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Robert Phillipson, and Robert Dunbar, “Is Nunavut Education Criminally Inadequate? An Analysis of Current Policies for Inuktitut and English in Education, International and National Law, Linguistic and Cultural Genocide and Crimes against Humanity” (Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, April 22, 2019), 12, <https://www.tunngavik.com/files/2019/04/NuLinguicideReportFINAL.pdf>.

²⁹ See e.g. Louis-Jacques Dorais and Igor Krupnik, “Preserving languages and knowledge of the North,” *Études/Inuit/Studies* 29, no. 1–2 (2005): 5–30, <https://doi.org/10.7202/013929ar>; Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Dunbar, *Indigenous Children’s Education as Linguistic Genocide and a Crime against Humanity? A Global View*, Gáldu Cála: Journal of Indigenous Peoples Rights 1 (Kautokeino: Gáldu, 2010); Greg Bak et al., “Four Views on Archival Decolonization Inspired by the TRC’s Calls to Action,” *Fonds d’Archives*, no. 1 (July 14, 2017): 1–21, <https://doi.org/10.29173/fa3>; Lorena Sekwan Fontaine, “Redress for Linguicide: Residential Schools and Assimilation in Canada,” *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 30, no. 2 (September 2017): 183–204, <https://doi.org/10.3828/bjcs.2017.11>; Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, and Dunbar, “Is Nunavut Education Criminally Inadequate?” The final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015) used the term “cultural genocide”, while the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) final report (2018) used the term “genocide;” however, both terms can be used to mean the elimination of a group of people – “cultural genocide” merely indicates the means by which the genocide is achieved. See e.g. Andrew Woolford and Jeff Benvenuto, “Canada and Colonial Genocide,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 17, no. 4 (2015): 373–90, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2015.1096580> for further discussion of these terms.

shift and loss; I will also outline the history of the creation of language records that are held far from Inuit lands, out of Inuit control.

The specific trajectory of Inuit language decline is similar in many ways to other Indigenous languages, as introduced above – trading and resource extractive relationships; missionary work; the establishment of posts, settlements, missions and colonies by Europeans and Euro-Canadians; the creation of the Canadian nation state and its relationships to and governance of Indigenous peoples; the development of the residential and day school systems; disease, “Indian hospitals,” and removal for treatment; forced relocations and specifically land- and resource-related policies by governments; an influx of non-Indigenous peoples into traditional Indigenous territories; higher incidence of child apprehension within the child welfare system than non-Indigenous populations, such as the Sixties and Millennial Scoops; assimilationist policies designed to bring Indigenous people under the umbrella identity of “Canadian”; and the extraction of information and records to be held in both geographically and epistemologically remote institutions. However, Inuit also have distinct histories from other groups indigenous to the lands that currently comprise the Canadian nation state. They were not part of the system of treaties that characterizes Crown-First Nations relationships, nor are they subject to the *Indian Act*, first created in 1876, or part of the reserve system that was created. While European contact with Inuit began in the 1500s, the interest of colonial governments in Inuit did not occur until much later, when the Canadian government turned its attention to resources and sovereignty in the Arctic in the mid-twentieth century. The colonization, displacement and dispossession that Inuit have experienced has been more often extractive in nature than in support of colonizing settlement, as it is throughout southern Canada.³⁰ While

³⁰ See Woolford and Benvenuto, “Canada and Colonial Genocide,” 380.

there are many shared experiences of colonialism by Inuit, First Nations and Métis peoples, some experiences are also unique to each group.

According to Inuit, their ancestors spread across Inuit Nunangat over a long period of time, but remained culturally and linguistically connected.³¹ There are four regions that make up Inuit Nunangat in what is now known as Canada – Nunatsiavut, in Northern Labrador; Nunavik, in Arctic Québec; Nunavut, through the central and eastern Arctic; and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, in the Northwest Territories and Yukon.³² Within each of these regions, different mutually intelligible dialects are spoken; there is no consensus on how many dialects exist or where exactly dialect boundaries are, but broadly speaking dialects are regional, associated with individual or small groups of communities. In Nunavik, there are two regional dialects of Inuktitut, while in Nunavut, the two major dialects are identified as Inuinnaqtun, spoken in the western Nunavut communities of Kugluktuk (Coppermine), Kingaok (Bathurst Inlet) and Iqaluttutiaq (Cambridge Bay), and Inuktitut, which has several dialects, including ones spoken in the Kivalliq region, Aivilik region, North and South Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin Island) regions, Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake), and Sanikiluaq (Belcher Islands).³³ As Inuit traditionally lived in

³¹ Juhi Sohani, “5000 Years of Inuit History and Heritage” (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, November 4, 2004), <https://www.itk.ca/5000-years-inuit-history-heritage/>; Alesha D Moffat, “Land, Language, and Learning: Inuit Share Experiences and Expectations of Schooling” (PhD Dissertation, Toronto, York University, 2017), <http://hdl.handle.net/10315/34527>.

³² Danny Ishulutak, “National Inuit Strategy on Research” (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, March 22, 2018), 4, <https://www.itk.ca/national-strategy-on-research/>. I have attempted to use Inuit names for places and groups throughout, but there may be inconsistencies in which name comes first (English or Inuktitut).

³³ Steve Rukavina, “New Quebec Audio Guide Shows How to Correctly Pronounce Inuktitut Place Names in Nunavik,” CBC News, January 15, 2020, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/new-quebec-audio-guide-shows-how-to-correctly-pronounce-inuktitut-place-names-in-nunavik-1.5426723>; “Inuit Dialects in Nunavut,” Inuktit Tusaalanga, accessed November 13, 2019, <https://tusaalanga.ca/node/2503>; “Inuktit Lexicon Atlas - About,” Interactive Resource, Geomatics and Cartographic Research Centre, Carleton University, accessed December 12, 2019, <https://inuktitlexicon.gcrc.carleton.ca/index.html>; Yvonne Earle, “Ikajarutit: Delivering Legislative Library Services in Aboriginal Language Environment” (World Library and Information Congress: 74th IFLA General Conference and Council, Quebec, 2008), <https://origin-archive.ifla.org/IV/ifla74/papers/103-Earle-en.pdf>.

small groups that were mobile through large territories that were then remote from others, there are several dialectal variants of Inuktut dependent on geography.³⁴

When Inuit and Europeans first encountered each other, Inuit were the dominant culture in Inuit Nunangat and Europeans were required to adapt, resulting in Europeans attempting to learn Inuktut in order to communicate with the local populations; many word lists and vocabularies exist in published books and repositories that illustrate this facilitation of “exploration” and trade in various Indigenous languages, including Inuktut.³⁵ First contact happened at various times in various places in Inuit Nunangat, over the course of several centuries – earlier in the eastern Arctic, including what is now Labrador, Québec and Nunavut, and later in the Western Arctic, including what is now the Northwest Territories. Explorers, like Martin Frobisher in 1576, passed through and gave places names, but did not stay. As Sohani notes, “not all of these [explorers] had any direct impact on the course of our recent history. Nevertheless, with each trip, the map of the Arctic became more European and then our land itself started to be claimed by outsiders.”³⁶ The foundation for the loss of language (and land) was first established by those travelling in these places, using their languages over those who inhabited it, and collecting knowledge from them. Much (and then again, not so much) has been written about the use of language as a colonial tool in contact situations, either the imposition of the language of the colonial power or, as is more frequent in this case, the strategic learning and use of Indigenous languages by imperial agents as a means of gaining a foothold in new areas and expanding influence, and later imposition of power and control.³⁷

³⁴ Sohani, “5000 Years of Inuit History and Heritage,” 6.

³⁵ See e.g. Laura J. Murray, “Vocabularies of Native American Languages: A Literary and Historical Approach to an Elusive Genre,” *American Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (2001): 590–623, <https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2001.0039>.

³⁶ Sohani, “5000 Years of Inuit History and Heritage,” 10.

³⁷ See e.g. James Errington, *Linguistics in a Colonial World: A Story of Language, Meaning, and Power* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008); Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

This strategic learning of Inuktitut and also later imposition of English is clear in the trajectories of especially the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and missionaries that encountered Inuit in what is now Nunavut and Nunavik. Renée Fossett notes that Inuit boys were sometimes employed for a year or two at a time in the eighteenth century by HBC sloopmasters heading north of Fort Prince of Wales into the Kivalliq region,³⁸ and were sometimes sent south to the fort "in order to get interpreters of their Language & to know w[ha]t their country afforded,"³⁹ and so that the Inuit children might learn English and act as "language and cultural interpreters" after they returned home.⁴⁰ This practice of sending Inuit boys south to Fort Prince of Wales with sloopmasters to learn English and/or Cree and act as interpreters was repeated sporadically from throughout the eighteenth century.⁴¹ Expeditions by men such as Franklin, Ross, Rae and Parry in search of a northwest passage in the early nineteenth century also involved the employment of and collection of knowledge from Inuit for geographical and subsistence information.⁴² These and other practices of linguistic knowledge exchange, particularly traders and other HBC employees learning Indigenous languages through relationships with Indigenous women, is not often explicitly noted in the records, although it was critical to the eventual success HBC had in controlling the fur market in what is now Canada, and the land and resources associated with it.⁴³

³⁸ North of present-day Manitoba along the western coast of Hudson Bay.

³⁹ "Memorandum of my abode in hudsons bay from 1683 to 1722" HBCA, E.199/1, 104.

⁴⁰ Renée Fossett, *In Order to Live Untroubled: Inuit of the Central Arctic, 1550-1940* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001), 93.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 108–13.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 115–67.

⁴³ For thorough explorations of trader relationships with Indigenous women, see the foundational works of Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg, Man: Watson & Dwyer, 1999) and Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (UBC Press, 1980), and for discussion specifically of linguistic dimensions of trader relationships, see Julia V. Emberley, "'A Gift for Languages': Native Women and the Textual Economy of the Colonial Archive," *Cultural Critique*, no. 17 (1990): 21–50, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1354138>; George Lang, "Voyageur Discourse and the Absence of Fur Trade Pidgin," *Canadian Literature* 131 (1991): 51–63.

What has survived are various codifications of Indigenous languages in the forms of dictionaries and grammars that were meant to educate incoming HBC employees so as to more effectively interact with their clientele. Reports and evaluations of employees also included an assessment of their abilities to communicate with the local populations, and could figure into their advancement or demotion; first these assessments were piecemeal, but later, as evaluations were standardized in the Fur Trade Department created in the early 1900s, it was a standing field to be filled in.⁴⁴ It would also be inappropriate to make such a hard and fast boundary between “company” and “locals,” not just in Inuit Nunangat, but wherever HBC established a presence – Inuit and other Indigenous community members were often employed at posts, and their communities and histories were intertwined.⁴⁵ Evidence of interactions with and employment of Indigenous language speakers can be found in many HBC records – from word lists found jotted in post journals, like those kept by Peter Fidler, to transitory bookkeeping records written in syllabics that have survived that were created by HBC employees in places like Mansel Island (Pujjunaq), NWT.⁴⁶ These records were created and collected at HBC posts and administrative centres, and then sent across the Atlantic Ocean to HBC’s headquarters in London.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ See e.g. Scott P. Stephen, “Masters and Servants: The Hudson’s Bay Company and Its Personnel, 1668-1782” (Ph.D., University of Manitoba, 2006), 157, <http://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/handle/1993/230> for linguistic competency leading to promotion in the 1600s-1700s; see Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, Archive of Manitoba, “Sample personnel dossier,” Personnel Division, Fur Trade Department, [ca. 1941], RG3/41C/1 for twentieth century HBC personnel forms.

⁴⁵ For more on HBC and Indigenous groups as a shared “community of memory”, see Michelle Rydz, “Participatory Archiving: Exploring a Collaborative Approach to Aboriginal Societal Provenance” (Master of Arts, Winnipeg, University of Manitoba, 2010), <http://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/xmlui/handle/1993/4247>.

⁴⁶ Moffat, “Land, Language and Learning,” 61; “Archives of Manitoba - Peter Fidler Fonds Description,” accessed April 14, 2020, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/PAM_DESCRIPTION/DESCRIPTION_DET_REP/SISN%202961?sessionsearch; Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba, “Mansel Island Blotter Description,” Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed February 16, 2020, http://pam.minisisinc.com/SCRIPTS/MWIMAIN.DLL/125234284/DESCRIPTION_LINK/REFD/14593?JUMP.

⁴⁷ Deidre Simmons, “The Archives of the Hudson’s Bay Company,” *Archivaria* 42 (January 1996): 70–71.

HBC had an early presence in the Kivalliq region, and slightly later, in the mid to late nineteenth century, in Nunavik along the coast of Hudson Bay and Hudson Strait. In the early twentieth century, they pushed an expansion into the area they termed the Eastern Arctic, particularly Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin Island), and established trading posts through the 1900s-1920s.⁴⁸ The increased establishment of trading posts, particularly by HBC, the influx of missionaries and the establishment of missions, and the establishment of RCMP stations, usually near HBC posts, characterized the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. This era saw an acceleration of the disruption of Inuit modes of living, increased exposure to illness, and the start of European intervention into Inuit culture, language, education, and religion. This was a period of transition, from intruders learning Inuktitut in order to carry out their functions (“exploring,” resource extraction and conversion) to more forcefully and comprehensively imposing their own languages – namely English and French – as the languages of interaction on Inuit inhabitants.⁴⁹

The influx of Anglican and Catholic missionaries had a significant impact on Inuit culture and lifeways from the late nineteenth century onwards, including their languages.⁵⁰ Like traders, missionaries often began by learning the language of the people they were ministering to: “the missionaries always recognized that by learning Aboriginal languages and translating religious texts into those languages they were facilitating their ability to make Aboriginal converts.”⁵¹ Missionaries were also often proponents of Indigenous literacy as a means to

⁴⁸ Fossett, *In Order to Live Untroubled*; “Nunavut | HBC Fur Trade Post Map | Hudson’s Bay Company Archives | Archives of Manitoba,” accessed April 14, 2020, https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/resource/cart_rec/postmap/nunavut.html; “Québec | HBC Fur Trade Post Map | Hudson’s Bay Company Archives | Archives of Manitoba,” accessed April 14, 2020, https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/resource/cart_rec/postmap/quebec.html#north-qc.

⁴⁹ Moffat, “Land, Language and Learning”; Fossett, *In Order to Live Untroubled*; Sohani, “5000 Years of Inuit History and Heritage.”

⁵⁰ In Labrador/Nunatsiavut, Moravian missionaries actually predated traders, establishing missions in throughout the 18th century.

⁵¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*, vol. 2, Canada’s Residential Schools: The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (Montreal: McGill-

encourage conversion, and usually translated the Bible (or parts of it) into the Indigenous language they were targeting – until the 1950s, rudimentary mission schools were established and run in Nunavut and Nunavik to provide training in literacy and Christian values.⁵² These schools were the precursors to the residential and day schools and hostels that were later built, which were also run by religious orders; these will be discussed later in this chapter. While missionaries initially encouraged literacy (of Christian texts) in Inuktitut, they would later impose English or French as the language of instruction.

For Inuit, different missionaries at different times introduced different orthographies, leading to nine different writing systems between twelve main Inuktitut dialects. Moravians in Nunatsiavut, starting in the 1770s, introduced a writing system using the same roman characters that English uses, which also became the characters of use in the Inuvialuit region, although each region's use of the characters was different.⁵³ In Nunavik, syllabic script was introduced by Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries John Horden and Edwin Arthur Watkins in the 1850s.⁵⁴ Syllabics originated in the Cree community of Norway House in the early 1800s, likely from a Cree source, although they have often exclusively been credited to CMS missionary James Evans, who was stationed there in the 1830s; Cree oral histories have attributed their origin to the spirit world, and have indicated that part of syllabics' function would eventually be

Queen's Press-MQUP, 2015), 24,

http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Final%20Reports/Volume_2_Inuit_and_Northern_English_Web.pdf.

⁵² Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*; Moffat, "Land, Language and Learning."

⁵³ "Project Naming - Inuktitut: In the Way of the Inuit - the Inuktitut Language," Library and Archives Canada, January 29, 2009, <https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/inuit/020018-1200-e.html>; Canadian Geographic, "Inuit - Inuktitut Writing Systems," Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada, Last updated 2020, <https://indigenouspeoplesatlasofcanada.ca/article/language/>.

⁵⁴ Kenn Harper, "The Early Development of Inuktitut Syllabic Orthography," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 9, no. 1 (1985): 141–62; Miron Kahlan, "One Tiny Book Contains a Big Piece of Inuit History," Nunatsiaq News, December 11, 2019, <https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/this-tiny-book-contains-a-big-piece-of-inuit-history/>; "Inuit - Inuktitut Writing Systems."

to preserve the language.⁵⁵ Eventually, syllabic text was adapted for other Inuktit dialects throughout Nunavut and Nunavik, and became the standard writing systems there, notably spread through Dr. Rev. Edmund James (E.J.) Peck, a missionary who traveled widely in Nunavik and Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin Island) from the 1870s-1920s.⁵⁶

Peck was also an amateur ethnographer and linguist, collecting knowledge and creating materials such as religious writings, dictionaries and grammars of Inuktitut, and becoming a leading authority on Inuit culture in European and North American circles. As with most Indigenous peoples globally, Inuit were also subject to significant anthropological and ethnographic research and collection. For Inuit, these encounters began in earnest in the late 1880s with Franz Boas, and continued into the 1900s with Peck and others, notably Vilhjalmur Steffansson from Denmark and Knud Rasmussen, of Danish and Greenlandic (Kallalit) heritage.⁵⁷ The ethnographic urge of this time in history was propelled on the one hand by the need to categorize and classify groups of people based on their ethnicity into racial hierarchies that provided justification for and reinforced existing power structures established by global imperialism, slavery and colonialism by Europeans, and on the other hand by the effects of that colonialism, namely dislocation, disease, assimilation and death, which created a narrative of the “dying” or “disappearing Indian” in need of documentation before they were gone, both literally and as a cultural entity.

⁵⁵ Winona Stevenson (Wheeler), “Calling Badger and the Symbols of the Spirit Languages: The Cree Origins of the Syllabic System,” *Oral History Forum/Forum d’histoire Orale* 19 (2000): 19–24; Neal McLeod, “Cree Narrative Memory,” *Oral History Forum/Forum d’histoire Orale* 19 (2000): 38–39.

⁵⁶ Harper, “The Early Development of Inuktitut Syllabic Orthography”; “Inuit - Inuktit Writing Systems.” Peck is often erroneously credited with introducing syllabic script to Inuktit speakers because of his influence in spreading it.

⁵⁷ Moffat, “Land, Language and Learning,” 59–60; Fossett, *In Order to Live Untroubled*, xi–xiii. Earlier encounters with Inuit, such as Martin Frobisher in the 1570s, had led to Europeans “collecting” Inuit artifacts and even living Inuit, to bring back to Europe for display and study; but the collection that characterized anthropology was not carried out wholesale among Inuit until the late nineteenth c.

Often termed “salvage anthropology” or “salvage ethnography,” this impulse resulted in the wholesale collection of Indigenous things: physical things, like sacred or ceremonial objects, clothing, art, items for daily use, grave goods, and even the remains of ancestors and living humans; and more esoteric things, such as ceremonies and spiritual practices and beliefs, stories and songs, traditional ecological, botanical and medical knowledge, and language. These things were studied and extracted from their communities of origin, often without consent (or true understanding), and taken far away to European or settler homes, where they were kept in private collections or public institutions such as museums and archives. The stated goal for this extraction was the preservation of Indigenous peoples and cultures, with the understanding that Indigenous peoples themselves would be gone before long, and would not have need to see or experience these things again.⁵⁸ Many of these objects and records are still held by colonial institutions, and are inaccessible to the communities they came from.

Linguistic research and documentation was a significant part of the collecting impulse of the heyday of the anthropological turn. As Brian Carpenter put it, “colonial expansion, land theft, and resource extraction created this presumption of disappearance, and directly enabled researchers’ drive to document these languages.”⁵⁹ This includes both written records of Indigenous languages, such as dictionaries and grammars, and later on sound and moving image or audio-visual recordings of first language speakers. As mentioned above, the documentation of language could include a wide array of Indigenous knowledge, including songs, oral traditions,

⁵⁸ Among many other works, see Carol Payne and Jeffrey Thomas, “Aboriginal Interventions into the Photographic Archives: A Dialogue between Carol Payne and Jeffrey Thomas,” *Visual Resources* 18, no. 2 (2002): 109–25, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01973760290011789> for a discussion of the trope of the “disappearing Indian.” See also William Russell, “The White Man’s Paper Burden: Aspects of Records Keeping in the Department of Indian Affairs, 1860–1914,” *Archivaria* 19 (1984): 50–72.

⁵⁹ Brian Carpenter, “Archival Initiatives for the Indigenous Collections at the American Philosophical Society,” Society of American Archivists, Case Studies on Access Policies for Native American Archival Materials, February 2019, 2, https://www2.archivists.org/sites/all/files/Case_1_Archival_Initiatives_for_Indigenous_Collections.pdf.

oral histories, ceremonies, spiritual beliefs, ecological or medicinal knowledge, and other traditional knowledge. Researchers were not always particularly scrupulous in obtaining consent for recording or archiving, and then deposited linguistic records in academic repositories far from the communities they came from. Often community members were not informed, and may not know, that these recordings of their ancestors, family members or even themselves exist in a faraway archives.⁶⁰ More recently, with the rise of documentary linguistics and a focus on “endangered” languages, the rhetoric surrounding linguistic documentation has often framed it as an imperative of linguistic diversity – that the loss of languages is a loss to the global community – rather than specifically located in real communities, with real people’s lives affected by it.⁶¹

This ethnographic/anthropological collection was carried on not only by other researchers, but by HBC. This is evident in many of the “explorers” and surveyors that HBC sent out, particularly in the nineteenth century, such as Peter Fidler and David Thompson, who collected and documented Indigenous knowledge of geography and the natural world in particular. But it manifested most clearly through research undertaken for their publication *The Beaver* (est. 1920) and later the *Moccasin-Telegraph* (1941-1990) for northern posts. *The Beaver* began as a staff newsletter, meant to unify employees of very disparate backgrounds,

⁶⁰ Ryan Henke and Andrea L. Berez-Kroeker, “A Brief History of Archiving in Language Documentation, with an Annotated Bibliography,” *Language Conservation and Documentation* 10 (2016): 411–57.

⁶¹ See e.g. Jane H. Hill, “‘Expert Rhetorics’ in Advocacy for Endangered Languages: Who Is Listening, and What Do They Hear?,” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 12, no. 2 (2002): 119–33; Leanne Hinton, “Commentary: Internal and External Language Advocacy,” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 12, no. 2 (2002): 150–56; Lise M. Dobrin, Peter K. Austin, and David Nathan, “Dying to Be Counted: The Commodification of Endangered Languages in Documentary Linguistics,” in *Proceedings of Conference on Language Documentation and Linguistic Theory*, ed. Peter K. Austin, Oliver Bond, and David Nathan (London: SOAS, 2007), 59–68, http://www.hrelp.org/publications/ldlt/papers/dobrin_austin_nathan.pdf; Bernard Perley, “Remembering Ancestral Voices: Emergent Vitalities and the Future of Indigenous Languages,” in *Responses to Language Endangerment: In Honour of Mickey Noonan. New Directions in Language Documentation and Language Revitalization*, ed. Elena Mihas et al., vol. 142, Studies in Language Companion Series (John Benjamins Publishing, 2013), 243–70; Gary Holton, “Language Archives: They’re Not Just for Linguists Any More,” *Language Conservation and Documentation Special Publication* 3 (2012): 105–10; Patrick Eisenlohr, “Language Revitalization and New Technologies: Cultures of Electronic Mediation and the Refiguring of Communities,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33, no. 1 (2004): 21–45, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.33.070203.143900>.

occupations and geographical locations with a sense of shared community and morale, but shifted its focus in the early 1930s to an outside audience, promoting a vision of HBC's imperial and colonial commercial endeavours as central parts of Canadian history and contemporary nation-building.⁶² It included regular features on Indigenous peoples and Indigenous topics by both anthropologist "experts" and amateur ethnographers, both HBC employees and tourists, reinforcing existing tropes on the primitivity and soon disappearance of Indigenous societies, especially in contrast to their "modern" settler audiences. Editors of the magazine like Malvina Bolus and Helen Burgess collected this knowledge, including stories, rituals, and spiritual practices, sometimes recorded in the language, and maintained it in files, to be included in the magazine as needed to support its ideological purposes.⁶³

These files were kept in the Hudson's Bay House Library (HBHL), which was established in 1920 at HBC's base for Canadian operations in Winnipeg to support the endeavours of *The Beaver*, and to promote the history of HBC within its commercial enterprises; both of these strategies "required a comprehensive and easily accessible source of historical reference material...including photographs, books, works of art and maps [...] As its original function began to expand, the library acquired and preserved archival records related to HBC history."⁶⁴ Also in the 1920s, the Archives Department was established in London, England to administer HBC's accumulated corporate records, and to similarly support HBC goals of controlling the narrative of their history.⁶⁵ Many of the records included in the archives pertained

⁶² Joan Sangster, *The Iconic North: Cultural Constructions of Aboriginal Life in Postwar Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016), 71–72.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 69–102.

⁶⁴ HBCA, AM, "'Hudson's Bay House Library' Authority Record," Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed December 9, 2019, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/PAM_AUTHORITY/AUTH_DESC_DET_REP/SISN%201577?sessionsearch.

⁶⁵ Simmons, "The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company."

directly to their interactions with and collection of information from their Indigenous partners. These records were all kept far from the places they were created, and inaccessible to the peoples who contributed to them or were documented.

For the first half of the twentieth century, the RCMP functioned as the federal government's administration in the eastern Arctic, including the establishment of stations starting in 1903, often near or in conjunction with HBC posts, and the creation of the Eastern Arctic Patrol (EAP), an annual tour of sites in Nunavik and Nunavut beginning in 1922 that was later shared with HBC, medical professionals and researchers.⁶⁶ The EAP is a microcosm of the interrelationships between the government, HBC and researchers that existed in those regions from the 1920s-1960s. The two longest-serving vessels for the EAP were the HBC ship *Nascopie* (1931-1947) and the federal government ship *C.D. Howe* (1950-1969); on the *Nascopie*, traders, tourists and researchers visited various Inuit communities to conduct their business and have exotic travel adventures, while on the *C.D. Howe*, government officials, researchers and doctors went to communities to study, treat, and often remove Inuit from their homes for treatment in southern hospitals.⁶⁷ Inuit in Inukjuak in 2004 remembered the *C.D. Howe* with pain, recalling that “most [Inuit who were taken to be treated] were snatched from their families with no goodbyes, no chance to pack belongings and no idea they would spend years – or lifetimes – away from home.”⁶⁸ The researchers and officials who traveled with the EAP, such as Helen Burgess, the Information Officer for the Department of Northern Affairs in the mid-1960s (and

⁶⁶ C. S. Mackinnon, “Canada’s Eastern Arctic Patrol 1922–68,” *Polar Record* 27, no. 161 (April 1991): 93–101, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247400012213>.

⁶⁷ Ibid.; HBCA, Archives of Manitoba, “Ungava District bay voyage records of “Nascopie,” 1933-1940, RG3/26F/1.

⁶⁸ Graeme Smith, “Ship’s Passage Opens Old Wounds for Inuit,” *The Globe and Mail*, July 10, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20180219174500/https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/ships-passage-opens-old-wounds-for-inuit/article954390/>.

later editor of *The Beaver* at HBC), used the opportunity to study and collect from the Inuit they encountered as well, participating in the amateur anthropology that so many did at that time.⁶⁹

The removal of Inuit for medical treatment in sanatoria in the south, particularly for tuberculosis, which had infected a significant proportion of Inuit by the 1950s, was a break in the intergenerational transmission of culture and language.⁷⁰ Similar to residential schools, hostels, and the contemporary child welfare system, which will be discussed shortly, the lack of medical facilities and resources in Inuit Nunangat meant that Inuit were removed to travel long distances to institutions that were not culturally competent, and were in many cases discriminatory, for life-saving treatment, leaving their families and loved ones behind; children could lose their parents or care-givers, and vice versa. While medical facilities have improved somewhat in Nunavut and Nunavik since the 1950s, many Inuit still need to travel serious distances to large southern urban centres such as Winnipeg, Ottawa and Montreal to receive specialized treatment, and could be separated from their families and communities for a long time.⁷¹

The EAP was also a crucial mechanism in the assignment of identification numbers by the government.⁷² Naming as a language-, cultural- and kinship-contingent practice was disrupted many times over by missionaries and governments – as with other areas across the globe, missionaries baptized individuals with “Christian names”, both as a sign of civilization

⁶⁹ HBCA, AM, “Helen Burgess Oral Interview Recordings’ Description,” Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed December 28, 2019, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/PAM_DESCRIPTION/DESCRIPTION_DET_REP/SISN%2016723?sessionsearch.

⁷⁰ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 2:74.

⁷¹ See e.g. Cameron McKenzie, “Medevac and Beyond: The Impact of Medical Travel on Nunavut Residents” *Journal of Aboriginal Health* 9 (July 31, 2015): 80–88, <https://doi.org/10.18357/ijih92201214365>; Juhi Sohani, “Comprehensive Report on the Social Determinants of Inuit Health” (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, November 19, 2014), 31–34, <https://www.itk.ca/social-determinants-comprehensive-report/>; Samir Shaheen-Hussain, “Separating Sick Inuit Kids and Parents Is Medical Colonialism All over Again,” *The Guardian*, May 17, 2018, sec. World news, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/commentisfree/2018/may/17/separating-sick-inuit-kids-from-their-parents-is-medical-colonialism-all-over-again>.

⁷² Smith, “Ship’s Passage Opens Old Wounds for Inuit.”

and because Europeans found pronouncing Inuit names difficult. However, Inuit in Canada were also subjected to further disruptions of their naming practices through a series of interventions by the Canadian government. In 1941, federal policy began assigning Inuit numbers as unique identifiers known as “Eskimo numbers” or “Eskimo disks”, as they found Inuktitut names too difficult to understand or keep track of, and this practice continued until the 1970s. In 1966, the government introduced Project Surname, meant to replace the disk numbers as a means of identification, by giving Inuit surnames in keeping with Euro-Canadian traditions of identifying people and families, rather than trying to understand how Inuit naming practices functioned. Both of these means of identifying Inuit have had mixed reactions from Inuit themselves, according to interviews. Some Inuit were proud of their unique numbers, while others found being identified by a number instead of a name dehumanizing; similarly, some Inuit embraced the integration into a Canadian identity that a family surname provided, while others criticized the attempt for suppressing Inuit practices.⁷³

From the 1930s to the 1970s, various developments encouraged, compelled, and forced Inuit to abandon their traditional lifestyle of mobility in small camps to settle in more permanent locations with larger populations, which had begun to happen more organically with the establishment of missions and trading posts earlier in the century. Asserting Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic, both for “national security” in the context of World War II and the Cold War and to lay claim to significant natural resources for exploitation, appears to be the

⁷³ Sarah Bonesteel and Erik Anderson, *Canada's Relationship with Inuit: A History of Policy and Program Development* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2008), 37–40, https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-INTER-HQ/STAGING/texte-text/inuit-book_1100100016901_eng.pdf; Moffat, “Land, Language and Learning,” 69–72; Michelle Filice, “Project Surname,” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Historica Canada, December 11, 2015), <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/project-surname>.

main driver of government interest and intervention in Inuit Nunangat in this period. As NISR recounts,

the majority of Inuit lived at seasonal camps on the land prior to World War II. Many families were coerced or relocated into permanent settlements by the federal government in the early 1950s in order to streamline the administration and provision of services such as education and healthcare. In settlements, stressors such as household crowding, infectious diseases, and the adverse effects of residential schooling converged on many families against a backdrop of rapid social, spiritual, and economic upheaval.⁷⁴

This concentration of populations was also facilitated by the killing of sled dogs (*qimmiit*) by the RCMP in the 1950s, leaving many Inuit unable to travel as they did before to their outpost camps.⁷⁵ The limited mobility of Inuit in this period led to a decline in traditional activities and an increase in the use of non-Inuit languages for the delivery of education, medical and social services; these developments also led to an influx of non-Inuit workers to provide these services into Inuit Nunangat, a trend which has grown since that time.

In this period, the government also became invested in the formal education of Inuit children, which had been established by church missions in a limited way previous to 1950. One of the main contributors to Inuit population convergence was the desire for Inuit families to be close to their children as they attended the schools the federal government established.⁷⁶ As with other Indigenous peoples in Canada, one of the most significant factors in the decline of Inuktitut language use and transmission, through conditioning to assimilation or death, was the residential school system, developing out of earlier mission schools in the late 1800s and continuing through the 1990s; the last school was not closed until 1996, and the last residence hall was not

⁷⁴ Ishulutak, “NISR,” 9.

⁷⁵ Qikiqtani Inuit Association, “Qikiqtani Truth Commission Final Report: Achieving Saimaqatigiingniq” (Iqaluit, NU: Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2013), <https://www.qtccommission.ca/en/reports/qtc-final-report-achieving-saimaqatigiingniq>.

⁷⁶ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 2:74.

converted until 1997.⁷⁷ Schools were not established for Inuit to attend in what is now Nunavut and Nunavik until the establishment of a residential hall in Chesterfield Inlet (Igluligaarjuk) in 1954, although prior to that Inuit children from those areas might be sent west or south; in the early period before the 1950s, many government and church officials believed that Inuit would not be well served by a boarding school education, as it would not properly prepare them for either integration into white society or their traditional lifeways.⁷⁸ However, into the 1970s, students from Nunavut and Nunavik could also be sent thousands of kilometers from their families and home communities to the large hostels established in the Western Arctic, like in Inuvik or Yellowknife, or the vocational school in Churchill, Manitoba.⁷⁹ Through the 1950s-1970s, the strategy the Canadian government used for what was then the Northwest Territories and Arctic Québec was to establish a number of vocational schools, federal hostels and day schools to educate Inuit children.⁸⁰

Residential schools and hostels were incredibly detrimental to all aspects of Indigenous life. Schools were notoriously poorly maintained, often overcrowded, frequently subject to outbreaks of infectious diseases, and poorly supplied with food that was nutritious or what students were accustomed to eating, particularly in northern communities, all due to severe underfunding by the Canadian government.⁸¹ Beyond this material neglect, children were often worked more than educated, and could be subject to physical, emotional and sexual abuse by the non-Indigenous school staff that caused pain, humiliation, enduring trauma and even death;

⁷⁷ Olive Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of the Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2009), 305–12; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 2:167.

⁷⁸ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 2:46–47.

⁷⁹ See e.g. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2:25–26, 29, 101.

⁸⁰ Bonesteel and Anderson, *Canada's Relationship with Inuit*; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*.

⁸¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*.

lateral violence could also be experienced from fellow students, who had either undergone or witnessed abuse themselves.⁸² If nothing more sinister or lethal occurred, at the very least children were separated from their families for months (and for Inuit, due to the often large distances between home and school, sometimes years) at a time, including not being allowed to have contact with siblings of the opposite gender who were at the same school, causing ruptures in family structures as well as “tremendous loneliness.”⁸³ This separation often happened under coercive circumstances, and was both made possible and enforced by the resources and staff of the federal government, the RCMP and, to a lesser extent, HBC.⁸⁴

As a central part of the education they received, Indigenous children were forbidden to exhibit their traditional cultures, and “warned not to let a word of their language pass their lips” while in the care of the school; Lorena Sekwan Fontaine notes that “language was the vehicle to replace Aboriginal culture with core European concepts and values.”⁸⁵ This was reinforced by punishments such as being spanked, having their heads submerged in buckets of water, being forced to eat soap, or having pins stuck in their tongues, among many others.⁸⁶ As the TRC report focusing on Inuit experiences states, “the schools often appeared to be unrelenting in their hostility to Aboriginal languages,” and “the loss of language skills created real anxieties for the students when they returned to their home communities” – one student noted that “we learned to

⁸² Ibid., Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, 2015, http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2015/trc/IR4-7-2015-eng.pdf; Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, and Dunbar, “Is Nunavut Education Criminally Inadequate?,” 11.

⁸³ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 2:38.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 102–8.

⁸⁵ Suzanne Fournier and Ernie Crey, *Stolen from Our Embrace: The Abduction of First Nations Children and the Restoration of Aboriginal Communities* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1998), 57; Fontaine, “Redress for Linguicide,” 187.

⁸⁶ Peter Irniq, “The Staying Force of Inuit Knowledge,” in *A Will to Survive: Indigenous Essays on the Politics of Culture, Language, and Identity*, ed. Stephen Greymorning (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 2004), 19; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 2:24.

become ashamed of [our own language] and that divided us from our families.”⁸⁷ Even after the last residential school closed, the legacy of this specific language policy of not speaking Indigenous languages across North America continues in more and less obvious ways. As recently as February 7, 2012, a Menominee student in Wisconsin made headlines for being suspended for speaking her Indigenous language to a friend in class.⁸⁸ These and other countless examples of relentless physical and sexual abuse that many school survivors experienced have prevented them from identifying with their families or cultures or learning those cultural traditions or languages in the first place, and left them unable to pass these traditions and languages on to their children.⁸⁹ This was a significant disrupter of intergenerational language transmission, for “as with other forms of Indigenous knowledge, mastery of language relied primarily on oral transmission, careful observation, family ties, community events, and subsistence activities.”⁹⁰

Motivations for Inuit continuing to participate willingly in the residential school system often also revolved around questions of language in an era of the increasing use of English (and in some areas, French) as the language of government, commerce, religion, medicine and other aspects of white settler society that were becoming more necessary for Inuit to engage with. As the TRC report notes, in the period between the 1930s and the 1950s,

despite such [negative] experiences, Inuit families recognized the value of education. In [Inuk survivor] Masak’s recollection, families might send one child to boarding school “because we needed someone to be able to translate what the white man was saying about

⁸⁷ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 2:24, 29, 38.

⁸⁸ ICTMN staff, “Student Suspended for Speaking Native American Language,” Indian Country Today Media Network.com, February 7, 2012, <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2012/02/07/student-suspended-speaking-native-american-language-96340>.

⁸⁹ See various survivors quoted throughout Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*; Fontaine, “Redress for Linguicide,” 191–99.

⁹⁰ Kumiko Murasugi and Monica Ittusardjuat, “Documenting Linguistic Knowledge in an Inuit Language Atlas,” *Études Inuit Studies* 40, no. 2 (2016): 170, <https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.7202/1055437ar>.

the price of fur when he was trading with us, or what the doctor said when one of us was ill.”⁹¹

There were some white people who understood the importance of language, culture, and learning traditional lifeways in the development of education for Indigenous children in the north. For example, “Bishop Breynat [based in the Northwest Territories] campaigned, unsuccessfully, in 1935 to be allowed to introduce Aboriginal languages in the schools to ensure that they did not disappear.”⁹² In 1948, S.J. Bailey recommended summer day schools in the eastern Arctic, advocating that “any teachers hired would be sent north with no other duties for nine months than ‘to learn to speak the Eskimo language’.”⁹³ In 1954,

E. M. Hinds, a teacher at Port Harrison, opposed the summer school idea, telling the committee that, after a long winter, the children would far prefer to spend their summers playing outdoors than sitting in class. Instead, she advocated a system of travelling teachers who would live with the Inuit during the winters. On the question of language, she wrote that “subjects dealing with Eskimo culture should be taught in the Eskimo language, just as in Lapland subjects dealing with Lapp history and culture are taught in the Lapp language.” She added, “If we are genuine in our desire to help the Eskimo we must respect his right to use and retain his own language.” Educators, she felt, had a “duty to keep alive the Eskimo culture.”⁹⁴

However, federal officials decided to maintain the residential system for Inuit for the purpose of saving costs, and moreover used the curriculum developed for southern classrooms, without any cross-cultural preparation required for teachers, and no real attention given to cultural or linguistic education of or for life in Inuit Nunangat.⁹⁵

The model adopted in northern Canada was to establish federal day schools and vocational schools in settlements and to build separate residences they called hostels for Indigenous children who needed to leave their families in order to attend. In a few locations, like

⁹¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 2:39.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 12.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* Note that the use of “Eskimo” and “Lapp”/“Lapland” are considered derogatory and offensive by Inuit and Sa’ami peoples.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 55–56.

Yellowknife, Chesterfield Inlet (Igluligaarjuk), Churchill and Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit), they built “large hostels” or halls that accommodated many children at a time and included high school grades, which had a similar feeling to the former mission-run residential schools. In other small communities in what is now Nunavut and Nunavik, they built “small hostels” that accommodated up to 12 students at a time to attend schools that went up to Grade 6. The small hostel program was meant to allow Inuit children to live in situations that were more familiar to them, under the care of Inuit supervision, and closer to their families, but it was short-lived through the 1960s, as many families settled more permanently in the communities with schools in order to not be separated from their children.⁹⁶

According to the TRC final report on Inuit and Northern experiences, one of the two core aspects of most Inuit federal day school programs was to provide training in English.⁹⁷ The 2019 report on Nunavut linguicide states that

Schools for Inuit were developed later than elsewhere in Canada. They were supposed to be more culturally sensitive to the way of life in the far north. However, the reality was that ‘the impact of residential education in the north was the same as in the south.’ Despite some concern for Inuit languages and work on Inuit orthography, in the 1960s ‘the schools were not bilingual and the language of instruction was certainly not Aboriginal.’ The teachers saw their mission as to ‘make the children “white” and able only to take their place in the outside system.’⁹⁸

In many schools, children were reprimanded for speaking Inuktut, even by Inuit staff; at some, observers noted that children were ridiculed for their imperfect English at the same time. Similarly, the language policy in the large hostels was “to encourage and promote the use of English in pupil residences and in as many out-of-school situations as possible;” although Indigenous languages were not outright banned, they were discouraged, and hostel staff might

⁹⁶ Ibid., 101–62.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 87.

⁹⁸ Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, and Dunbar, “Is Nunavut Education Criminally Inadequate?,” 11.

only speak English.⁹⁹ In the small hostels, English was encouraged, but as the hostels were conceived of as a transitional space from Indigenous to settler society and supervised by Inuit, the use of Inuktitut was supported in theory and policy; however, some experienced lateral abuse, neglect, and isolation at the small hostels, including bullying for speaking different dialects than the local populations.¹⁰⁰

From the 1970s to the 1990s, as responsibility for schools devolved to territorial governments, Inuit who had attended residential school in the Northwest Territories as children became adults who could have an impact on educational policy and be political leaders in their territories. Former Inuit students of residential school such as Piita Irniq, Tagak Curley and John Amagoalik began to take on leadership roles in Canadian governance systems, and to advocate for Inuit rights to land, language, and education on their own terms. They created Inuit political advocacy organizations such as the Northern Québec Inuit Association (NQIA) and Inuit Tapirisit of Canada (ITC), later Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), and were instrumental in the land claims settlements that developed with the federal government in four areas of Inuit Nunangat. The thrust of their critiques of the educational system was a call for local control for Inuit in all things, from having schools locally wherever possible, to a curriculum that was culturally contingent and responsive. A pillar of the Inuit demands for education in their communities was instruction in Inuktitut by Inuit, particularly for the early years.¹⁰¹ In Nunavik, the last federal hostel closed in 1971, and in Nunavut, schools and hostels closed through the 1980s until the last residential hall closed in 1997.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ As quoted in Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 2:92.

¹⁰⁰ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2:92–161.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 169–70; Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, and Dunbar, “Is Nunavut Education Criminally Inadequate?”

¹⁰² Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*, 2:163–80.

The land claims settlements established what eventually became the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (Northwest Territories and Yukon), Nunavik (Arctic Québec), Nunatsiavut (northern Labrador) and Nunavut, including granting jurisdiction over education and the language(s) of use within those regions. In Nunavik, the *James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement* (JBANQ) (1975) created the Inuit-led Kativik School Board to administer education in Nunavik and affirmed the right of members of any municipalities in Nunavik to use and receive municipal services and education in Inuktitut.¹⁰³ The provincial *Charter of the French Language* (1977) “recognizes the right of the Amerinds [sic] and the Inuit of Québec, the first inhabitants of this land, to preserve and develop their original language and culture,” and sections 87-88 protect the status of Inuktitut as a language of education.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, responsibility for education transferred from the Northwest Territories to Nunavut in the *Nunavut Act* (1993), and the Bathurst Mandate (1999) set out the Government of Nunavut (GN) goal of fully bilingual K-12 education and Inuktitut as the working language of the territorial government by 2020.¹⁰⁵

However, educational and child welfare policies that marginalize Inuit and Inuktitut in both Nunavut and Nunavik have continued from the residential/day school era. Although the administration of education and child welfare are under local Inuit control and Inuit have concrete ideas and policies about the development of teacher training and programs, curricula and other supports, these systems are grossly underfunded by the federal government in both

¹⁰³ Secretariat aux affaires autochtones, *James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement and Complementary Agreements* (Québec: Publications du Québec, 1998), https://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/inac-ainc/james_bay-e/jbnq_e.pdf. For municipal regulation, see Section 12, Schedule 2, subsection 8 (also known as the “Kativik Act”); Section 13, Schedule 2, subsection 8 (“Kativik Act, part II”); for education, see Section 17, subsection 59. The Inuktitut dialect spoken in Nunavik is referred to as “Inuttituit” and “Inuit language” throughout this document.

¹⁰⁴ “Charter of the French Language,” Pub. L. No. C-11 (1977), sec. Preamble, 87-88, <http://www.legisquebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/showdoc/cs/C-11>.

¹⁰⁵ Earle, “Ikajjarutit”; Jane George, “Nunavut’s Education Minister Seeks 20-Year Delay to Delivery of Inuktitut Education,” *Nunatsiaq News*, June 5, 2019, <https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/nunavuts-education-minister-seeks-20-year-delay-to-delivery-of-inuktitut-education/>.

Nunavut and Nunavik; in addition, the social, economic and health conditions in those regions are so poor that they impact student motivation and capacity to focus on learning as well as teacher recruitment and retention.¹⁰⁶ Today, Inuit children who want to pursue higher education have a high likelihood of needing to attend in an outside community, in either French or English. For academic-track high schools, such as CEGEP in Québec, Inuit are required not only to travel outside their communities, but are overwhelmingly sent many hundreds of kilometers south, to be boarded (often with non-Inuit families) or live in other residences away from their families and cultures; of the few who do leave for education, many decide to drop out or return home instead.¹⁰⁷ The practice of sending Inuit children south for education in large urban centres such as Winnipeg, Montreal and Ottawa began in the 1960s, when children were boarded with non-Inuit families as well, and can be similarly disruptive and disorienting to children now.¹⁰⁸ This is also true of many programs to train professionals such as teachers, counsellors, psychologists, doctors, lawyers, librarians and archivists, and continues the cycle of non-Inuit, non-Inuktit speakers taking on those positions in Nunavut and Nunavik.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, and Dunbar, “Is Nunavut Education Criminally Inadequate?”; Selena Ross, “For Young Inuit, Getting an Education Can Mean Choosing between Cultures,” *National Observer*, November 1, 2017, <https://www.nationalobserver.com/2017/11/01/news/which-way-knowledge-young-inuit-getting-education-can-mean-choosing-between-cultures>; George, “Nunavut’s Education Minister Seeks 20-Year Delay to Delivery of Inuktit Education”; Julia Page, “Quebec Education Ministry Ignored Pleas to Help Students in Nunavik Succeed, Ombudsman Says,” *CBC News*, October 27, 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/quebec-education-ministry-ignored-pleas-to-help-students-in-nunavik-succeed-ombudsman-says-1.4878146>; Angela Hill, “As School Year Begins, Nunavut and Nunavik Face Major Teacher Shortages,” *CBC News*, August 21, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/teacher-shortage-nunavut-1.5254193>.

¹⁰⁷ “Residential Schools,” Makivik Corporation, Last updated 2019, <https://www.makivik.org/residential-schools/>; Ross, “For Young Inuit, Getting an Education Can Mean Choosing between Cultures”; Becky Rynor, “Learning Their Stories: Inuit Youth Come South to Learn about Life in the North,” *National Observer*, October 18, 2017, sec. Culture, <https://www.nationalobserver.com/2017/10/18/news/learning-their-stories-inuit-youth-come-south-learn-about-life-north>; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, “Inuit Statistical Profile 2018” (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2018), <https://www.itk.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Inuit-Statistical-Profile.pdf>.

¹⁰⁸ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*; Moffat, “Land, Language and Learning.”

¹⁰⁹ Earle, “Ikajarutit”; Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, and Dunbar, “Is Nunavut Education Criminally Inadequate?”; Ross, “For Young Inuit, Getting an Education Can Mean Choosing between Cultures.”

Like other Indigenous peoples, in the aftermath of the effects of residential and day schools, Inuit also have a higher proportion of children that have been apprehended by child protective services than non-Indigenous families, often placing them in non-Inuit families or group homes for care.¹¹⁰ Beginning in the 1950s and into the 1980s, governmental social services engaged in the practice of forcibly removing thousands of Indigenous children, including Inuit, from their homes and families for so-called child protection, and fostering them with (white) Canadian families. Now known as the “Sixties Scoop,” this next assault on the Indigenous family and culture was facilitated by the paternalistic attitude of the government and the perceived inability of Indigenous parents to properly care for their children.¹¹¹ It has been acknowledged more recently that these practices have continued to the present day, as currently there are now more Indigenous children in care than were in attendance at residential schools at their peak, and many talk now of a so-called Millennial Scoop that is ongoing, as the cycle continues.¹¹²

The children in these situations were often not only forbidden to speak their language or practice their culture, but their very identities as Indigenous people were often entirely erased; they were also often neglected or abused, taught to hate their culture, separated from siblings and unable to rejoin their communities, and often ended up alone in urban centres with irreparable

¹¹⁰ Lisa Gregoire, “Half of Canada’s Inuit Foster Kids Live in Non-Inuit Homes: Part III in a Series,” Nunatsiaq News, May 25, 2016, https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/65674half_of_canadas_inuit_foster_kids_live_in_non_inuit_homes_part_iii_in_/; Tom Fennario, “One in Three Inuit Youth in Nunavik Involved with Child Protection Services Quebec Inquiry Hears,” APTN National News, November 21, 2018, <https://aptnnews.ca/2018/11/21/one-in-three-inuit-youth-in-nunavik-involved-with-child-protection-services-quebec-inquiry-hears/>; Jane George, “Reports Slam Youth Protection Services for Inuit Children in Montreal,” Nunatsiaq News, December 20, 2019, <https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/reports-slam-youth-protection-services-for-inuit-children-in-montreal/>.

¹¹¹ Fournier and Crey, *Stolen from Our Embrace*, 30–46, 81–114; “Inuit Can Now Apply to Sixties Scoop Compensation Fund,” Nunatsiaq News, December 3, 2018, <https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/inuit-can-now-apply-to-sixties-scoop-compensation-fund/>.

¹¹² Lauren Krugel, “Child Welfare System Is the New Residential School ‘Monster’, Senator Says,” *Globe and Mail*, October 26, 2018, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-residential-school-monster-now-lives-in-child-welfare-system-2/>; Fennario, “One in Three Inuit Youth in Nunavik Involved with Child Protection Services Quebec Inquiry Hears”; Nico Trocmé, Della Knoke, and Cindy Blackstock, “Pathways to the Overrepresentation of Aboriginal Children in Canada’s Child Welfare System,” *Social Service Review* 78, no. 4 (December 2004): 577–600, <https://doi.org/10.1086/424545>.

damage and a complete disconnect from their roots. Many of these children later suffered substance abuse problems or ended up dead, either by murder or suicide.¹¹³ It is also important to note that these cycles are not in the past – first reported in 2018, public concerns have been raised about Indigenous children, both Inuit and First Nations, being reprimanded for speaking their languages in child welfare and school settings in Québec.¹¹⁴ Continuing the legacy of the disruption of Indigenous families, these traumas continue to prevent many from participating in the intergenerational transmission of language and culture.

Inuit records and archives have remained similarly dislocated – the trends observed earlier in this chapter of archival records being extracted and held outside of Inuit territories continues. As Daniela Agostinho notes,

the reasons invoked for custody claims are often imbued with what post-colonial feminist theorists term ‘paternalistic care’, reminiscent of the sort of care found in colonial discourse that constructs the colonized other as a disempowered subject in need of guidance and protection...while the lack of adequate conditions is a consequence of decades of colonial neglect and abandonment, these conditions are repeatedly severed from colonial exploitation and constructed as an essentially native problem.¹¹⁵

Government and RCMP records are held in archives such as Library and Archives Canada (LAC) in Ottawa and the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BAnQ) in Québec City; records of church bodies and orders tend to be held by their own organizational archives throughout southern Canada, or as the private records of individuals, particularly missionaries, often located in academic or state-run archives; and, of course, collected data and other records, such as recordings and photographs, are contained in the many private fonds of academics and

¹¹³ Fournier and Crey, *Stolen from Our Embrace*, 30–46.

¹¹⁴ Ainslie MacLellan, “Indigenous Youth in Quebec Child Protection Told Not to Speak Their Own Languages, Sources Say,” CBC News, December 12, 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/quebec-indigenous-nakuset-batshaw-language-1.4941393>; Julia Page, “Students Chastized for Speaking Atikamekw, Parents Ask School to Acknowledge ‘It’s 2020,’” News, CBC, February 13, 2020, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/cite-roberval-atikamekw-students-asked-to-speak-french-1.5454206>.

¹¹⁵ Daniela Agostinho, “Archival Encounters: Rethinking Access and Care in Digital Colonial Archives,” *Archival Science* 19, no. 2 (June 2019): 149, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-019-09312-0>.

amateur ethnographers and explorers, which now also often reside in institutional archives.¹¹⁶ These archives are physically distant from Inuit territories, often by thousands of kilometres, and rarely if ever have Inuit had input into how the records are cared for or accessed. There are few archives that exist in Nunavut or Nunavik, and this includes a facility located in the territory to house the records of the Government of Nunavut. When Nunavut was created from the Northwest Territories, the records associated with Nunavut and newly created government records remained at the Prince of Wales Centre in Yellowknife, NWT until 2016, when they were transferred to the Canadian Museum of Nature in Gatineau, QC as part of a stewardship agreement.¹¹⁷ While the decision-making and control of this archives are in Inuit hands, the records themselves are thousands of kilometres away from those who might wish to access them.

Nevertheless, Inuit have been working to reclaim their records, language and cultural heritage, and have been vocal about their resistance to the systems that marginalize their languages and cultures from the early twentieth century. Parents resisted sending their children to residential school throughout their tenure, and otherwise made documented complaints about various aspects of how they were run, including concerns about their children's loss of Inuktitut language skills such as speaking, writing and understanding.¹¹⁸ The prominence of language concerns within both criticisms of educational and political systems as well as proactive

¹¹⁶ See e.g. Payne and Thomas, "Aboriginal Interventions into the Photographic Archives"; Kimberly J. Lawson, "Precious Fragments: First Nations Materials in Archives, Libraries and Museums" (Masters of Library and Information Science, Vancouver, University of British Columbia, 2004), <https://open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/831/items/1.0091657#downloadfiles>; "Project Naming," Library and Archives Canada, May 13, 2015, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/project-naming/Pages/introduction.aspx>; Henke and Berez-Kroeker, "A Brief History of Archiving"; Carpenter, "Archival Initiatives at APS"; "Listing 58 Religious Archives Resources," Archives Canada, accessed April 17, 2020, http://www.archivescanada.ca/car/car_e.asp?l=e&a=b&f=religious.

¹¹⁷ Canadian Museum of Nature, "Nunavut Transfers Territorial Museum and Archival Collections to the Canadian Museum of Nature," Canadian Museum of Nature - Museum News, August 4, 2016, <https://nature.ca/en/about-us/museum-news/news/press-releases/nunavut-transfers-museum-archival-collections-to-cmn>.

¹¹⁸ See E.W. Lyall's letter and others in Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The Inuit and Northern Experience*.

legislation speaks further to their significance, and Inuit are working to hold on to and pass on their cultural practices, knowledge and language through traditional practices and the establishment of their own cultural institutions and standards.

In 1980, the Avataq Cultural Institute was founded in Inukjuak (formerly Great Whale River) with the mission of “protecting and promoting the language and culture of Inuit in Nunavik.”¹¹⁹ Avataq’s website is trilingual in English, French and Inuktitut, and they are also building a database of Inuktitut words and recently released an audioguide of pronunciation of all the Inuit place names in Nunavik.¹²⁰ In 1988, Avataq opened their Documentation Centre, which includes library, archives and research departments, and in addition to supporting and acquiring records from Nunavik Inuit, it has created partnerships with many institutions globally who hold records pertaining to Nunavik, including HBCA and LAC, who share data in the form of copies and transcriptions.¹²¹ While the physical archives is in the administrative office located in Montreal, Avataq is able to serve their local populations closer to where they are, and to be a conduit of records from other institutions. In Nunavut, the Nunavut Libraries Online consortium has developed cataloguing standards for Inuktitut, while in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, the Digital Libraries North project has created a community-driven metadata framework and platform for the delivery of services to Inuit in Inuktitut.¹²²

¹¹⁹ “Institute - Avataq,” accessed April 14, 2020, <https://www.avataq.qc.ca/en/Institute>.

¹²⁰ “Terminology Database - Inuktitut Language - Departments - Institute - Avataq,” accessed November 5, 2019, <http://www.avataq.qc.ca/en/Institute/Departments/Inuktitut-Language/Base-de-donnees-terminologique>; Rukavina, “New Quebec Audio Guide Shows How to Correctly Pronounce Inuktitut Place Names in Nunavik.”

¹²¹ “Archival Centre - The Documentation Center - Research, Library and Archives - Departments - Institute - Avataq,” accessed November 5, 2019, <http://www.avataq.qc.ca/en/Institute/Departments/Research-Library-and-Archives/The-documentation-center/Archival-Centre>; Sarah Gauntlett, “Repatriating Nunavik-Based International Archives for Nunavimmiut: Case Studies from Avataq” (Closer to Home: Indigenous heritage in archives outside Canada symposium, Winnipeg, 2019).

¹²² Earle, “Ikajarutit”; Carol Rigby, “Nunavut Libraries Online Establish Inuit Language Bibliographic Cataloging Standards: Promoting Indigenous Language Using a Commercial ILS,” *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 53, no. 5–6 (July 4, 2015): 615–39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639374.2015.1008165>; Sharon Farnel et al., “A Community-Driven Metadata Framework for Describing Cultural Resources: The Digital Library North Project,” *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 55, no. 5 (July 4, 2017): 289–306,

In the last 15 years, many national and global movements regarding the rights of Indigenous peoples have come to the fore, providing further context and support for Inuit efforts towards language protection and control over their cultural heritage. After a decades-long battle led by Indigenous groups, the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) was passed in 2007, which is a strong, Indigenous-authored statement for the unique, distinct and inherent rights that Indigenous peoples have globally, including ownership of their cultural heritage. Articles 13 and 14 in particular pertain to issues of language, affirming that

[Article 13.1] Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons...

[Article 14.1] Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.¹²³

Articles 11.1 and 31.1 more broadly lay out the rights that Indigenous peoples have

[Article 31.1] to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions...[and] their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions...

[Article 11.1] Indigenous peoples have the right to practise and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature.¹²⁴

Canada did not initially sign on to UNDRIP, but under pressure from Indigenous leaders and communities, it eventually released a statement of support in 2010.¹²⁵ This move was initially

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01639374.2017.1312723>; Ali Shiri and Robyn Stobbs, "Community-driven User Evaluation of the Inuvialuit Cultural Heritage Digital Library," *Proceedings of the Association for Information Science and Technology* 55, no. 1 (January 2018): 440–49, <https://doi.org/10.1002/pr2.2018.14505501048>.

¹²³ UN General Assembly, "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," *UN Wash* 12 (2007): 7.

¹²⁴ UN General Assembly, 11, 6.

¹²⁵ Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, "Canada's Statement of Support on the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," November 12, 2010, <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1309374239861/1309374546142>.

seen as a show of good faith by the Canadian government, but it is important to note that as a declaration, UNDRIP is not legally binding, and there is no mechanism to ensure implementation. Although the Canadian government has made statements to the effect of embracing UNDRIP as a framework for reconciliation and the starting point for nation-to-nation relationships with Indigenous nations, they have not defined what that means or how that would function.¹²⁶ British Columbia recently passed legislation that puts UNDRIP into law, potentially providing a test case for how that would practically function; but recent developments with regards to the pipeline project in unceded Wet'suwet'en territory does not seem to be a promising start for treating Indigenous nations as sovereign in their own territory.¹²⁷

Also in 2007, the federal government launched the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to investigate the abuses perpetrated on Indigenous children in the residential school system, completed in 2015. The TRC's formation and undertaking was similarly thought to signal a fundamental shift in the way that the federal government values its relationships with and responsibility towards Indigenous peoples, and resulted in 94 *Calls to Action*. Five of those specifically deal with "Language & Culture" (Calls 13-17), including the enactment of an "Aboriginal Languages Act" which would enshrine language rights, involving federal funding

¹²⁶ E.g. Joanna Smith, "Canada Will Implement UN Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Carolyn Bennett Says," *Thestar.Com*, November 12, 2015, <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2015/11/12/canada-will-implement-un-declaration-on-rights-of-indigenous-peoples-carolyn-bennett-says.html>; Tim Fontaine, "Canada Now Full Supporter of UN Indigenous Rights Declaration," *CBC News*, May 10, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/canada-adopting-implementing-un-rights-declaration-1.3575272>; James Munson, "Ottawa Won't Adopt UNDRIP Directly into Canadian Law: Wilson-Raybould," *IPolitics* (blog), July 12, 2016, <http://ipolitics.ca/2016/07/12/ottawa-wont-adopt-undrip-directly-into-canadian-law-wilson-raybould/>; John Last, "What Does 'implementing UNDRIP' Actually Mean?," *CBC News*, November 2, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/implementing-undrip-bc-nwt-1.5344825>.

¹²⁷ Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, "FAQ: B.C. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act - Province of British Columbia," accessed December 30, 2019, <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/governments/indigenous-people/new-relationship/frequently-asked-questions-the-united-nations-declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples>; Last, "What Does 'implementing UNDRIP' Actually Mean?"; Amber Bracken, "The Wet'suwet'en Are More United than Pipeline Backers Want You to Think," *Macleans's*, February 14, 2020, <https://www.macleans.ca/opinion/the-wetsuweten-are-more-united-than-pipeline-backers-want-you-to-think/>.

and Indigenous control, in law.¹²⁸ This law, the *Indigenous Languages Act* (Bill C-91), was passed in 2019, but has been criticized by Inuit organizations for failing to consult adequately with Inuit and not addressing their concerns about protections for Inuktitut as a language of everyday use – this will be discussed further below.

Inuit have also recently established their own framework for self-determination in research called the *National Inuit Strategy on Research* (NISR), released by ITK in 2018.¹²⁹ The priority within this strategy that is particularly relevant to language records held by archives is to “ensure Inuit access, ownership, and control over data and information,” including how it is “stored, used and shared.”¹³⁰ Its other priorities include Inuit governance in and ethical conduct of research, to redress and reduce the ways in which harmful research has been conducted up to this point, as discussed earlier in this chapter. As Alesha Moffat notes, “Inuit did not have access to most of the material produced [by ethnographers and other researchers]. Inuit recognize and resent the fact that they were studied, described, recorded, and often romanticized without any interest or benefit for Inuit.”¹³¹

Despite the legislative work done within the settlement regions of Inuit Nunangat, Inuktitut is not federally recognized as an official language, and federal services are not provided in Inuktitut.¹³² It was recently revealed, in fact, that the federal government deliberately prevented the recognition of Inuktitut as an official language as part of the settlement of the land claim that

¹²⁸ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, “Calls to Action” (Winnipeg, 2015), 2, http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf.

¹²⁹ Ishulutak, “NISR.”

¹³⁰ Ishulutak, 4.

¹³¹ Moffat, “Land, Language and Learning,” 60.

¹³² For a more general discussion of a lack of recognition of the official status of Indigenous languages in Canada, see also Fontaine, “Redress for Linguicide.”

culminated in the *Nunavut Act* (1993).¹³³ Subsequent legislation in Nunavut, such as the *Education Act* (2008), *Official Languages Act* (2008) and *Inuit Language Protection Act* (2008) has imbued Inuktitut with equal stature alongside English and French in all areas of territorial jurisdiction, particularly in the delivery of education and services and as a language of daily communication; these measures support the Bathurst Mandate (1999).¹³⁴ However, in the summer of 2019, the territorial government had little choice but to pass the *Interim Language of Instruction Act*, pushing that date back to 2040; and the continued lack of federal recognition for Inuktitut means that federal government services are also not available in Inuktitut in Nunavut.¹³⁵ In response to the TRC *Calls* 14-15, the federal government passed the *Indigenous Languages Act* in 2019, “which is intended to support the reclamation, revitalization, maintaining and strengthening of Indigenous languages in Canada;”¹³⁶ however, Inuit in both Nunavik and Nunavut were critical of the legislation, citing Inuktitut-specific amendments that were rejected.¹³⁷ According to Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (NTI), the organization administering the land claim in Nunavut, “the law does not address issues around accessing public services like health care,

¹³³ John Last, “30-Year-Old Federal Document Shows Plan to ‘block’ Inuktitut Services, Inuit Group Says,” CBC News, December 9, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/30-year-old-federal-document-shows-plan-to-block-inuktitut-services-inuit-group-says-1.5388274>.

¹³⁴ George, “Nunavut’s Education Minister Seeks 20-Year Delay to Delivery of Inuktitut Education.”

¹³⁵ Ibid.; Last, “Inuktitut Block”; Harper, “Will Inuktitut Survive?”; Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, and Dunbar, “Is Nunavut Education Criminally Inadequate?”

¹³⁶ Canadian Heritage, “Indigenous Languages Legislation,” Government of Canada, June 28, 2019, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/campaigns/celebrate-indigenous-languages/legislation.html>.

¹³⁷ “New Indigenous Languages Law Does Not Protect Inuit Languages, Leaders Say,” CBC News, June 27, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuit-languages-bill-c91-nunavut-1.5191796>; “Makivik Says New Indigenous Language Legislation Far From Perfect But Will Continue to Seek Inuit Specific Legislation to Protect Inuktitut,” Makivik Corporation, February 6, 2019, <https://www.makivik.org/makivik-says-new-indigenous-language-legislation-far-from-perfect-but-will-continue-to-seek-inuit-specific-legislation-to-protect-inuktitut/>; Nunatsiaq News, “Inuit Orgs Blast Federal Indigenous Languages Bill,” Nunatsiaq News, February 6, 2019, <https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/itk-slams-federal-indigenous-languages-bill/>; Nunatsiaq News, “Inuit Org Slams Recently Passed Federal Indigenous Languages Bill,” Nunatsiaq News, June 26, 2019, <https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/inuit-org-slams-recently-passed-federal-indigenous-languages-bill/>.

education and justice in Indigenous languages,” and still does not grant Inuktitut official language status in Nunavut.¹³⁸

Enmeshed in these colonial histories and continued policies, English and French are increasingly the languages in which Inuit lives are lived, regardless of where they are located. As Tommy Tatatoapik, an Elder from Arctic Bay (Ikpiarjuk) recently said, “the loss of language is caused in part by changes in the way of life and the increased use of English.”¹³⁹ Beyond this, the legacy of the language policies of residential schools that many Indigenous parents, grandparents and other caregivers endured has made some wary of teaching younger generations their languages; in addition, the report on the state of Nunavut education in 2019 notes that “assumptions about the purported superiority of English, and why it can be seen as ‘natural’ to use it are often internalised subconsciously in a hierarchical ordering of languages,” leading to the ideological position that English must be learned, and it must be at the expense of other languages.¹⁴⁰ Lorena Sekwan Fontaine explains that “Aboriginal communities worry not just about their children’s success in post-secondary institutions, but also about their employment if their education focuses on learning to speak, read, and write in an Aboriginal language. They believe that children’s ability to communicate in one of the official languages will suffer.”¹⁴¹ As an example, “Nunavik kids’ mastery of Inuktitut, while hard-won, helps give them control over their own futures — a pattern that even their own elders don’t always see. The older generation sometimes seems to frown upon Nunavik’s linguistic renaissance, says [Inuk Olivia] Ikey.”¹⁴² It is important to recognize Indigenous people’s agency and diversity in opinions, including on the subject of

¹³⁸ “New Indigenous Languages Law Does Not Protect Inuit Languages, Leaders Say.”

¹³⁹ As quoted in Sara Frizzell, “Arctic Bay Elder Remembers Inuktitut Weather Words Rarely Used Today,” CBC News, December 24, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/tommy-tatatoapik-arctic-bay-elder-1.5039743>.

¹⁴⁰ Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, and Dunbar, “Is Nunavut Education Criminally Inadequate?,” 13.

¹⁴¹ Fontaine, “Redress for Linguicide,” 197–98.

¹⁴² Ross, “For Young Inuit, Getting an Education Can Mean Choosing between Cultures.”

language, and not to impose outside ideals on their communities, as non-Indigenous linguists and legislators sometimes do.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, it should be clear from the preceding discussion that many Inuit are and have been strong advocates for their language, and are working towards a future where Inuktitut is a continued part of their everyday lives.

¹⁴³ For Indigenous control of their language use and vitality, see Bernard Perley, *Defying Maliseet Language Death : Emergent Vitalities of Language, Culture, and Identity in Eastern Canada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011); Sam L. Warner, “Kuleana: The Right, Responsibility, and Authority of Indigenous Peoples to Speak and Make Decisions for Themselves in Language and Cultural Revitalization,” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (1999): 68–93; Natasha Warner, Quirina Luna, and Lynnika Butler, “Ethics and Revitalization of Dormant Languages: The Mutsun Language,” *Language Documentation and Conservation* 1, no. 1 (58-76): 2007.

Chapter Two: Language Records in the Archives: A Case Study at HBCA

Building on the history of Inuit language decline and the role of colonization and extraction in the previous chapter, this chapter will examine the more specific history of settler-colonial archival institutions in the European tradition; I will also discuss a variety of issues that can accompany the identification, acquisition, provenance, documentation, description, preservation, and access provisions of Indigenous records held in those kinds of institutions. For language records held in many (settler) colonial archives, including Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), the biggest issues can be categorized as: **discoverability/searchability** (are salient features identified in a description or research tools? Is there sufficient detail in the description? Are the research tools easily identifiable and available? What terms are used in description or research tools? What fields are searchable? Is the way records are organized easily identified and able to be followed?); **accessibility** (are these records stable/in a format that can be used? Are these records easily accessed onsite? Are they available to remote researchers in some way? Are they accessible to people with visual or other disabilities?); and **access protocols** (was there full consent in the creation and/or archiving of the records? Who owns them/their copyright? Are there restrictions on access imposed by donors or the archives? Who gets a say in how the records are accessed and used?). Through my research at HBCA, I identified several Inuktitut language records that fall into one or more of these categories, and will discuss the various barriers to identification, access and control that currently exist. Some challenges are more easily resolved within an institution than others, and many require a shift in the ways that archives have considered their relationships with their donors and their users, and their responsibilities to those

who have often been considered the “subjects” of their records, as well as the appropriate holders of Indigenous knowledge that might be contained in those records.¹

For much of the twentieth century, the purveyors of Eurocentric archives believed that the records they held and the histories that they supported were neutral, objective, and the so-called “truth,” in the tradition of scientific positivism.² The creation of modernist histories was predicated on the ideas of the universality, coherence, and detachment of Eurocentric historical narratives and records.³ Archivists themselves were considered merely gatekeepers, “hewers of wood and drawers of water,” according to Dominion archivist Douglas Brymner,⁴ rather than actively involved in the construction of knowledge and history through deciding what was determined to be archival, how materials were described and presented, and who received access to them.⁵

In recent decades, archivists have begun to examine their long-held assumptions about their neutrality, lack of agency, and power, embracing and expanding on the theories of postmodernism and poststructuralism. Scholars such as Tom Nesmith, Joan Schwartz, Terry Cook, and Verne Harris have taken especially the ideas of knowledge as a social construct and the archive as a bastion of power, and argued for the recognition of the agency, influence, and

¹ See Michelle Caswell and Marika Cifor, “From Human Rights to Feminist Ethics: Radical Empathy in the Archives,” *Archivaria* 82 (2016): 23–43. For a critical look at this framework, see Daniela Agostinho, “Archival Encounters: Rethinking Access and Care in Digital Colonial Archives,” *Archival Science* 19, no. 2 (June 2019): 141–65, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-019-09312-0>.

² Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, “Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory,” *Archival Science* 2, no. 1–2 (March 1, 2002): 1–2, <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435628>.

³ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2nd ed. (New York: Zed Books, 2012), 31–32.

⁴ As quoted in Laura Millar, “Discharging Our Debt: The Evolution of the Total Archives Concept in English Canada,” *Archivaria* 46 (1998): 106, <http://archivaria.ca.uml.idm.oclc.org/index.php/archivaria/article/view/12677>.

⁵ Schwartz and Cook, “Archives, Records, and Power.” See e.g. Luciana Duranti, “The Concept of Appraisal and Archival Theory,” *The American Archivist* 57, no. 2 (1994): 328–344 for the positivist (“Jenkinsonian”) approach to archival appraisal.

inherent bias that archivists wield daily.⁶ Schwartz and Cook argue that the systems by which archivists operate “occur within socially constructed, but now naturalized frameworks that determine the significance of what becomes archives.”⁷ As Eric Ketelaar puts it, “records are not only a reflection of realities as perceived by the ‘archiver.’ They constitute these realities. And they exclude other realities.”⁸

More recently, scholars such as Michelle Caswell, Marika Cifor, Anthony Dunbar, Gracen Brilmyer and Jarrett Drake have begun to apply theories and models from feminist, queer, disability and critical race studies to archives to further the analysis of power and the construction of harmful paradigms in archival spaces.⁹ These analyses explicitly address whiteness and racism, ableism, classism, colonialism, neoliberalism and other underlying

⁶ Tom Nesmith, “Still Fuzzy, But More Accurate: Some Thoughts on the ‘Ghosts’ of Archival Theory,” *Archivaria* 1, no. 47 (February 16, 1999): 136–50; Tom Nesmith, “Seeing Archives: Postmodernism and the Changing Intellectual Place of Archives,” *The American Archivist* 65, no. 1 (2002): 24–41; Schwartz and Cook, “Archives, Records, and Power”; Terry Cook and Joan M. Schwartz, “Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance,” *Archival Science* 2, no. 3–4 (2002): 171–85, <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435620>; Terry Cook, “‘We Are What We Keep; We Keep What We Are’: Archival Appraisal Past, Present and Future,” *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 32, no. 2 (October 2011): 173–89, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00379816.2011.619688>; Verne Harris, *Exploring Archives: An Introduction to Archival Ideas and Practice in South Africa* (Johannesburg: National Archives of South Africa, 1997); Verne Harris, “The Archival Sliver: Power, Memory, and Archives in South Africa,” *Archival Science* 2, no. 1–2 (2002): 63–86, <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435631>; Rodney G. S. Carter, “Of Things Said and Unsaid: Power, Archival Silences, and Power in Silence,” *Archivaria* 61 (September 25, 2006): 215–33.

⁷ Schwartz and Cook, “Archives, Records, and Power,” 3.

⁸ Eric Ketelaar, “Archival Temples, Archival Prisons: Modes of Power and Protection,” *Archival Science* 2, no. 3–4 (2002): 222, <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435623>.

⁹ See e.g. Michelle Caswell, “Toward a Survivor-Centered Approach to Records Documenting Human Rights Abuse: Lessons from Community Archives,” *Archival Science* 14, no. 3–4 (2014): 307–22, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-014-9220-6>; Caswell and Cifor, “From Human Rights to Feminist Ethics”; Diana K. Wakimoto, Christine Bruce, and Helen Partridge, “Archivist as Activist: Lessons from Three Queer Community Archives in California,” *Archival Science* 13, no. 4 (2013): 293–316, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-013-9201-1>; Anthony W. Dunbar, “Introducing Critical Race Theory to Archival Discourse: Getting the Conversation Started,” *Archival Science* 6, no. 1 (2006): 109–29, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-006-9022-6>; Gracen Brilmyer, “Archival Assemblages: Applying Disability Studies’ Political/Relational Model to Archival Description,” *Archival Science* 18, no. 2 (June 1, 2018): 95–118, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-018-9287-6>; Mario H. Ramirez, “Being Assumed Not to Be: A Critique of Whiteness as an Archival Imperative,” *The American Archivist* 78, no. 2 (2015): 339–56, <https://doi.org/10.17723/0360-9081.78.2.339>; Jarrett M. Drake, “RadTech Meets RadArch: Towards A New Principle for Archives and Archival Description,” Medium, April 7, 2016, <https://medium.com/on-archivy/radtech-meets-radarch-towards-a-new-principle-for-archives-and-archival-description-568f133e4325>; Marika Cifor and Jamie A. Lee, “Towards an Archival Critique: Opening Possibilities for Addressing Neoliberalism in the Archival Field,” *Journal of Critical Library and Information Studies* 1, no. 1 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.24242/jclis.v1i1.10>.

discriminations and exclusions that underpin the way archives have been conceived of into the present day. Indigenous scholars and information professionals such as Jennifer O’Neal, Kay Mathiesen, Lorlene Roy, Kim Lawson and Carmen Miedema have also provided sharp and essential critiques of settler-colonial archives and archival theory, and introduce into the mainstream archival literature notions of Indigenous ways of knowing, methodologies, and existing systems of memory and knowledge organization, preservation and transmission.¹⁰

This idea that Western knowledge and systems can be socially constructed, that the ‘default’ is only a default from a certain perspective, has been difficult for some in the archival field to come to terms with. Even as recently as 2013, archivists such as Mark Greene have argued that archives should (still) strive to be “neutral ground,” in effect disregarding the fact that their “neutral” standards that are not “political” are based in Western epistemologies that may function as the unmarked category, but are no less constructed than any other.¹¹ As recently as 2019, prominent and prolific archivists such as Frank Boles have similarly suggested that archives have no business taking on social justice imperatives, and dismissing the significant

¹⁰ Jennifer R. O’Neal, “‘The Right to Know’: Decolonizing Native American Archives,” *Journal of Western Archives* 6, no. 1 (2015): 1–17; Jennifer R. O’Neal, “From Time Immemorial: Centering Indigenous Traditional Knowledge and Ways of Knowing in the Archival Paradigm,” in *Afterlives of Indigenous Archives: Essays in Honor of The Occom Circle*, ed. Ivy Schweitzer and Gordon Henry (Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Press, 2019), 45–59; Kay Mathiesen, “A Defense of Native Americans’ Rights over Their Traditional Cultural Expressions,” *The American Archivist* 75, no. 2 (2012): 456–481; Marisa Elena Duarte and Miranda Belarde-Lewis, “Imagining: Creating Spaces for Indigenous Ontologies,” *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 53, no. 5–6 (July 4, 2015): 677–702, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639374.2015.1018396>; Camille Callison, Lorlene Roy, and Gretchen Alice LeCheminant, *Indigenous Notions of Ownership and Libraries, Archives and Museums*, vol. 166, IFLA Publications (Berlin, [Germany]: De Gruyter Saur, 2016); Kimberly J. Lawson, “Precious Fragments: First Nations Materials in Archives, Libraries and Museums” (Masters of Library and Information Science, Vancouver, University of British Columbia, 2004), <https://open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/831/items/1.0091657#downloadfiles>; “NRC Forum - David George-Shongo - Day 2 (P11),” Vimeo, accessed May 2, 2020, <https://vimeo.com/21143585>; Carmen Miedema, “Building Bridges: Dismantling Eurocentrism in Archives and Respecting Indigenous Ways of Doing It Right” (Masters, Winnipeg, University of Manitoba, 2020), <https://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/xmlui/handle/1993/34497>.

¹¹ Mark Greene, “A Critique of Social Justice as an Archival Imperative: What Is It We’re Doing That’s All That Important?,” *The American Archivist* 76, no. 2 (2013): 302–34, <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.76.2.14744l214663kw43>; for critiques of this position, see Michelle Caswell, “Not Just between Us: A Riposte to Mark Greene,” *The American Archivist* 76, no. 2 (2013): 605–6, <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.76.2.89324135v02r2q74>; Ramirez, “Being Assumed Not to Be.”

literature on community and critical archival theory.¹² Both of these articles passed peer review and were published in a major archival journal, signalling others who saw nothing wrong with the positions espoused. As Genevieve Weber of the British Columbia Archives notes, “this evolution of the profession [of archival neutrality and standardization] was crucial, and the theories should not be dismissed. However, it is critical to place them in a particular time and recognize that they are inherently a product of the colonial mindset – a mindset that is recognized as not only outdated but also racist, discriminatory, and harmful.”¹³

Moreover, while many archivists have embraced the reflexivity that their positions of power require, they are still the mediators through which archives are delivered – the system is still contingent on the ethical responsibilities of the archivist. In Steven Maynard’s discussion of archives as police, he compares potentially helpful archivists to traffic cops, directing people where they need to go, but also notes that archivists, like the police, can too easily abuse their power, emphasizing surveillance and restriction over access and accountability.¹⁴ The power is still there; relying on the goodwill of individuals in charge of archives does nothing to dismantle the structures that are built into the very core of archives. As Jarrett Drake puts it, “the purpose of the archival profession is to curate the past, not confront it; to entrench inequality, not eradicate it...professionalism emphasizes ‘the work’ – its completion, its evaluation, its perpetuity, etc. – without a meaningful critique of how ‘the work’ mandates a replication of the patriarchy, oppression, and violence many in our world experience.”¹⁵ And while inclusivity,

¹² Frank Boles, “To Everything There Is a Season,” *The American Archivist*, Preprint, 82, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2019): 1–21.

¹³ Genevieve Weber, “From Documents To People: Working Towards Indigenizing the BC Archives,” *BC Studies*, no. 199 (September 2018): 99.

¹⁴ Steven Maynard, “Police/Archives,” *Archivaria* 68 (2009): 171. For a similar discussion of the asymmetrical power of the archivist as caregiver/caretaker, see Agostinho, “Archival Encounters.”

¹⁵ Jarrett M. Drake, “I’m Leaving the Archival Profession: It’s Better This Way,” Medium, June 26, 2017, <https://medium.com/on-archivy/im-leaving-the-archival-profession-it-s-better-this-way-ed631c6d72fe>.

plurality and reflexivity have often been touted as the path forward for archivists in decolonization and diversity efforts, Punzalan, Caswell and Ghaddar, among others, have suggested that “while these have revealed the dominant Western ontologies and epistemologies foundational to archival science, and how archives perpetuate the othering of diverse publics and bodies of knowledge, they have not effectively challenged or altered this state of affairs.”¹⁶

Ultimately, archives can still often be confusing, uninviting and unhelpful spaces, both physically and intellectually, and have not really shifted from the underlying epistemologies that founded them.¹⁷

In Canada, as in other colonial and settler states, archives were further employed as repressive instruments of the colonial system, keeping records that established, reinforced, and justified the actions described in the first chapter. Scholars such as Ann Laura Stoler, Jeannette Bastian, Sue McKemmish, Raymond Frogner, Daniela Agostinho and J.J. Ghaddar have explored the colonial dimension of archives specifically as a tool to document and suppress Indigenous populations, and the importance of recognizing those influences in the archival record and on the relationships that exist between archives and Indigenous communities.¹⁸ As Ghaddar puts it,

¹⁶ J. J. Ghaddar, “The Spectre in the Archive: Truth, Reconciliation, and Indigenous Archival Memory,” *Archivaria* 82 (2016): 7. See also Ricardo L. Punzalan and Michelle Caswell, “Critical Directions for Archival Approaches to Social Justice,” *The Library Quarterly* 86, no. 1 (2015): 25–42, <https://doi.org/10.1086/684145>.

¹⁷ See also William Hagan, “Archival Captive—The American Indian,” *The American Archivist* 41, no. 2 (1978): 135–142; Ketelaar, “Archival Temples, Archival Prisons”; Brett Loughheed, Ry Moran, and Camille Callison, “Reconciliation through Description: Using Metadata to Realize the Vision of the National Research Centre for Truth and Reconciliation,” *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 53, no. 5–6 (2015): 596–614, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639374.2015.1008718>; Kirsten Thorpe and Monica Galassi, “Rediscovering Indigenous Languages: The Role and Impact of Libraries and Archives in Cultural Revitalisation,” *Australian Academic & Research Libraries* 45, no. 2 (2014): 81–100, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00048623.2014.910858>; Weber, “From Documents To People”; Nathan Sentance, “Diversity Means Disruption,” *Archival Decolonist* (blog), September 27, 2019, <https://archivaldecolonist.com/2019/09/27/diversity-means-disruption-2/>.

¹⁸ Ann Laura Stoler, “Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance,” *Archival Science* 2, no. 1–2 (March 2002): 87–109, <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435632>; Jeannette Allis Bastian, “Reading Colonial Records Through an Archival Lens: The Provenance of Place, Space and Creation,” *Archival Science* 6, no. 3–4 (2006): 267–84, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-006-9019-1>; Raymond O. Frogner, ““Lord, Save Us from the Et Cetera of the

significantly, the information, knowledge, and cultures of Indigenous peoples, like their territories, ancestral remains, and possessions, were stolen or coerced from them – not traded, discovered, or given freely. Colonizers love archives, and nothing is more common in the colonial world than the enthusiastic, if rather callous, figure of the academic or artist going about the self-appointed task of preserving – not Indigenous peoples themselves, but a record of them.¹⁹

As such, settler-colonial archives have an obligation to be aware of this history, and their own specific histories, and to actively work to redress those harms.

This analysis applies not only to records of political or social importance, but to language records as well. Early Indigenous language records are often found recorded by non-Indigenous peoples, from non-Indigenous perspectives, written in non-Indigenous orthographies, and, as described in the first chapter, often incidentally collected because they were part of some other process being documented, such as exploration, surveying, or religious conversion. The first records served to facilitate Indigenous/non-Indigenous interactions, but later, they served the function of gathering Indigenous knowledge for imperialist, exploitative and settler-colonial purposes.²⁰ As such, they too are part of the larger colonial archive that was created about what was perceived as dying Indigenous cultures, with the understanding that the documented peoples themselves would never see or have need for these records themselves.²¹ As Indigenous languages began to be recorded with audiovisual and digital media, they were still often archived

Notary': Archival Appraisal, Local Custom, and Colonial Law," *Archivaria* 79 (2015): 121–58; Ghaddar, "The Spectre in the Archive"; Sue McKemmish, Shannon Faulkhead, and Lynette Russell, "Distrust in the Archive: Reconciling Records," *Archival Science* 11, no. 3–4 (2011): 211–39, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-011-9153-2>; Jane Griffith, "Settler Colonial Archives: Some Canadian Contexts," *Settler Colonial Studies* 9, no. 3 (2019): 320–40, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2018.1454699>; Agostinho, "Archival Encounters."

¹⁹ Ghaddar, "The Spectre in the Archive," 3.

²⁰ James Errington, *Linguistics in a Colonial World: A Story of Language, Meaning, and Power* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 4–9; Miedema, "Building Bridges," 57–58.

²¹ Payne and Thomas, "Aboriginal Interventions into the Photographic Archives"; Hagan, "Archival Captive—The American Indian"; Cushman, "Language Perseverance."

not in their own right, but part of academic projects and research by historians, anthropologists, and linguists, who have their own histories of exploitative and extractive research practices.²²

Within this colonial context, there are unsurprisingly many Indigenous communities that have “a strong distrust of archival institutions,” as in the case of the Indigenous people in Australia surveyed in the Trust and Technology project from 2004-2008.²³ In such a situation, Indigenous groups may choose to use archives’ exclusionary power to their advantage, and choose not to participate in non-Indigenous archival systems, letting archival silences carry the meaning of resistance.²⁴ However, this course of action does not present a solution for records already held by settler-colonial archives that Indigenous people need to access, or actually belong to them – in the case of language records, particularly those being used for the purposes of language resurgence and protection, this poses a serious challenge. As Jane Anderson puts it, “non-engagement, however, is not an option. Indigenous communities need institutions because this is where belonging and cultural memory is housed.”²⁵

The issue of ownership and intellectual and cultural property is at the root of many of the difficulties posed by materials such as language records held by existing archives. As with research paradigms and archival theory, intellectual property models are grounded in a Western epistemology based on individual rights, legal theories of property, and the public domain.²⁶ In

²² See Ryan Henke and Andrea L. Berez-Kroeker, “A Brief History of Archiving in Language Documentation, with an Annotated Bibliography,” *Language Conservation and Documentation* 10 (2016): 411–57 for a discussion of the historical development of language archiving.

²³ McKemmish, Faulkhead, and Russell, “Distrust in the Archive,” 219.

²⁴ Carter, “Of Things Said and Unsaid.”

²⁵ Jane Anderson, “Negotiating Who ‘Owns’ Penobscot Culture,” *Anthropological Quarterly* 91, no. 1 (May 26, 2018): 281, <https://doi.org/10.1353/anq.2018.0008>.

²⁶ Jessica Christine Lai, *Indigenous Cultural Heritage and Intellectual Property Rights* (Springer International Publishing, 2014), 153–315, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-02955-9_3; Kimberly Christen, “Does Information Really Want to Be Free? Indigenous Knowledge Systems and the Question of Openness,” *International Journal of Communication* 6 (2012): 2870–93; Gregory Younging, “Traditional Knowledge Exists; Intellectual Property Is Invented or Created,” *University of Pennsylvania Journal of International Law* 36 (2015 2014): 1077–86; Callison, Roy, and LeCheminant, *Indigenous Notions of Ownership and Libraries, Archives and Museums*, 2016.

this paradigm, physical manifestations of intellectual output are owned by the identifiable individuals that created them, including stories, sound recordings, and other creative works.²⁷ Once a sufficient amount of time has passed after the owner's death, these materials then become part of the "public domain," which means that anyone has the right to access or reproduce them. The rhetoric of the public domain dovetails with calls for increasing openness and transparency in the knowledge economy, rallying around the battle cry of "information wants to be free."²⁸ Transparency and accessible information from especially governments and other organizations is crucial; however, not all information, particularly information obtained or extracted from Indigenous or other marginalized communities, should be accessible to the general public, and rather than seeing open access as an archival imperative, we should be striving for appropriate access instead.²⁹

These models consider individual record creators, such as linguists, researchers or collectors, to be the "owners" of the materials that they create or accumulate, including oral history, stories, songs, and linguistic recordings and other language documentation, leaving the documented "subjects" or "informants" (Indigenous language speakers, in this case) with no legal rights to the materials.³⁰ It also removes Indigenous knowledge and cultural processes from their contexts, from the systems that already exist to authenticate, circulate and preserve these materials in culturally appropriate ways, and from their traditional knowledge keepers. These materials are then donated to archives, whose relationship is solely with the so-called "record

²⁷ Leslie McCartney, "Respecting First Nations Oral Histories: Copyright Complexities and Archiving Aboriginal Stories," in *First Nations, First Thoughts: The Impact of Indigenous Thought in Canada*, ed. Annis May Timpson (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 87–88; Allison Mills, "Learning to Listen: Archival Sound Recordings and Indigenous Cultural and Intellectual Property," *Archivaria* 83 (Spring 2017): 109–24.

²⁸ Christen, "Does Information Really Want to Be Free?," 2874–77.

²⁹ The concept of "appropriate access" as opposed to "open access" was articulated and shared by Greg Bak in a personal communication, and has been included with permission.

³⁰ See e.g. Weber, "From Documents To People," 103–4; Mills, "Learning to Listen."

creator;” this is either accomplished by a complete transfer of ownership, which is what archives tend to strongly prefer, or through the retention of access and/or reproduction rights. It is important to note that “copyright law protects the expression of the idea not the idea itself;”³¹ this means that while the knowledge contained in the recordings is not subject to intellectual property law, the recordings themselves are.

In many Indigenous cultures, this conception of intellectual property rights is incompatible with the ways that their customary laws and knowledge systems operate in the context of Indigenous knowledge (IK), sometimes also referred to as intangible cultural heritage.³² Many language records, such as stories, oral traditions, ceremonies, songs, and the names of things and processes, are examples of IK; and many Indigenous people further consider their languages themselves to be sacred, both encoding and embodying IK.³³ The main incompatibilities between these two systems include the desire to control these materials for cultural reasons rather than economic ones; a lack of an identifiable creator of these kinds of

³¹ Jane Anderson, “Access and Control of Indigenous Knowledge in Libraries and Archives: Ownership and Future Use,” in *Conference Proceedings for Correcting Course: Rebalancing Copyright for Libraries in the National and International Arena*, American Library Association, The MacArthur Foundation, and Columbia University, New York, 2005, 8, http://skpubliclibraries.pbworks.com/f/paper_anderson.pdf.

³² Many Indigenous scholars, such as Camille Callison, prefer the term Indigenous Knowledge, although others, like Gregory Younging, may use the terminology of “traditional knowledge” (TK) and “traditional cultural expressions” (TCEs) in the literature. See e.g. Camille Callison, Lorien Roy, and Gretchen Alice LeCheminant, *Indigenous Notions of Ownership and Libraries, Archives and Museums* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Saur, 2016), <https://www.degruyter.com/view/product/429232>; Younging, “Traditional Knowledge Exists; Intellectual Property Is Invented or Created.”

³³ First Archivists’ Circle, “Protocols for Native American Archival Materials,” 2007, 12, <http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>. For discussions of e.g. traditional ecological and botanical knowledge contained in Indigenous songs, see Steve Burgess, “The Race to Find Scientific Secrets Encoded in Indigenous Songs,” *The Tyee*, October 29, 2019, <https://thetyee.ca/News/2019/10/29/Find-Secrets-Indigenous-Songs/>; Steve Burgess, “They Hid Him from Residential School, He Grew to Be Chief,” *The Tyee*, October 30, 2019, <https://thetyee.ca/News/2019/10/30/Residential-School-To-Chief/>; Dana Lepofsky, Oqwilowgwa Kim Recalma-Clutesi, and Álvaro Fernández-Llamazares, “Indigenous Song Keepers Reveal Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Music,” *The Conversation*, January 22, 2020, <http://theconversation.com/indigenous-song-keepers-reveal-traditional-ecological-knowledge-in-music-123573>. For language as sacred, see e.g. Ronald Eric Ignace and Mary Jane Jim, eds., *Towards a New Beginning: A Foundational Report for a Strategy to Revitalize First Nation, Inuit and Métis Languages and Cultures: Report to the Minister of Canadian Heritage* (Ottawa: Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures, 2005), 21–29, <https://www.afn.ca/uploads/files/education2/towardanewbeginning.pdf>.

materials; collective rather than individual ownership of cultural expressions; models based on knowledge stewardship rather than ownership; and no real equivalent of the public domain.³⁴

In many cases, the terminology used in English has no equivalents, further illustrating the epistemological differences underlying each system. David George-Shongo, the Seneca Nation Archivist and Tribal Archives Director, has described how archival notions like retention schedules and archival designations such as “open,” “closed,” and “confidential” are not compatible with his understanding of his Haudenosaunee information storage and memory systems, and instead uses designations informed by cultural protocols.³⁵ Similarly, Boast and Enoté have observed that “Zuni have no authentic concept to describe a sacred item that was taken by a non-Zuni and then sympathetically returned...The word repatriation was very problematic because it was not a Zuni idea and it forced Zuni to participate in a system of ownership that was not of Zuni making.”³⁶ Maureen Matthews has discussed similar issues with respect to Ojibwe/Anishinaabe views of animacy and personhood, which reject the view of objects as things that can be owned.³⁷ Similar views about the Cree language, as well as the use of the syllabic writing system, as animate and sacred have been expressed by Belinda Daniels-Fiss.³⁸ Thus, while one way for Indigenous people to lay claim to their IK in Canada is to use the language and frameworks of intellectual property rights, it can ultimately be incompatible with

³⁴ Younging, “Traditional Knowledge Exists; Intellectual Property Is Invented or Created”; Lai, *Indigenous Cultural Heritage*; Anderson, “Access and Control of Indigenous Knowledge in Libraries and Archives”; Christen, “Does Information Really Want to Be Free?”

³⁵ “NRC Forum - David George-Shongo - Day 2 (P11).” See also discussion of George-Shongo and others in Griffith, “Settler Colonial Archives.”

³⁶ Robin Boast and Jim Enoté, “Virtual Repatriation: It Is Neither Virtual nor Repatriation,” in *Heritage in the Context of Globalization*, by Peter F. Biehl and Christopher Prescott, vol. 8 (New York, NY: Springer New York, 2013), 110, http://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-1-4614-6077-0_13.

³⁷ Maureen Anne Matthews, “Repatriating Agency: Animacy, Personhood and Agency in the Repatriation of Ojibwe Artefacts,” in *Museums and Restitution: New Practices, New Approaches*, ed. Kostas Arvanitis and Louise Tythacott (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2014), 129.

³⁸ Belinda Daniels-Fiss, “Learning to Be A Nêhiyaw (Cree) Through Language,” *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education* 2, no. 3 (2008): 238–39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15595690802145505>.

their underlying epistemologies. It is also very important to note here that members of the same community can have differing notions about how they would like to approach this.

I do not want to argue that researchers have no rights to the materials that they have created, because they have also contributed to the creation and meaning-making endeavour, although the value of their input and (mis)interpretation can be questioned and should be contextualized.³⁹ Moreover, there is an assumption that researchers/scholars and Indigenous community members are not overlapping categories, nor are archives and communities, which is increasingly untrue.⁴⁰ However, there must be room for Indigenous peoples to have access to and control over research materials that have originated in their communities, particularly ones that might be considered sensitive or otherwise culturally contingent, as outlined in NISR, UNDRIP and OCAP®. As Cree scholar Margaret Kovach states, “while this is not a matter of one worldview over another, how we make room to privilege both [Western and Indigenous epistemologies], while also bridging the epistemic differences, is not going to be easy.”⁴¹ For archives, at a minimum this means making Indigenous materials more visible and accessible to communities, as well as reconsidering the use of the public domain, and establishing relationships of trust and co-stewardship with people and communities documented in records.

There are no policies or legislation in Canadian archives (or Canada at large) to compel institutions to share with or disclose to communities that they hold records pertaining to them. As such, “the onus remains on community members to locate their histories, their photographs, and voices of families, their cultural representations, and their material culture. The invisible labor

³⁹ See e.g. Miedema, “Building Bridges,” 53–66.

⁴⁰ See e.g. Susan M. Hill, “Conducting Haudenosaunee Historical Research from Home: In the Shadow of the Six Nations–Caledonia Reclamation,” *The American Indian Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (2009): 479–498; Mary Jane Logan McCallum, “Indigenous Labor and Indigenous History,” *The American Indian Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (2009): 523–44; Miedema, “Building Bridges.”

⁴¹ Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 29.

needed to locate collections is substantial. There is no easy way out of this property prism, even if this material should never have been considered or made into property to start with.”⁴² Given the distributed nature of Indigenous records held in archives, this can be an overwhelming, if not impossible task.⁴³ This is why it is imperative for archival institutions to reach out when they know they have materials pertaining to specific individuals, communities and nations, even though it can be difficult to know where to start, or who to contact. As Carmen Miedema, an archivist from Peepeekisis Nehiyaw Nation argued in her recent master’s thesis, “by failing to search their collections and turn over any information they might have...many archivists have decided, consciously or not, to keep Indigenous Peoples oppressed.”⁴⁴ There also is a danger that, as Elizabeth Walker of the City of Edmonton Archives notes, “past attempts at outreach, although well meaning, were somewhat condescending in that we were eager to show how we could help, without considering if our help was appropriate or even wanted.”⁴⁵

To begin, it is important to identify what sorts of language materials exist in a settler colonial archives, and where to find them. The depth and accuracy of archival description and finding aids are considerably variable, and are dependent on the resources, priorities and knowledge base of the cataloging archivist/institution at the time of processing. As the report for the “Closer to Home” symposium about Indigenous heritage materials held in institutions outside of their communities notes, “lack of funding, lack of archival staff and diverging priorities have

⁴² Anderson, “Negotiating Who ‘Owns’ Penobscot Culture,” 279. See also Jane Anderson and Maria Montenegro, “Collaborative Encounters in Digital Cultural Property: Tracing Temporal Relationships of Context and Locality,” in *The Routledge Companion to Cultural Property*, ed. Jane Anderson and Haidy Geismar (Routledge, 2017), 431–51, <https://localcontexts.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Cultural-Property-book-Chapter-22.pdf>.

⁴³ For a discussion of the fragmentation of Indigenous records to different institutions, see Lawson, “Precious Fragments.”

⁴⁴ Miedema, “Building Bridges.”

⁴⁵ Greg Bak et al., “Four Views on Archival Decolonization Inspired by the TRC’s Calls to Action,” *Fonds d’Archives*, no. 1 (July 14, 2017): 13, <https://doi.org/10.29173/fa3>.

limited improvement of the search tools needed by Indigenous people.”⁴⁶ Budgetary and staffing restrictions are a real concern in most archives, and have been for a long time, leading to the implementation of processing workflows such as More Product/Less Process (MPLP), which focus on description at the highest level in order to process and make materials available more quickly, rather than a thorough investigation of what records might hold.⁴⁷ Given the size of the backlogs and the limited staff at many archival institutions, it can be difficult to justify spending the amount of staff time and resources necessary to describe (or redescribe) records in this level of detail. Redescription in particular can feel like a luxury when there might be so much material that has not been described in the first place; and legacy finding aids are often not reassessed when they are put online in whatever format, although it could be an ideal moment in which to do so.⁴⁸ Elizabeth Walker, settler archivist at the City of Edmonton Archives, notes that “we have a lot of work to do and it is a challenge to find a balance between projects like [redescription to include more culturally sensitive terms] and all our other work. I would like to acknowledge how hard this can be for all of us;” however, she also emphasizes how necessary this work is with respect to materials involving Indigenous peoples, and how important it is to prioritize it within operational plans and goals.⁴⁹

The settler-colonial archives I will be focusing on is the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives (HBCA). HBCA is a unit in the Archives of Manitoba (AM), a provincial government agency. HBCA contains the corporate records of the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) and its

⁴⁶ Indigenous Heritage Circle, “Closer to Home - Indigenous Heritage in Archives Outside Canada Symposium Report,” August 12, 2019, 5, <http://indigenousheritage.ca/closer-to-home-symposium-report-en/>.

⁴⁷ See Mark Greene and Dennis Meissner, “More Product, Less Process: Revamping Traditional Archival Processing,” *The American Archivist* 68, no. 2 (2005): 208–263 for the canonical description of MPLP.

⁴⁸ Emily Vinson, “Reassessing A/V in the Archives: A Case Study in Two Parts,” *The American Archivist*, December 20, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc-82-02-05>; Gregory Wiedeman, “The Historical Hazards of Finding Aids,” *The American Archivist*, December 20, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc-82-02-20>.

⁴⁹ Bak et al., “Four Views on Archival Decolonization Inspired by the TRC’s Calls to Action,” 13.

various subsidiaries, as well as records and collections donated by private individuals who were connected to HBC, such as employees, shareholders and other people who had experiences at or with HBC operations and ventures. In 1974, the archives were physically transferred from London to the Provincial Archives of Manitoba (later Archives of Manitoba), as HBC acknowledged that most of the people who wanted access to the records were based in North America, and their head office had moved to Winnipeg in 1970.⁵⁰ The Hudson's Bay House Library (HBHL), also based in Winnipeg, closed to the public in 1985, and its records were also transferred to the provincial archives as part of the HBC archival collection.⁵¹ In 1994, ownership of the records was officially transferred to the government of Manitoba.⁵²

HBC received a significant tax credit through the donation of the records, and with that money established the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation (HBCHF), which provides operational funding to: HBCA; the HBC gallery of the Manitoba Museum, which received the donation of HBC's artifacts in 1994; and *Canada's History*, the successor to *The Beaver* magazine.⁵³ HBCA continues to acquire HBC and subsidiary corporate records on an ongoing basis, in addition to acquiring records of individuals and organizations who may have been involved with or adjacent to HBC operations or active in areas where HBC posts existed including Indigenous individuals and communities that have a shared history with HBC.⁵⁴ As

⁵⁰ Deidre Simmons, "The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company," *Archivaria* 42 (January 1996): 68–78.

⁵¹ HBCA, AM, "Hudson's Bay House Library' Authority Record," Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed December 9, 2019, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/PAM_AUTHORITY/AUTH_DESC_DET_REP/SISN%201577?sessionsearch.

⁵² Simmons, "The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company," 78; Hudson's Bay Company Archives, "About HBCA," Archives of Manitoba, accessed March 13, 2020, <https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/about/index.html>.

⁵³ Simmons, "The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company," 78; "HBC History Foundation | Hudson's Bay Company," accessed March 13, 2020, <https://www3.hbc.com/hbc/socialresponsibility/hbc-history-foundation/>; "Hudson's Bay Company Archives | Archives of Manitoba," accessed March 13, 2020, <https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/index.html>.

⁵⁴ Hudson's Bay Company Archives, "About HBCA."

HBCA staff are government employees, the operational records that they create are government records, and many of their services, such as the onsite Archives Research Room, website, social media presence and online descriptive database, cover both HBCA and AM.

Online descriptive databases, such as the Keystone Archival Descriptive Database (Keystone) at AM, pose a few challenges for description and searchability that complicate these issues. While I will be discussing issues specific to Keystone, which is a Minisis database customized for AM modeled on the one Minisis created for the Archives of Ontario, these and other issues are commonly shared by this types of online research tool. Minisis used the Canadian descriptive standard *Rules for Archival Description* (RAD) in the creation of its information fields, and enabled implementation of the “series system,” a method of organization and description that separates the record-keeping context from the administrative context of records.⁵⁵

The series system is a way to organize and describe records that recognizes records to be dynamic throughout the record continuum, and can have relationships with many different people and organizations that created, administer and use them. It fundamentally changed the way that archives could organize and describe records compared to previous systems that centred on fonds, “record groups” or other ad hoc groupings of records; in particular, the fonds system assumes a single creator/accumulator, and that the records associated with that creator at any given institution was the entirety of that record set, which in practice is very rarely the case in contemporary archives. It was introduced, first in Australia by Peter Scott in the 1950s and

⁵⁵ Bureau of Canadian Archivists, ed., *Rules for Archival Description* (Ottawa: Bureau of Canadian Archivists, 2008), http://www.cdncouncilarchives.ca/RAD/RADComplete_July2008.pdf. See Bob Krawczyk, “Cross Reference Heaven: The Abandonment of the Fonds as the Primary Level of Arrangement for Ontario Government Records,” *Archivaria* 1, no. 48 (1999), <http://journals.sfu.ca/archivar/index.php/archivaria/article/viewArticle/12720> for the implementation of the series system as the basis for the Minisis database at the Archives of Ontario.

1960s, and later in Canada in the late 1990s and 2000s, as a way to better organize the complicated relationships that can exist between records and record creators, particularly in the context of complex organizations such as governments and large corporations like HBC, whose hierarchies are constantly shifting functions (and the responsibility for different record sets) between departments and other administrative units. This system is based on the creation of separate, discrete units for the descriptions of the functions and activities of a record creator (“authority records”), that can then be linked to any number of record sets (“archival descriptions”), which are also separate, discrete units. These units can be linked in one-to-one, many-to-one and one-to-many relationships that better reflect the records’ actual creation and use.⁵⁶ The series system also makes it possible to include additional provenance points, such as records “subjects,” and societal and “ambient” provenance.⁵⁷ The redescription that AM (and HBCA) did both to implement the series system and to put these descriptions online through Keystone was a monumental effort, and was (and is) the foundation for any subsequent redescription.

As such, Keystone is made up of three interconnected databases that store descriptive information for “Records Creators” (donor/creator authority records for private individuals and organizations or administrative history authority records for government or HBC corporate entities), “Archival Descriptions” (fonds or series level description) and “Listings/Images” (item

⁵⁶ For a description of the conceptual framework and implementation of the series system in Australia, see Peter Scott, “The Record Group Concept: A Case for Abandonment,” *The American Archivist* 29, no. 4 (1966): 493–504; Chris Hurley, “The Australian (‘Series’) System: An Exposition,” in *The Records Continuum: Ian Maclean and Australian Archives First Fifty Years*, ed. Sue McKemmish and Michael Piggott (Ancora Press, 1994), 150–72, [http://www.descriptionguy.com/images/WEBSITE/the-australian-\(Series\)-system.pdf](http://www.descriptionguy.com/images/WEBSITE/the-australian-(Series)-system.pdf); for Canada, see Terry Cook, “The Concept of the Archival Fonds in the Post-Custodial Era: Theory, Problems and Solutions,” *Archivaria* 35 (1993): 24–37.

⁵⁷ Hurley, “The Australian (‘Series’) System: An Exposition”; Tom Nesmith, “The Concept of Societal Provenance and Records of Nineteenth-Century Aboriginal–European Relations in Western Canada: Implications for Archival Theory and Practice,” *Archival Science* 6, no. 3–4 (2007): 351–60, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-007-9043-9>; Michelle Rydz, “Participatory Archiving: Exploring a Collaborative Approach to Aboriginal Societal Provenance” (Master of Arts, Winnipeg, University of Manitoba, 2010), <http://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/xmlui/handle/1993/4247>.

or file level description). The “Listings/Images” database also provides access to any digitized objects, including images and PDFs of microfilm. Keyword searches can pull up results from searchable fields in each of these databases, and advanced searches can be conducted within each separate database. AM has provided an orientation to Keystone on their website that can aid users with the specific requirements of searches within Keystone, such as the need to truncate in order to search for instances of a word which are not identical (e.g. “language” as a search term will not bring up any results for “languages” or “language’s” – but a search for “language*” should).⁵⁸

One of the big challenges presented by Keystone (and many other online descriptive databases) is the lack of ability to search for related or analogous terms or different spellings within the system by using a single term – that is, the use of a controlled vocabulary with cross-references for variant words, forms or spellings.⁵⁹ An example would be a search for “Inuit,” which in some search engines may pull up results including terms such as “Inuk,” “Eskimo,” and “Eskimos.” The ability to search cross-references can be useful for a number of reasons, but for Indigenous records in particular because the terms used to describe Indigenous groups and languages are not standardized in the present, let alone historically or cross-culturally. Terms might be taken from the records (dating from the seventeenth century to the present), from earlier archival descriptions (dating from the 1920s to the present), or from current descriptive practices. As such, it can be very difficult to know what terms or spellings to use for searches, and additionally users are often required to use offensive or outdated terminology, such as “Indians”,

⁵⁸ Archives of Manitoba, “Keystone Archives Descriptive Database Help,” accessed February 8, 2020, <https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/keystone/orient.html>.

⁵⁹ See e.g. Mary S. Woodley, “Metadata Matters: Connecting People and Information,” in *Introduction to Metadata*, ed. Murtha Baca, 3rd edition (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2016), <http://www.getty.edu/publications/intrometadata/metadata-matters>.

“Eskimos”, or terms for more specific groups or nations, in order to locate the records that might be relevant. As the “Closer to Home” symposium report states, “barriers such as language, the spelling of community names or terms used in archival descriptions, and limited online resources can prevent an appreciation of the nature and extent of collections.”⁶⁰

When description of language is adequate, records still might not be easily discoverable. A specific field for “Language Notes” only appears to exist at the series/fonds level in Keystone, and is not searchable as a field in the Advanced Search options. It does not seem to exist as a field for the file/item level of description, and as such is also not searchable there. Any description of language at the file/item level appears to be in the general “Notes” field, which is searchable, but as many languages share the same name as the people who speak it (e.g. Cree, German, Dene), and are often not qualified by a language word, the results returned from such a search could be overwhelming and difficult to sort through. Some archives combat this by using Subject Access Points (SAPs), which is not a function that seems to be utilized within Keystone. However, SAPs, as they are based on the standardized terminology found in the Library of Congress Subject Headings (LCSH), also use problematic, outdated and sometimes offensive terminology with respect to Indigenous Peoples, as outlined above.⁶¹ The Association of Manitoba Archivists (AMA) has recently developed some modifications to LCSH for use in their searchable database with a number of participating archives in Manitoba, the Manitoba Archival Information Network (MAIN), through consultation with Indigenous peoples where possible and

⁶⁰ Indigenous Heritage Circle, “Closer to Home Report,” 4.

⁶¹ Duarte and Belarde-Lewis, “Imagining”; Sandra Littletree and Cheryl A. Metoyer, “Knowledge Organization from an Indigenous Perspective: The Mashantucket Pequot Thesaurus of American Indian Terminology Project,” *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 53, no. 5–6 (July 4, 2015): 640–57, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639374.2015.1010113>; Michael Dudley, “A Library Matter of Genocide: Native North American Genocides, the Library of Congress and the Language of Denial” (Pathways to Reconciliation Conference, Winnipeg, 2016); Christine Bone and Brett Lougheed, “Library of Congress Subject Headings Related to Indigenous Peoples: Changing LCSH for Use in a Canadian Archival Context,” *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (January 2018): 83–95, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639374.2017.1382641>.

following current best practices in description.⁶² On a smaller, more local, and more unofficial scale, the Digital Library North project in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region has created subject terms in consultation with their user communities that incorporated community member feedback, but might not be more widely applicable outside their user base.⁶³

I have focused on the online descriptive database and other online research tools that exist because this is often the way that users or other interested parties encounter records, including Indigenous language materials, held by archives. In an era of increased access to digitized versions of records as well, the ways that Eurocentric archives have traditionally organized, described and provided access to materials – hierarchically, with an emphasis on the provenance of a single putative “creator,” requiring in-person and often one-on-one interactions with archivists to mediate access – are no longer the norm.⁶⁴ This means that aspects of descriptive standards like RAD, which, for example, advocate for not reproducing descriptive information at lower levels of description that exist at higher levels, can feel outdated and counterproductive to the ways that people might access archival descriptions currently – they no longer have to encounter the higher level information first, as they might with a paper finding aid.⁶⁵

⁶² Christine Bone et al., “Changes to Library of Congress Subject Headings Related to Indigenous Peoples: For Use in the AMA MAIN Database,” Working Paper (Unpublished, Revised 2017 2015), https://doi.org/10.5203/ss_ama.main_bon.chr.2015.1; Bone and Loughheed, “Library of Congress Subject Headings Related to Indigenous Peoples.”

⁶³ Sharon Farnel et al., “A Community-Driven Metadata Framework for Describing Cultural Resources: The Digital Library North Project,” *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 55, no. 5 (July 4, 2017): 300–301, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639374.2017.1312723>.

⁶⁴ See e.g. Elizabeth Yakel, “Thinking Inside and Outside the Boxes: Archival Reference Services at the Turn of the Century,” *Archivaria* 49 (2000): 140–60; Mary Pugh and Emily Monks-Leeson, “Archives on the Internet: Representing Contexts and Provenance from Repository to Website,” *The American Archivist* 74, no. 1 (2011): 38–57; Elizabeth Yakel, “Who Represents the Past? Archives, Records, and the Social Web,” in *Controlling the Past: Documenting Society and Institutions*, ed. Terry Cook (Chicago, 2011), 257–78.

⁶⁵ RAD, xxiv–xxv.

Moreover, the people who are using archives come from a much broader range of backgrounds and with diverse research goals; what can be assumed to be baseline knowledge for the use of archives, like training in academic research or familiarity with Eurocentric knowledge systems cannot be assumed any longer. This taps into what the Open Archival Information System (OAIS) model terms “Designated Community,” which is defined as “an identified group of potential Consumers who should be able to understand a particular set of information...[it] is defined by the Archive and this definition will change over time.”⁶⁶ As archivists create the frameworks that facilitate the ways people interact with their descriptions and records online, it is crucial to re-examine what can be expected of the researcher, particularly Indigenous peoples and other marginalized groups, and what must be made more accessible, more explicit, and more welcoming.⁶⁷ This similarly extends to both the physical space and research policies that archives inhabit and implement, which can likewise be perceived anywhere from difficult to downright hostile.⁶⁸ Policies that could be considered barriers to even entering the archives include the use of security guards and the requirement to present photo ID to register in order to look at records, for example.

Even when adequate descriptions exist, language materials can still show up in unexpected places. As Thorpe and Galassi observed in the initial stages of the *Rediscovering Indigenous Languages* project at the New South Wales Library in Australia, “like any other

⁶⁶ Consultative Committee for Space Data Systems, “Reference Model for an Open Archival Information System (OAIS)” (CCSDS Secretariat, 2012), page 1-11, <https://public.ccsds.org/pubs/650x0m2.pdf>.

⁶⁷ See Weber, “From Documents To People,” 105 for a description of steps the BC Archives are taking to address some of these issues; for a collaborative, community-centred model of a digital library, see Ali Shiri and Robyn Stobbs, “Community-driven User Evaluation of the Inuvialuit Cultural Heritage Digital Library,” *Proceedings of the Association for Information Science and Technology* 55, no. 1 (January 2018): 440–49, <https://doi.org/10.1002/pr2.2018.14505501048>.

⁶⁸ For a discussion of some research policies at the Archives of Manitoba governing medical historical research on behalf of Indigenous peoples, see Mary Jane McCallum, “Laws, Codes, and Informal Practices: Building Ethical Procedures for Historical Research with Indigenous Medical Records,” in *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies*, ed. Chris Andersen and Jean M. O’Brien, Routledge Guides to Using Historical Sources (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2017), 274–85.

subject specific resources held in archives, records relating to language documentation are often dispersed and are buried within manuscripts, correspondence or other items,” and because of the volume of records at many archival institutions, archivists do not always know what they have.⁶⁹ As such, it is useful to consider the types of records and the types of archives that might contain materials that could be considered language records. The records that I have identified at HBCA illustrate some of these record types, and some of the common issues that may accompany them.

As identified in chapter one, the earliest recorded materials that exist for many Indigenous languages are written documentation by Europeans from early contact between them and Indigenous peoples speaking a variety of languages. These include, among others, explorers, travellers, traders (like HBC employees), and especially missionaries. The kinds of language records that these people created tended to be in the form of vocabularies and word lists, occasionally dialogues and dictionaries, and sometimes words embedded in narratives, like descriptions of plants, animals, or topographical features or maps. Laura Murray notes that “vocabularies tended to be the ultimate linguistic work of men engaged in trade or travel,” as they were enough to fulfill their language needs.⁷⁰

It can be difficult to know when these types of records will include languages materials. In researching the collection to create such a list of language resources in the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) library in Australia, Dr. Michael Walsh noted “that’s like when you go to the library catalogue all it tells you is ‘surveyors [sic] notebooks’, two surveyors’ notebooks. That’s it. No indication of content at all,” when one of the notebooks also happened to contain an unnoticed seven-page vocabulary of a Central Arnhem

⁶⁹ Thorpe and Galassi, “Rediscovering Indigenous Languages,” 83.

⁷⁰ Laura J. Murray, “Vocabularies of Native American Languages: A Literary and Historical Approach to an Elusive Genre,” *American Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (2001): 592, <https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2001.0039>.

Land language with no living speakers.⁷¹ There is a tendency for vocabularies and word lists to be found in exploration, travel, or scientific or ethnographic notebooks and narratives, but they can also be found in diverse sources such as trader post journals, memoirs, and correspondence.

An example of early Inuktitut recorded in HBCA records is the small word list of “Esquimaux lingua” found in one of the versions of Andrew Graham’s *Observations on Hudson’s Bay*, ca. 1792.⁷² It lists trade goods, low numbers, activities such as walking and hunting, and the pronouns “me” and “him” transliterated through English – a classic example of a trader’s vocabulary. The record found at E.2/12 is the only one of several versions of the *Observations* in this collection that includes this list and others in “Indian language” (Cree), and “Wechepowuck” (“Chipewyan”) [Dene]. However, the existence of these lists is not acknowledged in either the index for the published version of the *Observations* in the Hudson’s Bay Record Society (HBRS) series, or in the online description at either the series or item level – both sources only list the existence of “Fall (Gros Ventre)” and “Sarcee” [Tsuut’ina] word lists in these records.⁷³ The only way to know that these lists exist without looking through the document itself is to look at the search file created by HBCA staff for “Indigenous languages and vocabularies.” Search files are research tools that were developed by HBCA staff that may include references to, citations of or extracts from HBCA or other archival or published records, information from researchers, notes, or other non-archival materials pertaining to a given topic.

⁷¹ Thorpe and Galassi, “Rediscovering Indigenous Languages,” 86.

⁷² The only version that includes this list is E.2/12

(http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LISTINGS_IMAGES/LISTINGS_DET_IMAGES/SISN%2084630?sessionsearch).

⁷³ G. Williams, *Andrew Graham’s Observations on Hudson’s Bay 1767-91*, 1st edition (Hudson Bay Record Society, 1969); HBCA, AM, “Andrew Graham Fonds’ Description,” Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed December 6, 2019,

http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LISTINGS_IMAGES/LISTINGS_DET_IMAGES/SISN%2084630?sessionsearch; HBCA, AM, “Observations on Hudson’s Bay by Andrew Graham...”, ca. 1792,” Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, n.d.,

http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LISTINGS_IMAGES/LISTINGS_DET_IMAGES/SISN%2084630?sessionsearch.

They are only accessible in physical form in the AM Archives Research Room; as such, this is a good example of language records that are in practical terms not discoverable or searchable, and a good example as well of the kinds of information/information sources that remote researchers would not even know to ask for.

The archives of church and missionary bodies are full of Indigenous language documentation, although they are often (although not always) created, or at least recorded, by non-native speakers. While these records can be problematic for a number of reasons, religious documenters were genuinely concerned to master the languages they strove to speak, and made attempts to be comprehensive;⁷⁴ even to this day, one of the most prolific organizations involved in language documentation, preservation, and revitalization is the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), a “faith-based non-profit.”⁷⁵ Language records created by missionaries and other members of religious orders can show up in any archives, not just archives devoted to religious bodies.

An interesting case of missionary-created language records at HBCA is presented by two recordings of the missionary Rev. Dr. Edmund James (E.J.) Peck in Inuktitut from the early 1920s. In Keystone, they are labelled “Gudib Okousingenik (address)” (T25-1) and “Ingerutinik (hymns) and address” (T25-2), and are part of the “Hudson's Bay Company film, video and sound collection.”⁷⁶ Although there is no provenance documented for these recordings in the

⁷⁴ See e.g. Miedema, “Building Bridges,” 57–58.

⁷⁵ “SIL International,” SIL International, accessed April 8, 2016, <http://www.sil.org/>.

⁷⁶ HBCA, AM, “Gudib Okousingenik (Address) by Reverend Dr. E. J. (Edmond James) Peck’ Description, [Pre-1924] (T25-1),” Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed December 9, 2019, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LISTINGS_WEB2_ACCESS/LISTINGS_DET_REP_FULL_GR/SISN%201084966?sessionsearch; HBCA, AM, “Ingerutinik (Hymns) and Address by Reverend Dr. E. J. (Edmond James) Peck’ Description, [Pre-1924] (T25-2),” Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed December 9, 2019, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LISTINGS_WEB2_ACCESS/LISTINGS_DET_REP_FULL_GR/SISN%201084967?sessionsearch; HBCA, AM, “Hudson’s Bay Company Film, Video and Sound Collection’ Description,” Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed December 9, 2019,

online description, the label on the recordings themselves says “Private record - Hudson’s Bay Co. St. Lawrence-Labrador District.”⁷⁷ The mention of it being a “private record”⁷⁸ associated with the St. Lawrence-Labrador District seems to indicate that this was a corporate record created by HBC, rather than a personal record by Peck that somehow made its way to HBCA; and as there are six copies in HBCA’s holdings in excellent, likely unplayed condition, the (potentially unfulfilled) purpose may have been to contract with Peck to record these and then circulate them to the posts within the district.⁷⁹ As Peck died in Sept. 1924 and the St. Lawrence-Labrador District was not formed until 1922, these recordings were made sometime between 1922 and 1924.⁸⁰ While the district headquarters was in Montreal at that time, the district itself encompassed a vast territory, including posts in what are now Labrador, Québec and Nunavut, so it is unclear where they were intended to go, and what dialect of Inuktitut was recorded; based on the long establishment of Moravian missionaries in Labrador, I would argue that the most likely destination was Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin Island) and/or Nunavik, where posts had been established more recently and where Peck himself had been a missionary for many years. These recordings came to HBCA after the Hudson’s Bay House Library closed down in 1987, and no reference copies have been made; this indicates that there have been no requests for access.⁸¹

http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/PAM_DESCRIPTION/DESCRIPTION_DET_REP/SISN%2011409?sessionsearch.

⁷⁷ HBCA, Archives of Manitoba, “Gudit Okousingenik (address) by Reverend Dr. E. J. (Edmond James) Peck,” [before 1924], T25-1.

⁷⁸ I assume this designation comes from the publisher as being created for a private company rather than for public consumption.

⁷⁹ HBCA, AM, “‘St. Lawrence-Labrador District’ Authority Record,” Keystone Descriptive Database, accessed December 21, 2019, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/PAM_AUTHORITY/AUTH_DESC_DET_REP/SISN%2030?sessionsearch. Information about condition and number of the recordings via research consultation with James Gorton, pers. comm., 20 Dec. 2019.

⁸⁰ “‘T25-1’ Description”; “‘SLL District Authority.’”

⁸¹ “‘HBHL Authority’”; “‘HBC Film, Video and Sound Collection’ Description.” Research request sent to HBCA and response received Nov. 6, 2019.

As with the word list, the E.J. Peck recordings are difficult to identify and search in terms of language. Although it is clear from their titles that these records are not in English, there is no indication at either the description or item level that the recordings are in another language (in this case Inuktitut) to be found here. These records are also currently unable to be played, either remotely or on site,⁸² but there is a question whether there would be outside impetus for access to these recordings. In the years of this description being online, and previously described in finding aids onsite, there have apparently been no requests to access, which would have resulted in the creation of reference copies. However, the argument can be made that these records were not particularly identifiable or searchable, and as such it is not accurate to say no one was interested – they just might not have been aware of their existence.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century and accelerating through the twentieth century, researchers and collectors also began recording Indigenous speakers with a variety of audiovisual media, including wax cylinders, reel-to-reel tapes, magnetic film, cassette tapes, and, later, digital technologies, as the effects of centuries of disease, assimilation policies, and linguistic imperialism had taken their toll on Indigenous peoples. These recordings occurred within a number of contexts: some happened in an effort to preserve the words, customs and traditions of the last speakers of what were seen as dying cultures, as described in chapter one; some, along with the rise of oral history, sought to preserve oral traditions and storytelling, as well as personal narratives and events in time;⁸³ and some were used to fight for rights to Indigenous peoples' ancestral lands, giving interviews establishing historical land use.⁸⁴

⁸² Research request sent to HBCA and response received Nov. 7, 2019.

⁸³ See e.g. Julie Cruikshank, *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory* (University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Julie Cruikshank, *Life Lived like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders* (University of Nebraska Press, 1992); Louis Bird, "Omushkego Oral History Project," *Ourvoices.ca*, © 2016, <http://www.ourvoices.ca/index>.

⁸⁴ Anne Lindsay, "Archives and Justice: Willard Ireland's Contribution to the Changing Legal Framework of Aboriginal Rights in Canada, 1963–1973," *Archivaria* 71 (Spring 2011): 35–62; Arthur J. Ray, *Telling It to the*

If these records have made it to an archival repository, they are often part of the recording researcher's personal papers. It is not always clear whether the interviewees/source communities have consented to be recorded, or received copies of this research, although more recent language documentation manuals and research statements have specified much clearer collaborative and ethical guidelines.⁸⁵ If consent was obtained, or a relationship of trust had been created between the researcher and the community, it is similarly often unclear whether consent was given to archive those materials – as Carmen Miedema notes in her discussion of the Gary Butikofer papers held by the Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, while members of the communities he was documenting must certainly have noticed that he was creating records, they were unlikely to know what he was recording, and he almost certainly would have been unable to properly explain the process of archiving those records, even if he had discussed the possibility.⁸⁶ The twentieth century also saw the continued production of dictionaries, grammars, second-language learning materials, and other scholarly publications of linguistic analysis. While more recent publications are more likely found in libraries than archives, there is certainly a possibility that they could be found in the archives as well, such as photocopies of the Inuktitut grammar that HBC employee A.E. Spalding composed in the 1950s.⁸⁷

Judge: Taking Native History to Court (McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP, 2011); Frogner, "“Lord, Save Us from the Et Cetera of the Notary.”"

⁸⁵ E.g. Claire Bower, "Planning a Language-Documentation Project," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*, ed. Peter K. Austin and Julia Sallabank (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 459–82; Interagency Advisory Panel on Research Ethics Government of Canada, "Chapter 9: Research Involving the First Nations, Inuit and Métis Peoples of Canada," in *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (2018)* (Government of Canada, 2019), https://ethics.gc.ca/eng/tcps2-eptc2_2018_chapter9-chapitre9.html.

⁸⁶ Miedema, "Building Bridges," 62–63.

⁸⁷ HBCA, AM, "“Alexander Edward Spalding Eskimo Grammar' Description," Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed February 10, 2020, http://pam.minisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/PAM_DESCRIPTION/DESCRIPTION_DET_REP/SISN%203551?sessionsearch. A published version, "A Grammar of the East and West Coasts of Hudson Bay," can be found in the HBCA library.

The twentieth-century gathering of Indigenous language and cultural records can arguably be found in the “Helen Burgess oral interview recordings” (T39-1 to T39-21). These tapes were recorded by Helen Burgess, who at the time was the Information Officer with the Department of Northern Affairs for the federal government, while she was on board the *C.D. Howe* for its patrol through the Eastern Arctic in the summer of 1966. Locations visited where recordings were made include a camp at Aberdeen Bay; Cape Dorset (Kinngait); a mine at Deception Bay; Nottingham Island (Tujjaat); Ivugivik (Ivujivik); Sugluk (Salluit); Pond Inlet (Mittimatalik); Port Burwell (Killiniq); Arctic Bay (Ikpiarjuk); Wakeham Bay (Kangiqsujuaq); and Koartak (Quaqtaq). They include interviews with HBC and government employees, including day school teachers and other people involved with education, doctors, administrators, support staff and RCMP officers, as well as students and researchers, missionaries, mining company employees, and both Inuit and non-Inuit residents. The tapes also include Burgess’s own observations and thoughts, as well as recordings of daily life as she passed through communities, including church services, recreation such as children playing, parties and dances, and a whale hunt from shore and subsequent butchering. The final two tapes were recorded from previous recordings and include a church service at Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit), a party at Fort Chimo (Kuujuak), and songs recorded from Southampton Island (Shugliaq) and Chesterfield Inlet (Igluligaarjuk). The recordings vary in quality from good to poor, and did not come via the HBHL, but rather were donated directly by the executor of Burgess’s estate in 1994.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ HBCA, AM, “Helen Burgess Oral Recordings Finding Aid and Tape Summaries, HBCA Sound Recording Files,” 1994; “Helen Burgess Oral Interview Recordings’ Description,” Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed December 28, 2019, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/PAM_DESCRIPTION/DESCRIPTION_DET_REP/SISN%2016723?sessionsearch.

Much of the content of the recordings seem to be information gathered to support the various government policies discussed in the previous chapter, and an illustration of the creation of the colonial archive: health and disease control; resource development/exploitation; residential/day schools/hostels; husky dog (*qimmiit*) control; economic development; and Inuit “transition” to Western ways of life, from a non-Inuit perspective. Some recordings happened on land, in communities that are clearly identified, while others happened on the *C.D. Howe*. The people who were interviewed were also identified, including where they were from. Most of the interviews are with the people administering to Inuit, rather than Inuit themselves as the people who would know about their own lives, and are conducted in English or French. However, there are also interviews with Inuit, who often spoke in Inuktitut; Burgess appears to have understood Inuktitut enough to understand many of the responses, although she asked questions in English, and sometimes interpreters are indicated in the tape summaries. Much of the “daily life” recordings, including the church services and whale hunt, occurred in Inuktitut as well.

Despite this, the online description does not indicate that some of the recordings include Inuktitut at the “Archival Description” level, and rarely indicates Inuktitut language at the file/item level for a given recording. When it was indicated that recordings occurred in an Indigenous language, that language was (to the best of my knowledge) misidentified – in the two tapes where church services were recorded, one in Cape Dorset (Kinngait) (T39-6) and one in Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit) (T39-21), the services are listed as being in “Innu”.⁸⁹ Although I do not have the expertise in these languages to say definitively, based on the location of the recordings

⁸⁹ “Burgess Recordings FA”; HBCA, AM, “‘Cape Dorset, Tape 3’ Description, 1966 (T39-6),” Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed May 13, 2020, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LISTINGS_WEB2/LISTINGS_DET_REP_FULL_GR/SISN%201086339?sessionsearch; HBCA, AM, “‘Frobisher Bay and Fort Chimo’ Description, 1966 (T39-21),” Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed May 13, 2020, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LISTINGS_WEB2/LISTINGS_DET_REP_FULL_GR/SISN%201086467?sessionsearch.

on Baffin Island (Qikiqtaaluk), the language must be Inuktut, rather than Innu, the language spoken by Innu First Nations in Québec and Labrador. This misidentification, either by Burgess herself or the archivist who first processed the recordings, was repeated when the finding aid was put into Keystone online. As mentioned above, detailed paper finding aids like this are often entered wholesale without doing redescription at the time, especially in a push to get information online; but in this case, it obscures what is actually important information about the languages used in the recordings, and renders them undiscoverable by search based on language keywords. Similarly, other recordings that contain Inuktut are indicated obliquely by referencing interpreters or interpretation, as with the interview with Annie, an Inuk at Aberdeen Bay (T39-3), and the recording of Attuat, an Inuk Elder from Arctic Bay (Ikpiarjuk), who “sings and interprets some songs” (T39-17), or by surfacing English for parts of the recording in the description, but not naming the other language(s) used, as with the recording of a party in Fort Chimo (Kuujuuak) of “Inuit traditional songs and stories, [while] an unidentified individual introduces songs and stories in English” (T39-21).⁹⁰ The highlighting of the act of interpretation rather than indicating the other languages used centres Burgess’s experience, and again makes it impossible to search for language records via language keywords.

Finally, the descriptions for some recordings give no indication that there is any language other than English within the recording. For example, the second tape recorded at Cape Dorset (Kinngait) (T39-5) has an item description that reads, “item consists of Burgess discussing the community of Cape Dorset. She mentions whale hunting, Inuit women skinning seals and an art

⁹⁰ HBCA, AM, “Burgess Recordings FA”; HBCA, AM, “‘Aberdeen Bay Camp’ Description, 1966 (T39-3),” Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed May 13, 2020, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LISTINGS_WEB2/LISTINGS_DET_REP_FULL_GR/SISN%201086293?sessionsearch; HBCA, AM, “‘Arctic Bay, Tape 2’ Description, 1966 (T39-17),” Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed May 13, 2020, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LISTINGS_WEB2/LISTINGS_DET_REP_FULL_GR/SISN%201086293?sessionsearch.

workshop. At the workshop she interviews Cape Dorset artists Iola and Doree. Burgess also interviews Tommy Moffitt, son of a Department of Northern Affairs mechanic. They discuss life at Cape Dorset.”⁹¹ In fact, while Burgess interviews the artist Iola in English, Iola’s answers are in Inuktut, and the seal skinning and whale hunting that Burgess observes and captures on her recording equipment also include quiet, but discernable Inuktut spoken by the people participating in these activities.⁹² The paper tape summaries were fuller in their description of the activities contained in the tape, but did not indicate any Inuktut spoken either.⁹³

The last two tapes (T39-20 and T39-21) are indicated to be recordings made from previous recordings, and include several songs, presumably in Inuktut. I discussed T39-21, a recording of a party in Fort Chimo (Kuujuak), above, but T39-20 “Helen Burgess’ recording of six tradition [sic] Inuit songs” includes six songs. The finding aid and description include the English names of the songs and a place name, presumably where they were recorded, or where their singers came from – five from Southampton Island (Shugliaq) and one from Chesterfield Inlet (Igluligaarjuk).⁹⁴ At the time these records were processed, further research into these six songs would have been difficult without any prior knowledge of their existence, but a quick Google search in 2019 revealed that these songs are part of an Ethnic Folkways Library recording by Laura Boulton, an American ethnomusicologist, called “The Eskimos of Hudson Bay and Alaska”, currently held by the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage.⁹⁵

⁹¹ HBCA, AM, “‘Cape Dorset, Tape 2’ Description, 1966 (T39-5),” Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed May 13, 2020, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LISTINGS_WEB2/LISTINGS_DET_REP_FULL_GR/SISN%201086330?sessionsearch.

⁹² HBCA, AM, “Cape Dorset, tape 2,” 1966, “Helen Burgess oral interview recordings,” T39-5.

⁹³ “Burgess Recordings FA.”

⁹⁴ HBCA, AM, “‘Helen Burgess’ Recording of Six Tradition Inuit Songs’ Description, 1966 (T39-20),” Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed May 13, 2020, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LISTINGS_WEB2/LISTINGS_DET_REP_FULL_GR/SISN%201086447?sessionsearch.

⁹⁵ “The Eskimos of Hudson Bay and Alaska,” Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, accessed November 15, 2019, <https://folkways.si.edu/the-eskimos-of-hudson-bay-and-alaska/american-indian/music/album/smithsonian>.

While this information was inaccessible before, a redescription of these records could include this identification, as well as identifications of the singers of the songs.

The context of the creation of these recordings is very unclear, and it seems very tenuous that HBCA should hold these recordings at all. Burgess herself had a strong connection to HBC, as following her work with the Department of Northern Affairs she became the editor of *The Beaver* in Winnipeg from 1972-1985, but these records were created before that tenure. Her online authority record created by HBCA staff notes that “it is unclear whether these interviews were conducted as part of Burgess’ work as information officer, as the editor of the Department of Northern Affairs’ magazine *North* or whether they were conducted for personal reasons.”⁹⁶ In addition to the question of Burgess’ ownership of the recordings, further potential issues include whether consent, documented or otherwise, was obtained from participants, both to be recorded and to be archived; in particular, it is not clear whether Inuit involved were adequately consulted. Nevertheless, the online description notes that “there are no restrictions on access to these records.”⁹⁷ A further complication to intellectual control is the existence of the copies of the Smithsonian recordings, which are digitized online and available for sale (and presumably copyrighted) through the Smithsonian Folkways Recordings shop.⁹⁸

Leaving aside the agency and rights of the Inuit who were recorded for a moment, the murky provenance of these potentially government records causes issues within the Western model of intellectual property rights. Certainly, this would not be the first time that records were donated to an archives that the donor did not actually have the legal right to donate, even within HBCA; for example, many of the private fonds of high-ranking HBC officials, such as Ralph

⁹⁶ “‘Burgess Recordings’ Description.”

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ “The Eskimos of Hudson Bay and Alaska.”

Parsons, are a combination of personal and official records, which is illustrative of their context of use.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, as these are not HBC corporate records but rather records of the federal government, it does complicate what HBCA might do with them; for example, these records will likely never be considered to be put online because of the potential legal risk.¹⁰⁰ At the same time, concerns about Indigenous rights to free and prior consent in research are also significant, and articulated most recently in NISR, as well as in UNDRIP and OCAP®. There could be an argument that those Inuit interviewed had consented (although this is not documented), or at least were aware that they were being recorded, as in the case of Gary Butikofer noted above; but the moments of daily life that were captured, such as the church service or the impromptu whale hunt, seem much less likely to have been obtained with consent. And it is further similarly unclear that the context of the interviews and recordings were fully explained to willing participants, or that they consented to being archived.¹⁰¹

There are also other records that have been solely created by Indigenous people that were similarly collected and included in a collector's records, often without any real context, identification or provenance, and questionable claims to ownership. A good example of this type

⁹⁹ HBCA, Archives of Manitoba, "William Ralph Parsons fonds description," Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed March 28, 2020, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/PAM_DESCRIPTION/DESCRIPTION_DET_REP/SISN%203689?sessionsearch; see also Amanda Linden, "The Advocate's Archive: Walter Rudnicki and the Fight for Indigenous Rights in Canada, 1955 - 2010" (Master of Arts, Winnipeg, University of Manitoba, 2016), <https://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/xmlui/handle/1993/31730> for similar issues involving government records and other copyrighted material in private individuals' collections.

¹⁰⁰ See e.g. Michelle Light, "Managing Risk with a Virtual Reading Room: Two Born Digital Projects," in *Reference and Access: Innovative Practices for Archives and Special Collections*, ed. Kate Theimer (Rowman and Littlefield, 2014), 17–35; Jean Dryden, "The Role of Copyright in Selection for Digitization," *The American Archivist* 77, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2014): 64–95, <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.77.1.3161547p1678423w>; Don Taylor, Jennifer Zerkee, and Amanda Wakaruk, "Assessing Copyright Risk Tolerance for Large Scale Digitization Projects" (ABC Copyright Conference, Halifax, 2016), https://era.library.ualberta.ca/items/e06ebd95-66e4-493e-9a14-b9279243e819/view/7924dd89-c5d7-4f70-af63-331f0a7d67e0/AssessingCopyrightRiskTolerance_ABC2016.pdf.

¹⁰¹ See also Mills, "Learning to Listen."

of record is the Inuk diary found in the George Redfearn fonds (E.128/1).¹⁰² It is a single handwritten page written in Inuktitut syllabics with English translations, recording the events of the year from April 1914-March 1915. These include a journey from Great Whale River (Kuujuarapik) to Port Harrison (Inukjuak) and back in what is now Nunavik, as well as the birth of the author's child on Feb. 19, 1915. The timeline is laid out as a grid outline going counterclockwise following the rectangular shape of the paper, in 7-day week chunks, with the months indicated in intervals. Some days have written labels, while others merely have dots next to them. In the middle of the page, a tally of animals, either hunted or sighted, perhaps, is kept. One word that was just transliterated, "Ang-oo-tik-ek," is assumed to be the author's name; otherwise, nothing is known about who created this record and what their connection to HBC was, if any.

The Inuk diary has more questions than answers, the most pressing being how did this record end up at HBCA, in a fonds donated by the widow of an HBC captain in the early 1960s? According to the description in Keystone, the diary was donated separately from (and later than) the rest of the fonds, which were photographs from the same region.¹⁰³ There is no information in either the description about how this diary came to be in Captain Redfearn's possession, or how it came to be at HBCA. The description of this record does highlight that there is not much known about its provenance or creation, and indicates at all levels the language content. It has also been digitized and is available online. In 2018, it was also put on display as part of the

¹⁰² HBCA, Archives of Manitoba, "Inuk Diary, 1914-1915 Description," Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed December 14, 2019, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LISTINGS_IMAGES/LISTINGS_DET_IMAGES/SISN%2067501?sessionsearch; HBCA, Archives of Manitoba, "George Robert Redfearn Fonds Description," Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed December 14, 2019, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/PAM_DESCRIPTION/DESCRIPTION_DET_REP/SISN%203216?sessionsearch.

¹⁰³ "'Inuk Diary' Description."

standing exhibit in the first floor vault at HBCA that is accessed for tour groups. Like the online description, the caption emphasizes what is not known about the record. However, neither of these decisions considered the possibility that the person who created this record has not been shown to have consented to have this record in the archives. The real issue here is one of intellectual control and property rights.

As should be clear from the examples, there are a number of issues raised by Indigenous language records held by settler-colonial institutions, illustrated here by a selection of the Inuit language records held by HBCA. The history of archives laid out here highlights the ways that archives have continued to marginalize Indigenous peoples, but also points to some directions in which some archives and archivists are beginning to address some of those harms. In the next chapter, I will explore some ways that HBCA specifically and settler-colonial archives in general have or can address these issues.

Chapter Three: Archival Paths to Indigenous Language Maintenance and Resurgence

In the previous chapter, I identified several records containing language materials in Inuktitut held at HBCA, and discussed some of the issues that arise from their existence in a settler-colonial archives remote from communities involved in their creation, and to which they have a right. This chapter will examine a number of possibilities that an archives can undertake to make these materials available and accessible to their Indigenous users, who are often remote from the institution itself, and to bring some measure of ownership and control to Indigenous peoples over their records. For the records I have identified, the consideration of the issues of **discoverability/searchability**, **accessibility** and **access protocols** will be explored through the archival practices of **redescription**, **digitization**, **variable access**, and **repatriation**. Using the *National Inuit Strategy on Research (NISR)*, *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP®)*, the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)*, the *Final Report and Calls to Action* of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada, and the *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials (PNAAM)* as guides, these options ideally include the identification of interested Inuit stakeholders, and moving forward in consultation and collaboration with them. I will discuss some of the ways that archives can move forward with responsible stewardship of these records, using the Names and Knowledge Initiative at HBCA as a model, and identifying and evaluating other models from similar archives. I will also explore some of the ways that settler colonial archives can be involved in supporting Inuktitut (and other Indigenous languages) in the structural frameworks in which these records exist – that is, the use of those languages in the processing of records and the delivery of services.

The framework that I plan on using for my analysis derives from the literatures surrounding the recent developments in participatory and community archives and in the fight for recognition of Indigenous sovereignty and rights to their own self-determination, land, languages and cultures.¹ These resources include in particular the establishment of principles to inform research and archival collaboration with Indigenous peoples in Canada which were briefly discussed in chapter one, namely: the *National Inuit Strategy on Research* (NISR) for Inuit, and *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession* (OCAP®) for First Nations; the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP); the *Final Report and Calls to Action* of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada; and the archives-specific *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials* (PNAAM) that were developed for Canada and the United States. These documents provide an intellectual basis and framework for settler-colonial archives holding language materials to move forward in partnership with Indigenous peoples to work towards reconciliation and the reduction of archival harms.²

As described in chapter one, the *National Inuit Strategy on Research* (NISR) is premised on Inuit self-determination in research and prioritizes Inuit “access, ownership, and control over data and information,” including how it is “stored, used and shared.”³ Although this document is focused on the production of new research and its ethical considerations, it could also be applied

¹ This literature is vast, but touchstones include Isto Huvila, “Participatory Archive: Towards Decentralised Curation, Radical User Orientation, and Broader Contextualisation of Records Management,” *Archival Science* 8, no. 1 (2008): 15–36, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-008-9071-0>; Katie Shilton and Ramesh Srinivasan, “Participatory Appraisal and Arrangement for Multicultural Archival Collections,” *Archivaria* 63 (2007): 87–101; Andrew Flinn, Mary Stevens, and Elizabeth Shepherd, “Whose Memories, Whose Archives? Independent Community Archives, Autonomy and the Mainstream,” *Archival Science* 9, no. 1–2 (2009): 71–86, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-009-9105-2>; Terry Cook, “Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms,” *Archival Science* 13, no. 2–3 (2013): 95–120, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-012-9180-7>.

² The useful characterization of settler-colonial projects that are often described as ‘decolonization’ and ‘reconciliation’ as ‘archival harm reduction’ is credited to Krystal Payne.

³ Danny Ishulutak, “National Inuit Strategy on Research” (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, March 22, 2018), 4, <https://www.itk.ca/national-strategy-on-research/>.

retroactively, asking archivists to examine their holdings and think about the context of their creation, in particular the rights of those documented to records created by or about them that have been collected, produced by or attributed to non-Inuit researchers. This is not to say that archives are responsible for the way the research or record creation was conducted in the past, but just as they are responsible for making sure that donors have the legal rights to the records they are considering donating, they could consider whether the researcher had the right to archive the language records that they donated, and reassess the ethics of continuing to hold these records without input from the Indigenous peoples that contributed to their creation.⁴ Similarly to dealing with legacy holdings by means of reappraisal and deaccessioning in the name of optimizing expensive vault space, archives could also implement similar policies for stated institutional goals of reconciliation and decolonization.⁵ As the “Closer to Home” symposium participants noted,

the basic case for repatriation rests on the fact that materials or information have been removed from communities without their “free, prior and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs.” (UNDRIP Article 11:2.) In addition, *even material that was honestly acquired can be repatriated as an act of reconciliation* [my emphasis].⁶

OCAP®, while specific to First Nations and not intended to have a wider Indigenous application, is a set of principles that provides a useful separation of four issues in the collection

⁴ See also the draft strategies proposed by the Association of Canadian Archivists’ (ACA) Response to the Report on Truth and Reconciliation Taskforce (TRC-TF) in the presentation given by Erica Hernández-Read, “Building Trust, Creating Foundations II: Updates on Reconciliation Action and Awareness” (Association of Canadian Archivists National Conference, Vancouver, 2019).

⁵ For literature on reappraisal and deaccessioning, see Leonard Rapport, “No Grandfather Clause: Reappraising Accessioned Records,” *The American Archivist* 44, no. 2 (Spring 1981): 143–50, <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.44.2.b274w3126t430h52>; Peter Blodgett et al., “Guidelines for Reappraisal and Deaccessioning” (Society of American Archivists, May 2012), <https://www2.archivists.org/sites/all/files/GuidelinesForReappraisalAndDeaccessioning-May2012.pdf>; Marcella Huggard and Laura Uglean Jackson, “Practices in Progress: The State of Reappraisal and Deaccessioning in Archives,” *The American Archivist* 82, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2019): 1–40, <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc-82-02-04>.

⁶ Indigenous Heritage Circle, “Closer to Home - Indigenous Heritage in Archives Outside Canada Symposium Report,” August 12, 2019, 8, <http://indigenousheritage.ca/closer-to-home-symposium-report-en/>.

and holding of information – ownership, control, access and possession. It is important to be clear that these principles are *not* Inuit – NISR guides Inuit research principles, standards and ethics. But the definitions of the principles found in OCAP® can provide a framework for the tangle of issues that surround intellectual property rights. “Ownership” addresses the relationship of people to their information, while “possession” refers to the more tangible question of physical control; “control” refers to what could be termed moral rights to information management (among other things), while “access” covers not only the right to access information about themselves, but also to decide who else gets to access that information, and how.⁷

UNDRIP, as explored in chapter one, is a guiding statement for all aspects of Indigenous peoples’ rights, and while it is directed at governments, could fruitfully be applied in any institutional setting, including archives. This is made explicit in the TRC’s *Calls to Action* 69-70, which are directly addressed to the Canadian archival community. These calls demand a review of archival policies and best practices, and implementation of UNDRIP with respect to archives.⁸ For example, in their draft proposed strategies for archival best practices, the Association of Canadian Archivists’ Truth and Reconciliation Taskforce (TRC-TF) encourages recognition by archivists “that the circumstances under which documentary heritage can be ethically and legally acquired, preserved, accessed, published, or otherwise used...[and] can be ethically created and/or collected *evolves over time*.”⁹ [emphasis original].

⁷ “The First Nations Principles of OCAP®,” First Nations Information Governance Centre, last updated 2019, <https://fnigc.ca/ocap>.

⁸ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, “Calls to Action” (Winnipeg, 2015), secs. 69–70, http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf. For some of the work that has been done to address the Calls in Canadian archival settings, see Greg Bak et al., “Four Views on Archival Decolonization Inspired by the TRC’s Calls to Action,” *Fonds d’Archives*, no. 1 (July 14, 2017): 1–21, <https://doi.org/10.29173/fa3>; Response to the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Taskforce, “Report on the Results from the ‘Survey on Reconciliation Action & Awareness in Canadian Archives’ (2017)” (Steering Committee on Canada’s Archives, May 2018), <https://archives2026.files.wordpress.com/2018/06/survey-report-1-june-2018.pdf>; Hernández-Read, “Building Trust, Creating Foundations.”

⁹ TRC-TF, as cited in Hernández-Read, “Building Trust, Creating Foundations.”

The archives-specific *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials* (PNAAM) were developed in 2007 by an advisory committee of 16 Indigenous and 3 non-Indigenous information professionals to “identify best professional practices for culturally responsive care and use of [Indigenous] archival material held by non-tribal organizations,” incorporating many of the principles derived from these previously mentioned documents.¹⁰ Its strength is that it is premised on the sovereign legal status of Indigenous nations, and a recognition of the rights of Indigenous peoples to their cultural heritage, including who holds, accesses, and makes decisions about it. It also recognizes the centrality of relationship-building, respect, and reciprocity in education and training, valuing alternative knowledge systems and perspectives, and placing Indigenous stakeholders on an equal footing with information professionals. The guiding principles of PNAAM are to consult, listen and collaborate, and to use them in conjunction with local protocols. In 2018, the Society of American Archivists (SAA), the national archival professional organization in the United States, officially endorsed the protocols, and several settler-colonial institutions holding language records, such as the American Philosophical Society (APS) and the Smithsonian Institution (Smithsonian), have recently created policies and memoranda concerning how to approach Indigenous materials held within their collections based on the recommendations in PNAAM.¹¹

¹⁰ First Archivists’ Circle, “Protocols for Native American Archival Materials,” 2007, <http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>.

¹¹ Kritika Agarwal, “A Way Forward: The Society of American Archivists Endorses Protocols for Native American Materials,” *Perspectives on History*, October 2018, <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/october-2018/a-way-forward-the-society-of-american-archivists-endorses-protocols-for-native-american-materials>; Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, “Shared Stewardship of Collections,” July 2019, <https://folklife-media.si.edu/docs/folklife/Shared-Stewardship.pdf>; The American Philosophical Society, “Protocols for the Treatment of Indigenous Materials,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 158, no. 4 (December 2014): 411–20.

PNAAM is also not without issues, as became clear in the discussion among SAA members about whether it should adopt it.¹² Some reservations can be ascribed to a clash of epistemologies, and the way that challenges to existing structures make non-reflexive archivists feel uncomfortable, as detailed in chapter two. Others, however, present difficulties that are less easily resolved. For example, PNAAM recommends contacting “appropriate tribal community representatives” to build relationships, but it can be difficult to know who that might be, even when the community is clearly defined.¹³ The question of community leaders can be fraught, particularly in Indigenous communities where traditional leadership and political structures have often been subverted by the imposition of colonial structures, most recently illustrated by the 2020 conflict in northern British Columbia where decisions made by Wet’suwet’en hereditary chiefs on the one hand and band leaders created by the *Indian Act* on the other, diverge.¹⁴ More problematic can be defining who a “community” is in the first place, particularly in the case of geographically and otherwise distributed ones, like “Inuktit speakers.” Nevertheless, PNAAM seems to provide a useful, ethical starting point for engaging with the challenges of negotiating increased Indigenous access to and participation in the management of their cultural heritage, and will be one of the bases for assessment of how to move forward in stewarding records.

My assessment will also make use of Caswell and Cifor’s most recent theoretical framework, which argues for the inclusion of a feminist ethic of care and radical empathy in conducting relationships with record creators, record subjects, record users, and the larger

¹² See e.g. John Bolcer, “The Protocols for Native American Archival Materials: Considerations and Concerns from the Perspective of a Non-Tribal Archivist,” *Easy Access* 34, no. 4 (January 2009): 3–6; Agarwal, “A Way Forward.”

¹³ First Archivists’ Circle, “PNAAM,” 6.

¹⁴ Amber Bracken, “The Wet’suwet’en Are More United than Pipeline Backers Want You to Think,” *Macleans*, February 14, 2020, <https://www.macleans.ca/opinion/the-wetsuweten-are-more-united-than-pipeline-backers-want-you-to-think/>; Emily McCarty, “The Complicated History of Hereditary Chiefs and Elected Councils,” *First Nations Drum Newspaper*, February 14, 2020, <http://www.firstnationsdrum.com/2019/02/the-complicated-history-of-hereditary-chiefs-and-elected-councils/>.

community.¹⁵ This framework also emphasizes the ongoing and reflexive nature of these relationships, which meshes with the relational perspective of Indigenous methodologies and their emphasis on reciprocity, reflexivity, and relationship.¹⁶ However, as Daniela Agostinho eloquently argues, it is important to also incorporate anti-colonial, anti-racist, non-white feminist perspectives of care and caregiving when considering this approach, including the potential of paternalism and “the colonial underpinnings of care” that could replicate or exacerbate existing asymmetries and power differentials in notions of (archival) caretaking and caregiving.¹⁷ From this lens, the responsibility archivists have to the “subjects” of records (informants, collaborators, unwilling participants) and their larger community in addition to the putative creator is difficult to ignore¹⁸ – in the case of language records, this means that source communities and individuals need to have a say in how these records are handled, not just the researcher or official who may have collected the data; further, Indigenous peoples need to be consulted in how (and whether) materials are presented and accessed, not just the archivists who now have them in their custody.

There are essentially three approaches that heritage institutions like archives tend to follow with respect to access and control: increasing discoverability and remote access, often through redescription, digitization and outreach, but maintaining archival control; sharing control of materials and decision-making, and acting as co-stewards through partnerships, participatory

¹⁵ Michelle Caswell and Marika Cifor, “From Human Rights to Feminist Ethics: Radical Empathy in the Archives,” *Archivaria* 82 (2016): 23–43. For an application of this framework, see Genevieve Weber, “From Documents To People: Working Towards Indigenizing the BC Archives,” *BC Studies*, no. 199 (September 2018): 95–112.

¹⁶ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2nd ed. (New York: Zed Books, 2012); Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); Lori Lambert, *Research for Indigenous Survival: Indigenous Research Methodologies in the Behavioral Sciences* (Pablo, Montana: Salish Kootenai College Press, 2014).

¹⁷ Daniela Agostinho, “Archival Encounters: Rethinking Access and Care in Digital Colonial Archives,” *Archival Science* 19, no. 2 (June 2019): 158–62, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-019-09312-0>.

¹⁸ See e.g. Jacqueline Z. Wilson and Frank Golding, “Latent Scrutiny: Personal Archives as Perpetual Mementos of the Official Gaze,” *Archival Science* 16 (2016): 93–109, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-015-9255-3>; Joanne Evans et al., “Self-Determination and Archival Autonomy: Advocating Activism,” *Archival Science* 15, no. 4 (2015): 337–68, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-015-9244-6>.

archiving and the creation of shared portals or databases; and various projects and initiatives that could fall under the heading of “repatriation.” In terms of OCAP®, the first strategy increases access, but does nothing to alter ownership, control, possession, or decision-making about future access. The second strategy can acknowledge ownership, control, and rights to access and decision-making, and to varying degrees shares that control and decision-making power; possession is often not in question, and in practice ownership rarely is either. The third strategy should respect all four principles, if done well.

In practice, however, initiatives, projects and strategies that are labeled “repatriation” do not often fulfill the requisite criteria to be termed such. These practices are alternately called “knowledge repatriation,” “visual repatriation,” “virtual repatriation” or “digital repatriation,” but they are usually a combination of digitization, outreach, data sharing, circulation of copies, and collaborative or participatory description, sometimes with an advisory council. At its core, repatriation has a sense of giving back what is someone else’s to them; but even further, the etymology of the word embeds the centrality of homeland, Latin *patria* – to return to one’s own land – and this connection to land and home in acts of repatriation remains (or should be) central. As Jim Enote, a Zuni museum and cultural heritage center director argues along with Robin Boast, the terms “virtual” and “repatriation” are problematic when referring to digital data sharing and the circulation of digital copies of materials to Indigenous communities, rather than the physical return of cultural patrimony.¹⁹ They contend that “repatriation always refers to the corporeal, material person, thing, or practice,” and further argue that “the association of ‘repatriation’ with digital representations of museum collections, digital museum catalog

¹⁹ Robin Boast and Jim Enote, “Virtual Repatriation: It Is Neither Virtual nor Repatriation,” in *Heritage in the Context of Globalization*, by Peter F. Biehl and Christopher Prescott, vol. 8 (New York, NY: Springer New York, 2013), 103–13, http://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-1-4614-6077-0_13.

information, and digitized scholarly productions not only misunderstands the meaning of ‘repatriation’ but also misrepresents the process and intent.”²⁰ While Reddy and Sonneborne wonder, “is it more accurate to speak of restitution in terms of the ethical responsibility of museums in the West to ‘give back’ to the Rest, rather than repatriation (which assumes prior ownership), or reparation (which assumes guilt), or even reunification...?”,²¹ I would say that the issue with calling such a project repatriation is not that it assumes prior ownership, which is clear under the principles of NISR, UNDRIP and OCAP®, but rather that ownership (and possession) is not actually changing hands. This is not to say that these projects do not serve a purpose, or are not contributing to Indigenous agency, self-determination and reclamation of culture, as well as building trust between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous institutions that might lead to repatriation down the road; but rather, that calling them repatriation is not an accurate reflection of what is happening.

HBCA’s Names and Knowledge Initiative

The Names and Knowledge Initiative at HBCA is a participatory description project that is part of the Indigenous Peoples and Remote Communities Initiative. As Michelle Rydz, the foundational and lead archivist working on Names and Knowledge, has stated, “the core responsibilities of the Names and Knowledge Initiative are:

1. Connecting with Indigenous communities for the purpose of increasing their knowledge of and accessibility to HBCA records that relate to their communities.
2. Promoting the Names and Knowledge Initiative goal of obtaining community-sourced descriptive information through the building of long-term relationships with Indigenous communities
3. Providing copies of relevant HBCA records to members of Indigenous communities as a key part of the relationship building process, but also as a gesture of gratitude for

²⁰ Ibid., 109

²¹ Sita Reddy and D. A. Sonneborn, “Sound Returns: Toward Ethical ‘Best Practices’ at Smithsonian Folkways Recordings,” *Museum Anthropology Review* 7, no. 1–2 (2013): 129.

- identifying individuals in photographs and/or providing additional contextual knowledge.
4. Adding names and other knowledge obtained through the Names and Knowledge Initiative to the relevant archival descriptions.”²²

Names and Knowledge began with a pilot project in 2015 to connect Inuit communities with photographs, often with unidentified Inuit pictured, held in HBCA’s corporate and private collections, but has since expanded to include other record types and other Indigenous groups and communities.²³ Names and Knowledge focuses on increasing access to records, both remotely and in communities, through both proactive and community-initiated relationship building, digitization, and the circulation of copies/data sharing; including individual and collective Indigenous knowledge, expertise and perspectives provided, as co-creators of HBCA records, through participatory description;²⁴ and maintaining the centrality of relationships and reciprocity as a basis for their endeavours.²⁵ In terms of OCAP®, based on these core responsibilities, Names and Knowledge is mostly concerned with the provision of access, and the sharing of some control in terms of description.

Names and Knowledge began their pilot project by doing a basic redescription of materials to make them searchable, using the terms “unidentified Inuit”, and explaining how to search them in an additional resource on the Archives of Manitoba (AM) website, and in materials that were disseminated to Inuit organizations such as the Nunavut-based newspaper *Nunatsiaq News*; they did so as a first step, to begin the engagement with Inuit and to open the

²² Michelle Rydz, James Gorton, and Maureen Dolyniuk, “Theory to Archival Program: The Evolution of the Names and Knowledge Initiative” (ACA 2016 : ‘Futur proche’: Archives & Innovation, Montreal, 2016); conference paper components generously shared by Michelle Rydz and Maureen Dolyniuk.

²³ Rydz, Gorton, and Dolyniuk; Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, “24th Annual Report the Hudson’s Bay Company History Foundation, 2017-2018” (Winnipeg: Archives of Manitoba, 2018), 10, https://www.gov.mb.ca/asset_library/en/proactive/2019_2020/sch_24hbca17.pdf.

²⁴ For more on Indigenous peoples and HBC as a community of memory and co-creators of HBC records, see Michelle Rydz, “Participatory Archiving: Exploring a Collaborative Approach to Aboriginal Societal Provenance” (Master of Arts, Winnipeg, University of Manitoba, 2010), <http://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/xmlui/handle/1993/4247>.

²⁵ Rydz, Gorton, and Dolyniuk, “Evolution of Names and Knowledge.”

dialogue about how to describe the photographs in their holdings.²⁶ They established and nurtured relationships with a number of organizations, communities and partners, including the Manitoba Inuit Association, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, the Nunavut Economic Development Association, and the Avataq Cultural Institute in Nunavik, and have been asked to participate in the biennial Hudson Bay Regional Roundtable meetings; as a result, they have held several naming events and had interactions with digitized photographs put online, and other Indigenous communities and organizations have reached out to HBCA to create and sustain relationships.²⁷ Names and Knowledge also explicitly asks for any knowledge that Indigenous people would like to provide regarding the records. This is inviting them to be a part of the descriptive process through participatory archiving, and worded such that it is never assumed that anyone is obligated to participate.

The work that Names and Knowledge has done is most publicly visible through the inclusion of community-sourced information in the captions of photographs, including names of individuals, names for locations or communities, and social or cultural knowledge of what is happening. The addition of the amended captions is one way that Names and Knowledge has surfaced their community consultations and relationships, on the terms of those who have chosen to provide the knowledge, including providing the names and communities of contributors if they wish to be identified.²⁸ This is in contrast to Library and Archives Canada (LAC)'s Project

²⁶ "The Names and Knowledge Initiative," Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba, accessed January 2, 2020, https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/names_knowledge/index.html; Steve Ducharme, "Archivists Seeking Names of Arctic Inuit in Historic Photos," Nunatsiaq Online.ca, October 2, 2015, http://www.nunatsiaqonline.ca/stories/article/65674archivists_seeking_names_of_arctic_inuit_in_historic_photos.

²⁷ Ryzd, Gorton, and Dolyniuk, "Evolution of Names and Knowledge"; Hudson's Bay Company Archives, "HBCHF Annual Report, 2017-2018."

²⁸ Some captions use full personal names and communities, while others simply note "member of x community;" for an example, see captions in HBCA, AM, "1987/363-E-140/1-161 Eskimos: Western Arctic - Women' Description, Hudson's Bay House Library Photograph Collection Subject Files," Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed May 13, 2020, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LISTINGS_IMAGES/LISTINGS_DET_IMAGES/SISN%20347?sessionsearch.

Naming, which does not identify contributors.²⁹ However, more publicly available information about how Names and Knowledge works and how the redescription was accomplished could aid in transparency and accountability, including, for example, the core responsibilities that were outlined above. As an example, HBCA has changed some of their descriptions that use the word “Chipewyan,” an offensive term to the community, to misidentify Sayisi Dene in the title of records; however, it is unclear through the wording of the note in the Keystone description whether this was following community consultation or not.³⁰ It might also be helpful to note somewhere in the descriptions which files and collections have been redescribed with community knowledge, and how/when that knowledge was obtained.³¹ Finally, it is also unclear how decisions are made about what information from community consultations is included – to what extent are archivists mediating this information? A clearer statement of how the process works would be a place to start.

A final consideration is the provision of copies as a “gesture of gratitude,” as noted in the core responsibilities. I believe that the spirit behind Names and Knowledge is to reunite Indigenous peoples with their records without the expectation anything in return, but the phrasing of this statement could be interpreted as giving people copies of their own records as their compensation for their time and knowledge, when it could be framed more centrally as a function of justice, or restoring imbalance between archives and Indigenous communities,

²⁹ Greg Bak, Danielle Allard, and Shawna Ferris, “Knowledge Organization as Knowledge Creation: Surfacing Community Participation in Archival Arrangement and Description,” *Knowledge Organization* 46, no. 7 (November 2019): 502–21.

³⁰ For example, HBCA, Archives of Manitoba, “1987/363-I-71/1-20 Indians - [Sayisi Dene] - General, Hudson’s Bay House Library Photograph Collection Subject Files Description,” Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, accessed November 5, 2019, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LISTINGS_IMAGES/LISTINGS_DET_IMAGES/SISN%20864?sessionsearch. The “Notes” field simply says, “The term 'Chipewyan' has been replaced by 'Sayisi Dene' in the item description and the individual photograph captions for this folder.”

³¹ See Bak, Allard, and Ferris, “Knowledge Organization as Knowledge Creation.”

especially as the provision of copies is not contingent on the provision of knowledge. If HBCA did wish to compensate individuals for their contributions, which I believe would be appropriate, then I would recommend compensation beyond/outside of record sharing, which, as Rydz says, is a key part of relationship building (and reciprocity).³² Beyond this, copies being shared is not as reciprocal as sharing control over or returning the original records.³³

The following sections will explore ways in which HBCA could contribute to language maintenance and resurgence within the existing parameters of Names and Knowledge, and how they (and similar archives) could be informed by the guiding documents mentioned above, as well as by other projects and initiatives. In particular, I will raise questions about what HBCA (and other settler-colonial archives) might do concerning sharing decision-making power, ownership, and possession of records following existing examples. These sections are focused on the practices of redescription, digitization, variable access, repatriation, and incorporation of Indigenous languages into the delivery of services.

Redescription

After the identification of materials, adequate and culturally sensitive (re)description and (re)contextualization of Indigenous language materials is an important step to making them available and accessible to their source communities. This practice is in accordance with PNAAM, providing metadata that connects records to their Indigenous communities in meaningful and appropriate ways, and allows for more effective searching and retrieval.³⁴

³² Rydz, Gorton, and Dolyniuk, “Evolution of NKL.”

³³ For criticism of a lack of reciprocity in how Names and Knowledge functions, see also Carmen Miedema, “Building Bridges: Dismantling Eurocentrism in Archives and Respecting Indigenous Ways of Doing It Right” (Masters, Winnipeg, University of Manitoba, 2020), 30–32, <https://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/xmlui/handle/1993/34497>.

³⁴ First Archivists’ Circle, “PNAAM,” 12–13.

Lougheed et al. also emphasize the importance of description in promoting a welcoming environment to Indigenous users in the context of the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR).³⁵ In terms of the language records discussed in the previous chapter, good and accurate description is necessary for users to be able to find materials, and the “Language Notes” field at the fonds/series level, the only dedicated space to indicate the language of materials in Minisis’s implementation of RAD in Keystone, was not always a priority for descriptions in the past, or included misidentifications, such as Innu instead of Inuktitut in the Helen Burgess recordings.

As mentioned in chapter two, there are various difficulties posed by the words used to describe Indigenous peoples and languages. It is important to maintain the terms that might be offensive that are taken from the records and used in the descriptions, such as file names or original captions, because they are evidence of historical attitudes and practices, and reflect what is contained in the records; but it is equally important to acknowledge that these terms might cause discomfort or trauma, and to provide that context for current users.³⁶ One way to combat this would be to provide a disclaimer or content warning for searches,³⁷ as well as guidance about how to specifically approach searching for Indigenous records at HBCA. As Duarte and Belarde-Lewis note, “while knowledge organization researchers and practitioners may not be able to overhaul generations of social inequalities, adopting and including terms that reflect the experiences and perspectives of the marginalized is a step toward the redress of colonial

³⁵ Brett Lougheed, Ry Moran, and Camille Callison, “Reconciliation through Description: Using Metadata to Realize the Vision of the National Research Centre for Truth and Reconciliation,” *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 53, no. 5–6 (2015): 606, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639374.2015.1008718>.

³⁶ See e.g. Alicia Chilcott, “Towards Protocols for Describing Racially Offensive Language in UK Public Archives,” *Archival Science*, 2019, 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-019-09314-y>.

³⁷ This could address not only instances of racially or culturally offensive or outdated language, but also ableist language used to describe especially those with disabilities, or unexpected images or descriptions. See Gracen Brilmyer, “Archival Assemblages: Applying Disability Studies’ Political/Relational Model to Archival Description,” *Archival Science* 18, no. 2 (June 1, 2018): 95–118, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-018-9287-6>.

power.”³⁸ Some projects, such as the Library of New South Wales’s language material digitization initiative *Reclaiming Indigenous Languages*, require visitors to their website to read and acknowledge a series of disclaimers about inaccurate or sensitive information and additional contextualizing information before proceeding to the collection.³⁹

A useful model for a culturally responsive and respectful guide could be the “Guide to the Indigenous Material at the American Philosophical Society,” which is a searchable and browsable subject guide using both descriptive text and an interactive map that can be used as a portal to the APS’s descriptive database.⁴⁰ This guide includes various terms for nations, communities, languages and geographical locations, including historical terms, spelling variants and self-identifications, and describes where materials might be found within the records described – this is especially useful for large collections that might only have a few records pertaining to the groups or languages being described. It can also be updated reasonably easily as terminology changes or evolves. Another example is the prototype interface for the Digital Libraries North project in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, which also includes an interactive map function, visual aspects, and textual descriptions based on Inuvialuit community members’ user feedback; this feedback included “a strong sense” from community members that the use of historical and spelling variants of names “would ensure maximum discoverability,” “reflects the history of the region,” and “should be included in the metadata.”⁴¹ The idea of a user-friendly

³⁸ Marisa Elena Duarte and Miranda Belarde-Lewis, “Imagining: Creating Spaces for Indigenous Ontologies,” *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 53, no. 5–6 (July 4, 2015): 682, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639374.2015.1018396>.

³⁹ “Rediscovering Indigenous Languages: Community Consultation,” *State Library of New South Wales*.

⁴⁰ “Guide to the Indigenous Materials at the American Philosophical Society,” Archives, American Philosophical Society, October 30, 2019, <https://indigenousguide.amphilsoc.org/>. See also “Indigenous Cultures and Languages,” Archives, American Philosophical Society, accessed October 30, 2019, <https://www.amphilsoc.org/library/guides/indigenous-cultures-and-languages> for a description of their decisions and processes.

⁴¹ Sharon Farnel et al., “A Community-Driven Metadata Framework for Describing Cultural Resources: The Digital Library North Project,” *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 55, no. 5 (July 4, 2017): 299–300,

and culturally sensitive overlay to help facilitate access is one that could be developed at HBCA to great effect.

Many of the records that have been identified in this study could benefit from redescription that in particular surfaces the languages used in the records and additional provenancial context to make them more searchable and thus accessible to researchers, both by using existing descriptive fields, such as the “Language Notes” field at the fonds/series level, and by potentially creating language-specific fields at the file/item level that do not currently seem to exist in Keystone. In particular, the inclusion of information that is available to archivists in research tools that are available only on site or in internal files could assist remote users in locating records that would be of interest. As was noted in the report for the “Closer to Home” symposium, “community researchers need to understand this wide range of tools to understand all of what an archives has known about the records...Often, the tools made available to the public are less detailed than those available internally to institutional staff.”⁴² Along these lines, extracting the information contained in the HBCA search file regarding Indigenous languages found in HBCA records and entering it into the relevant descriptions could be a way to facilitate access to that information to remote clients, which many Inuit are likely to be at HBCA. The existence of additional word lists in Graham’s *Observations* and the dialect(s) used in E.J. Peck and Helen Burgess’s recordings could easily be noted by including (or correcting) those language keywords in the online descriptions, both in the language field available at the fonds/series level and at the file/item level in the notes field. More robust description for the E.J.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01639374.2017.1312723>. This includes names for places, individuals, languages, cultures and peoples.

⁴² Indigenous Heritage Circle, “Closer to Home Report,” 5.

Peck recordings would also clarify the context of their creation (as much as is known) and make these records more discoverable and therefore accessible.

Lougheed et al. also point out that “it is important to work with user communities, particularly Indigenous communities, in order to select the most appropriate language for description,” in addition to including Indigenous perspectives on the materials being described, if they are interested in providing them.⁴³ This is one of the strengths of Names and Knowledge’s approach, to create a space for Indigenous communities and individuals to self-describe in HBCA’s holdings. Names and Knowledge would be well-placed to engage with Inuktitut speakers about, for example, the dialects spoken in the E.J. Peck and Helen Burgess recordings to aid in their full redescription. As Farnel et al. note in their description of their Digital Library North project, “the ability to enhance the descriptions with the names of people or places, or with dates, or through the relating of a story, has been emphasized as crucial to community engagement with the digital library.”⁴⁴

Digitization and Access

The first (and sometimes only) step cultural heritage institutions often take is to increase the ability for Indigenous peoples to access materials in the custody of the archives, who often face barriers to access through geographical distance, distrust of colonial institutions, and unwelcoming physical and intellectual spaces. These projects and initiatives can have a variety of names, including “virtual repatriation,” “knowledge repatriation,” “visual repatriation” and other variations on repatriation. However, as described above, it does a disservice to the concept

⁴³ Lougheed, Moran, and Callison, “Reconciliation through Description,” 606. See also Weber, “From Documents To People,” 104.

⁴⁴ Farnel et al., “A Community-Driven Metadata Framework for Describing Cultural Resources,” 293.

of repatriation to dilute it with projects that are not actually shifting ownership, control, decision-making power or, particularly, possession, but rather increasing access to materials still held by archives.

This approach is in keeping with the collaboration between linguists, Indigenous community members, and archives known as the Breath of Life workshops, in which linguists partner with community members to help them interpret linguistic data held in university archives to facilitate the revitalization of languages with few to no living speakers left; these workshops began in California, and have since spread to Washington D.C., Oklahoma, Alaska, and British Columbia, with great success.⁴⁵ AM has recently launched a similar initiative, although not focused on language, called “Indigenous Afternoons in the Archives,” which has invited Indigenous researchers to come to the archives and receive guidance from local historians about navigating the records.⁴⁶ This project is a collaboration between AM and the Manitoba Indigenous Tuberculosis Photo Project (MITPP) led by Dr. Mary Jane Logan McCallum, a history professor at the University of Winnipeg and member of the Munsee Delaware Nation, who initiated the project. In this type of initiative, the archives are more or less passive in their role, while the heavy lifting is done by Indigenous community members and/or the academics (linguists or historians in these cases) who navigate the records. Moreover, the records remain in the custody of the archives, and community members must come to them in order to access them.

⁴⁵ “Breath of Life,” Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival, accessed March 14, 2016, <http://www.aicls.org/>; “History,” *National Breath of Life Workshops* (blog), 2015, <http://nationalbreathoflife.org/history/>; Leanne Hinton, “Audio-Video Documentation,” in *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, ed. Leanne Hinton and Kenneth L Hale (San Diego: Academic Press, 2001), 265–72.

⁴⁶ Justin Luschinski, “Studying Indigenous History,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 22, 2020, sec. The Metro, <https://www.winnipegfreepress.com/our-communities/metro/Studying-Indigenous-history-567201421.html>.

Increasingly, this approach tends to involve the digitization and dissemination of materials for public access on the Internet.⁴⁷ Digitization is an important tool to facilitate remote and future access (preservation), and can also be a part of digital repatriation, which will be discussed below. However, by itself, digitization is not inherently liberatory or democratising – Jane Anderson notes that “the increased digitization of collections by institutions remains an important effort to deal with colonial legacies of *access to* collections [my emphasis]. However, digitization does not undo or dissolve already existing property relations embedded in the material itself... it can also effect [sic] what material can be digitized to start with.”⁴⁸ Further, as Daniela Agostinho puts it, “...the digitization of contested archival material is never a merely technical process, entangled as it is with power differentials, racial and national imaginaries, memory politics and colonial legacies that continue to shape the societies whose histories are connected and disconnected by colonial archives.”⁴⁹

The use of the Internet in particular for distribution of materials to geographically distant and/or disparate communities is often described as an access panacea. However, there are several issues with this mode of thinking. The first is infrastructure – many remote and rural communities in Canada, for example, do not have consistent access to Internet at a high enough speed to download large files or access cloud-based services, including about 75% of Indigenous communities and across Inuit Nunangat.⁵⁰ The federal government has currently pledged to lay

⁴⁷ Ellen C. Cushman, “Wampum, Sequoyan and Story: Decolonizing the Digital Archive,” *College English* 76, no. 2 (2013): 115–35; Kirsten Thorpe and Monica Galassi, “Rediscovering Indigenous Languages: The Role and Impact of Libraries and Archives in Cultural Revitalisation,” *Australian Academic & Research Libraries* 45, no. 2 (2014): 81–100, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00048623.2014.910858>; Kirsten Thorpe, “Indigenous Records: Connecting, Critiquing and Diversifying Collections,” *Archives and Manuscripts* 42, no. 2 (2014): 211–14, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01576895.2014.911692>; Timothy B. Powell, “Digital Knowledge Sharing: Forging Partnerships between Scholars, Archives, and Indigenous Communities,” *Museum Anthropology Review* 10, no. 2 (December 31, 2016): 66–90, <https://doi.org/10.14434/10.14434/mar.v10i2.20268>.

⁴⁸ Anderson, 280.

⁴⁹ Agostinho, “Archival Encounters,” 143.

⁵⁰ See e.g. Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada, “High-Speed Access for All: Canada’s Connectivity Strategy - Get Connected,” Government of Canada, June 27, 2019,

down enough fiber optic cables to remedy this connectivity gap through partnerships and its own work, and this undertaking should improve remote users' ability to use online resources.⁵¹

Another difficulty posed by increasingly looking to the Internet is the devastating environmental and human impact that is wrought by the ways electronic devices are built and powered, which disproportionately affect Indigenous peoples and their lands, including in Canada. This includes rare mineral mining, as well as the building and maintenance of hydroelectric dams and facilities that power everything, from the data storage centers that host “the cloud” to the cables that provide broadband Internet to the devices we use.⁵² I believe that equal access to the Internet is essential, but also that increasingly relying on the existing digital infrastructure needs to be rethought in terms of its environmental impact.⁵³ The second major problem concerns intellectual property issues, including the indiscriminate dissemination of Indigenous materials online, which can be out of line with Indigenous approaches to knowledge, information, and access protocols. This will be treated more thoroughly in the next section on variable access.

The circulation of physical or digital copies of records to Indigenous communities and individuals, either through the Internet or through more closed systems/relationships, is one of the more robust engagement practices that settler-colonial archives have taken on in recent years. Names and Knowledge's approach to participatory archiving, for example, has positioned the

https://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/139.nsf/eng/h_00002.html#c; Hernández-Read, “Building Trust, Creating Foundations.”

⁵¹ Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada, “High-Speed Access for All.”

⁵² Anna Reading, “Seeing Red: A Political Economy of Digital Memory,” *Media, Culture & Society* 36, no. 6 (2014): 748–60, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443714532980>; Thomas Daigle, “‘Completely Unsustainable’: How Streaming and Other Data Demands Take a Toll on the Environment,” CBC News, January 2, 2020, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/technology/data-centres-energy-consumption-1.5391269>; Ramona Neckoway, “‘Where the Otters Play,’ ‘Horseshoe Bay,’ ‘Footprint’ and Beyond: Spatial and Temporal Considerations of Hydroelectric Energy Production in Northern Manitoba” (Ph.D., Winnipeg, University of Manitoba, 2018), <https://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/xmlui/handle/1993/33466>.

⁵³ See Keith L. Pendergrass et al., “Toward Environmentally Sustainable Digital Preservation,” *The American Archivist* 82, no. 1 (March 1, 2019): 165–206, <https://doi.org/10.17723/0360-9081-82.1.165> and Zack Lischer-Katz, “Studying the Materiality of Media Archives in the Age of Digitization: Forensics, Infrastructures and Ecologies,” *First Monday* 22, no. 1 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v22i1.7263> for a more thorough discussion.

provision of copies as one of their core functions, and increased Indigenous access to materials from, about or concerning them is central component of the project – as Rydz put it, “from the early planning stages of this initiative, relationship building and providing access to the records for members of the communities was something that we wanted to make sure we never lost sight of.”⁵⁴ Their model relies especially on digitization for online dissemination, in addition to the creation of copies for communities and individuals.⁵⁵ In some studies I have consulted, copies (often digital) are requested by communities rather than the physical records. Timothy Powell, director of the Centre for Native American and Indigenous Research at APS, has said, “as one of our Kwakwaka’wakw partners told me, ‘we just want the materials back so that we can interpret them ourselves; we’ve been studied to death.’”⁵⁶ However, it is unclear whether this is because they feel this is the most they can ask for, or that gaining access through copies is sufficient for their needs; just because some Indigenous communities, individuals and organizations have not asked for materials to be physically returned and seem satisfied with copies, does not mean that this is a universal sentiment.⁵⁷

Variable Access and Control

While increased access to language records is an incredibly important part of reclaiming language and culture for Indigenous peoples, it is further important that they have a say in how those materials are accessed both outside of and within their communities, supported by NISR,

⁵⁴ Rydz, Gorton, and Dolyniuk, “Evolution of Names and Knowledge.”

⁵⁵ Rydz, Gorton, and Dolyniuk; Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, “HBCHF Annual Report, 2017-2018,” 10.

⁵⁶ Powell, “Digital Knowledge Sharing,” 67. See also Robert Leopold, “Articulating Culturally Sensitive Knowledge Online: A Cherokee Case Study,” *Museum Anthropology Review* 7, no. 1–2 (2013): 85–104; Clint Bracknell, “Connecting Indigenous Song Archives to Kin, Country and Language,” *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 20, no. 2 (August 7, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.1353/cch.2019.0016>; Zinaida Manžuch, “Ethical Issues In Digitization Of Cultural Heritage,” *Journal of Contemporary Archival Studies* 4, no. 2 (December 8, 2017), <http://elischolar.library.yale.edu/jcas/vol4/iss2/4>; Reddy and Sonneborn, “Sound Returns.”

⁵⁷ See e.g. Anderson, “Negotiating Who ‘Owns’ Penobscot Culture.”

UNDRIP and OCAP®. Eurocentric archives have always provided variable access for a variety of reasons; these can include handling restrictions for fragile materials, security concerns, donor-imposed restrictions, access and privacy regulations, and considerations of intellectual property rights and other legislation. Donor-related restrictions and copyright in particular have historically worked against Indigenous access to research or data collected about them, as the records are deposited by scholars and researchers who are considered sole creators and whose decisions about access and reproduction are the only ones considered, as noted in chapter two. Jane Anderson argues that often “ownership and its cycles of permission and citation, for instance who gets named as the author and who grants permissions for use, remain undisrupted and normative.”⁵⁸

Settler-colonial archivists have also acted as gatekeepers in what can seem much more arbitrary and untransparent ways, such as requiring academic or other credentials for researchers to gain access, or being hostile towards researchers who might not use the archives in ways that will reflect favourably on the host institution.⁵⁹ The HBC Archives Department was certainly guilty of this, particularly in their early years – although it was established in the 1920s, researchers were not allowed direct access to HBC records until 1933, and through the 1940s, “the company did not want to jeopardize whatever publicity and profit its own publications would bring to it by allowing researchers to prepare competing publications. The company's intention was to make its archival material available to students of history and others, but it wanted to maintain control over what was published.”⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Anderson, 279.

⁵⁹ See e.g. Susan M. Hill, “Conducting Haudenosaunee Historical Research from Home: In the Shadow of the Six Nations–Caledonia Reclamation,” *The American Indian Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (2009): 479–498; Miedema, “Building Bridges,” 65–66.

⁶⁰ Deidre Simmons, “The Archives of the Hudson’s Bay Company,” *Archivaria* 42 (January 1996): 73–75.

Variable access can apply both to what is able to be accessed onsite and what is available online. For an example of onsite restrictions, the territorial archives of the Northwest Territories, contrary to their stated policy, restricted access to photographs of nude, tattooed Inuit women in the putative interest of the subjects of records when a researcher requested them. However, it was unclear whether this decision was made in consultation with those that were theoretically being protected, or if it was rather the archivist's judgement call.⁶¹ As an online example from HBCA, there are 91 items listed in the Hudson's Bay House Library photograph collection subject file for "Eskimos: Eastern Arctic – Groups" (1987/363-E-220) in Keystone, but only 64 digital objects appear. Clearly, not all materials have been placed online, but there is no information noted in the description or elsewhere that details what criteria was used to determine which were excluded.⁶²

There have been two approaches that archives have adopted in providing variable access based on Indigenous concerns about open access to Indigenous materials in non-Indigenous institutions, as discussed in chapter two. The first entails consultation with communities about the management and access protocols they wish to see, as laid out by PNAAM, and sometimes the use of an advisory council that has representatives from some, but not all, communities and groups represented in an archives' holdings.⁶³ These institutions acknowledge that Indigenous

⁶¹ Jamie Jelinski, "Without Restriction? Inuit Tattooing and the Dr. Wyn Rhys-Jones Photograph Collection at the NWT Archives," *Visual Anthropology* 30, no. 4 (August 8, 2017): 344–67, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08949468.2017.1340065>. This article, written by a non-Inuit researcher, takes a hostile tone towards the archivist's decision, which absolutely was not transparent and a poor solution to the problem. However, it is also not clear on what basis the researcher thought they were entitled to access.

⁶² Hudson's Bay Company Archives, "1987/363-E-220/1-91 Eskimos: Eastern Arctic – Groups, Hudson's Bay House Library Photograph Collection Subject Files Description," Keystone Archives Descriptive Database, http://pam.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LISTINGS_IMAGES/LISTINGS_DET_IMAGES/SISN%20353?sessionsearch.

⁶³ Examples of consultations and advisory councils include "Rediscovering Indigenous Languages"; The American Philosophical Society, "APS Protocols"; Robert Leopold, "What Is Shared Stewardship? New Guidelines for Ethical Archiving," Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, October 9, 2019, <https://folklife.si.edu/news-and-events/shared-stewardship-new-guidelines-for-ethical-archiving>; National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation,

groups are active stakeholders in the management of records, and are increasingly releasing publicly available policies of shared stewardship, such as APS and the Smithsonian.⁶⁴ However, both of these policies have a strong initial statement that any records in their holdings are owned by the institutions, negating the possibility of Indigenous ownership of Indigenous records, a fundamental principle of NISR, UNDRIP and OCAP®.⁶⁵ Both institutions have developed and maintained positive relationships with a variety of Indigenous groups, and certainly the initiatives they have undertaken have helped to build trust and contribute to Indigenous agency and resurgence;⁶⁶ but their statements suggest that any intellectual control that is shared with Indigenous stakeholders will only ever be at the behest of the goodwill of Maynard’s archivist as traffic cop⁶⁷ or Agostinho’s archivist as paternalistic caregiver,⁶⁸ rather than on a true equal footing. As a step, it is certainly better to share decision-making than not; but it is limiting in its power to transform the relationships that Indigenous peoples can have with archives, and with their own records.

The second approach to variable access goes further: to actually share control over the materials in question, often through the creation of co-curated web portals and databases, which may include parallel descriptions and layered access based on membership groups. There are a number of useful examples of such models in both archival and museal contexts, such as the

“About - Meet the Governing and Survivors Circle,” nctr.ca, last updated 2019, <https://nctr.ca/about-pages.php#governing>.

⁶⁴ The American Philosophical Society, “APS Protocols”; Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, “Shared Stewardship of Collections.”

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ See Brian Carpenter, “Archival Initiatives for the Indigenous Collections at the American Philosophical Society,” Society of American Archivists, Case Studies on Access Policies for Native American Archival Materials, February 2019, https://www2.archivists.org/sites/all/files/Case_1_Archival_Initiatives_for_Indiginous_Collections.pdf; Powell, “Digital Knowledge Sharing”; Timothy B. Powell, “The Role of Indigenous Communities in Building Digital Archives,” in *Afterlives of Indigenous Archives: Essays in Honor of The Occom Circle*, ed. Ivy Schweitzer and Gordon Henry (Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Press, 2019), 23–44; Reddy and Sonneborn, “Sound Returns”; Leopold, “What Is Shared Stewardship?”

⁶⁷ Steven Maynard, “Police/Archives,” *Archivaria* 68 (2009): 159–82.

⁶⁸ Agostinho, “Archival Encounters.”

Plateau Peoples' Web Portal, a collaboration between the University of Washington and Indigenous nations such as Yakama, and the Ojibwe People's Dictionary, a partnership between the University of Minnesota, the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS), and an advisory council of Ojibwe speakers.⁶⁹ This second project, specifically developed as a publicly accessible, dynamic language archive that exhibits dialectal and other demographic variations, also acts as a portal to other cultural materials held in the MHS, and provides a more holistic context for language use and learning. However, it does not provide a forum for users to interact with the system; the Plateau Peoples' Web Portal, on the other hand, uses the Mukurtu content management system to manage both institutionally-held records at the University of Washington, as well as their own materials, using their own internal access protocols and descriptive and tagging abilities.⁷⁰ While these initiatives allow for the archiving and creation of new language materials that are not institutionally held in collaboratively curated spaces, the University of Washington also lays claim of ownership to the records held by their institution, as above, and community access protocols are only in use on the "Tribal Path" part of the database; anyone can still access any of the institutionally-held records via the University of Washington pathway.⁷¹

The Burgess recordings at HBCA are a case in point about many issues involving the decision-making around variable access. As discussed in chapter two, they have an unclear copyright status, and so have not been placed online for broader dissemination (and likely will not be); however, they are accessible to be played onsite. Names and Knowledge would be well

⁶⁹ "Plateau Peoples' Web Portal," accessed April 8, 2016, <http://plateauportal.wsulibs.wsu.edu/html/ppp/index.php>; "About the Ojibwe People's Dictionary Project," The Ojibwe People's Dictionary, 2016, <http://ojibwe.lib.umn.edu/about>.

⁷⁰ Kimberly Christen, "Opening Archives: Respectful Repatriation," *The American Archivist* 74, no. 1 (2011): 185–210, <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.74.1.4233nv6nv6428521>; Boast and Enote, "Virtual Repatriation," 104.

⁷¹ Plateau Peoples' Web Portal and Center for Digital Scholarship and Curation, University of Washington, "Statement of Commitment," Plateau Peoples' Web Portal, October 2018, <https://plateauportal.libraries.wsu.edu/about>; Christen, "Opening Archives."

positioned to reach out to Inuit communities and organizations, through appropriate cultural organizations such as Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), Avataq and the Arctic College in Nunavut, for example, to let them know that these records are currently at HBCA, to try to find the appropriate people to ask about the records, and to undertake a collaborative approach to feedback about whether there were any personal or collective concerns about the content of the records, or their existence at HBCA. It is entirely possible that there are no issues with these records, and that there is nothing further that HBCA would need to do; but there is no way to know that without making people aware and opening space for reply. If there were issues with sensitivity, or with ownership in general, HBCA would need to decide whether it would share or pass over decision-making power about how to approach access to these records. This is especially complicated because within these 20 recordings, at least 10 communities are represented, and even more individuals; moreover, the interviews cover both Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants.

British Columbia's recent legislation implementing UNDRIP "gives government departments the authority to share decision-making with Indigenous governments."⁷² As HBCA is part of AM, and thus the archivists there are employees of a government department, legislation such as this could help remove some of the tension around issues surrounding control of archival materials. Although archivists are not lawmakers, in the past they have been able to advocate for the creation or amendment of laws that impact their work, such as abandoned property and copyright laws.⁷³ An example from Manitoba would be the *National Centre for*

⁷² John Last, "What Does 'implementing UNDRIP' Actually Mean?," CBC News, November 2, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/implementing-undrip-bc-nwt-1.5344825>. The recent conflict between the province and the Wet'suwet'en about the LNG pipeline going through Wet'suwet'en territory is not encouraging with regards to how BC will actually implement UNDRIP, however.

⁷³ See e.g. Blodgett et al., "Guidelines for Reappraisal and Deaccessioning"; Standing Committee on Industry, Science and Technology, "Statutory Review of the Copyright Act" (House of Commons of Canada, June 2019), <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/INDU/report-16/>; National Centre for Truth and

Truth and Reconciliation Act (2015), which “set[s] out the access and privacy laws that apply to Centre records” in the context of holding records from provinces and territories that all have different privacy and access legislation.⁷⁴ These examples illustrate the potential for archivists, and particularly archival institutions, to contribute to legislative goals, provided there is institutional will. It can be difficult when an archives is part of a much larger institution, such as a government or university, to convince those outside the archives with decision-making (and funding) power of the importance of archival goals; but a good example of this in practice can be found in the way that the Keeper of the Records at HBCA has discussed and advocated for Names and Knowledge up the hierarchical ladder to raise awareness within government about its significance and potential to align with institutional goals.⁷⁵

Beyond that, a perhaps more attainable goal of creating a policy for shared stewardship, as APS, the Smithsonian, the University of Washington and the University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collections (UMASC)⁷⁶ have done, could help navigate these issues, especially as a first step. Genevieve Weber notes that “managing traditional use protocols can be daunting and time-consuming, but it is essential for reconciliation.”⁷⁷ Integral to any approach, though, is an acknowledgement that Indigenous nations do have at a minimum the right to determine access

Reconciliation, “Submission to the Standing Committee on Industry, Science and Technology for the Statutory Review of the ‘Copyright Act,’” 2019, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/421/INDU/Brief/BR10268632/br-external/NationalCentreForTruthAndReconciliation-e.pdf>.

⁷⁴ Manitoba Justice, “The National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation Act,” Pub. L. No. N20 (2015), <https://web2.gov.mb.ca/laws/statutes/ccsm/n020e.php>; Thomas McMahon, “Creating the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation and Proactive Disclosure Under the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation Act,” SSRN Scholarly Paper (Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, January 2018), <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3110303>.

⁷⁵ Rydz, Gorton, and Dolyniuk, “Evolution of NKI.”

⁷⁶ Sarah Story, “Offering Our Gifts, Partnering for Change: Decolonizing Experimentation in Winnipeg-Based Settler Archives” (Master of Arts, Winnipeg, University of Manitoba, 2017), <https://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/xmlui/handle/1993/32497>; Shelley Sweeney, “Academic Archivists as Agents for Change,” *Comma* 2018, no. 1–2 (2020): 65–76, <https://doi.org/10.3828/comma.2018.6>.

⁷⁷ Weber, “From Documents To People,” 112. See also Allison Mills, “Learning to Listen: Archival Sound Recordings and Indigenous Cultural and Intellectual Property,” *Archivaria* 83 (Spring 2017): 123.

protocols;⁷⁸ the Plateau Peoples' Web Portal "Statement of Commitment," for example, says that "WSU will maintain their legal obligations *except where tribal concerns are reported due to sensitive, sacred, or other ethical considerations* [emphasis mine]. In this regard WSU is acting as an acknowledged steward through the university-wide MOU [Memorandum of Understanding] by upholding and valuing tribal moral, ethical and legal concerns."⁷⁹ Any implementation of such a policy would have to: recognize the uniqueness of each possible relationship; allow for time to develop that relationship, as Names and Knowledge has done up to this point; and be open to non-Eurocentric ways of approaching these issues, even if archivists do not fully understand them. As Duarte and Belarde-Lewis point out, "practices and processes that may frustrate a non-Indigenous project member may in fact represent integral decision-making and conceptual processes for tribal communities."⁸⁰

It can also be difficult to imagine what this process may look like in practical terms. As many archivists who have collaborated with Indigenous communities have noted, each relationship is unique, and may have different requirements and processes.⁸¹ But then again, the processes may not be as different as initially imagined, and in fact very similar to other access protocols that archives already implement, such as donor-imposed and legislation-contingent access protocols following Freedom of Information (FOI) and copyright laws. The difference is that Indigenous communities are not considered rights holders, and as such often do not have easy ways to determine what is in the records, and often do not have copies for themselves. As such, first steps would include identifying the community of interest/point of contact; providing

⁷⁸ TRC-TF, as outlined in Hernández-Read, "Building Trust, Creating Foundations."

⁷⁹ Plateau Peoples' Web Portal and Center for Digital Scholarship and Curation, University of Washington, "Statement of Commitment."

⁸⁰ Duarte and Belarde-Lewis, "Imagining," 679.

⁸¹ See e.g. Elizabeth Joffrion and Natalia Fernández, "Collaborations between Tribal and Nontribal Organizations: Suggested Best Practices for Sharing Expertise, Cultural Resources, and Knowledge," *The American Archivist* 78, no. 1 (2015): 192–237; Powell, "Digital Knowledge Sharing."

easy access to the records in order to make decisions about outside access requests, whether through physical or digital copies, or representatives that can be present in the archives through an advisory council or other role; and collaboratively creating a mechanism for permissions to be passed forward and back.⁸² For example, for a test case involving Dena'ina records at the Alaska Native Languages Archive (ANLA) at the University of Fairbanks from 2003-2006, “it was agreed upon by the Dena'ina participants in these discussions that access to archive materials cataloged online could be granted via email request and by clicking through a Conditions of Use agreement.”⁸³

Identifying who to contact within a group, even when it is well-defined, is often not as simple as it is to say; this will be discussed below. But even though this step can be fraught and messy, it is not a reason not to engage. Moreover, recognizing that Indigenous stakeholders have agency and are not homogenous in their opinions, just like any other group that an archives might have a relationship with, such as private donors or organizations, is critical for settler-colonial archives moving forward in relationship with them, and in line with ideas surrounding cultural humility that have been articulated in a library setting by Hurley et al.⁸⁴ It can feel daunting or confusing for settler-colonial archivists to approach Indigenous stakeholders as sometimes there is no agreement within the group, or even among group representatives, on how to move forward with materials; one member of the group might be fine with open access, while

⁸² First Archivists' Circle, “PNAAM”; Joffrion and Fernández, “Collaborations between Tribal and Nontribal Organizations.”

⁸³ Andrea Berez, Taña Finnesand, and Karen Linnell, “C'ek'aedi Hwnax, the Ahtna Regional Linguistic and Ethnographic Archive,” *Language Documentation and Conservation* 6 (2012): 241–42.

⁸⁴ David A. Hurley, Sarah R. Kostelecky, and Lori Townsend, “Cultural Humility in Libraries,” *Reference Services Review* 47, no. 4 (January 1, 2019): 544–55, <https://doi.org/10.1108/RSR-06-2019-0042>. See also Robin J. DiAngelo, *White Fragility: Why It's so Hard for White People to Talk about Racism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2018).

another may feel that records are sensitive or wish to restrict access based on Indigenous ownership of materials.⁸⁵

This happened in the case of the Cherokee syllabary manuscripts held by the National Anthropological Archives (NAA) at the Smithsonian and the Museum of the Cherokee Indian (MCI), digitally repatriated in 2008 to the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. Members of the band's Elders Council asserted that the manuscripts held cultural knowledge that was not to be widely circulated, even to the enrolled members, while other members of the band (or non-enrolled people of Cherokee heritage) felt like they should be able to access the materials as part of their family or cultural patrimony.⁸⁶ The result was that MCI, in accordance with the wishes of the Elders Council, did not put digitized content from the syllabaries online and required verification of enrollment in the Eastern Band in order for access to be provided on-site; however, it also included links to the NAA database, where the digital content was not removed and could be accessed by anyone.⁸⁷

While this “novel” solution is touted by the author as addressing many of the issues presented by these culturally sensitive language records, it seems inescapable to me that this model does not do the one thing that the Elders Council asked for, which is to restrict access based on cultural protocols. Why restrict access in one location, just to point to another location where access is free? I see the value in limiting access within an institution, even when one does not have the power to limit access universally, as a show of good faith and relationship building.

⁸⁵ See e.g. Lisa Conathan and Andrew Garrett, “Archives, Communities, and Linguists: Negotiating Access to Language Documentation,” 2009, <http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/~garrett/OLAC-2009.pdf>; Leopold, “Articulating Culturally Sensitive Knowledge Online.”

⁸⁶ Leopold, “Articulating Culturally Sensitive Knowledge Online,” 92–95.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 92–94; “Documenting Endangered Languages,” *The Museum of the Cherokee Indian*, accessed December 13, 2019, <https://www.cherokeemuseum.org/archives/documenting-endangered-languages>. A search of the MCI and NAA databases in late 2019 did not reveal these connections, but I was also unable to find any documentation that these connections formerly existed, or that anything had changed or why. It is unclear whether the Tribal Council or Elders Council did request that the digitized pages be taken down at NAA, for example.

However, this solution certainly seems to privilege those who desired more open access than those who wished it to be closed. While the article was written five years after the project was carried out, this aspect of their model was not really addressed in the interviews carried out with band members, including elders. In 2019, a search for Cherokee medical formulae in both online catalogs did not bring up results that were linked, and it appeared that the digitized material at NAA had been taken down, with no explanation or documentation readily apparent, suggesting that this solution was indeed not really best for all involved.⁸⁸ This example illustrates the difficulties that can be encountered when dealing with potentially sensitive content and differing opinions about how to treat it, as well as the need for greater transparency in how archives implement policies and manage data.

“Repatriation,” Ownership and Control

The third approach to Indigenous materials is to acknowledge Indigenous ownership of cultural materials created about them, or with them and without their consent to be archived, and to repatriate those records to their communities of origin. Physical repatriation is not often discussed with respect to language materials that I am aware of, although it is certainly possible that a recording of a ceremony or story might be requested to be returned in its physical form to a source community, for example. It is much more often associated with objects, such as human remains or sacred items, most notably through the North American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in the United States, and is often the purview of museums.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ The only information on the website for the Museum of the Cherokee Indian is “at the request of the Elders’ Committee of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, medicine formulae are not published online by the Museum.” (“Documenting Endangered Languages.”)

⁸⁹ See e.g. Maureen Anne Matthews, “Repatriating Agency: Animacy, Personhood and Agency in the Repatriation of Ojibwe Artefacts,” in *Museums and Restitution: New Practices, New Approaches*, ed. Kostas Arvanitis and Louise Tythacott (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2014), 121–38; Robyn G. Ewing, “Finding Middle Ground: Case Studies in Negotiated Repatriation” (Thesis, Simon Fraser University, Department of Archaeology, 2010),

Despite the discussion above, I do believe that repatriation is also possible with a digital rather than physical return of records if the request is for the latter to stay at the institution in a stewarding capacity by the community, individuals or organizations in question, along with a transfer in decision-making powers and ownership.⁹⁰ This is what I would term “digital repatriation.”

I would argue that the Inuk diary might be an unproblematic candidate for physical repatriation if it was requested. While the context of creation, provenance, and creator of the Inuk diary are all murky, the places associated with this record are clear – Great Whale River (Kuujuarapik) and Port Harrison (Inukjuak), two communities still populated in Nunavik. With this information, Names and Knowledge could contact Avataq, as an archives at a Nunavik cultural institution with an office located in Inukjuak itself,⁹¹ to see if there is any response or interest. I am not advocating that physical repatriation is the only course of action that would be appropriate for this record, but I am highlighting it as a possibility. If requested to remove this record from the archives and return it to relatives or community, HBCA would again need to decide whether to let go of control of records whose place in the archives is contested through deaccessioning.

As the sometimes heated discussion around PNAAM initiated by the Society of American Archivists (SAA) has illustrated, there can be considerable institutional resistance to the loss of control of “their” materials.⁹² This fear is stated most succinctly by Boast and Enoté,

<http://summit.sfu.ca/item/11568>; Jisgang Nika Collison, Sdaahl K’awaas Lucy Bell, and Lou-ann Neel, *Indigenous Repatriation Handbook* (Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2019), https://royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/sites/default/files/indigenous_repatriation_handbook_rbcm_2019.pdf.

⁹⁰ Similarly, if physical records are returned but a digital copy is retained by the institution – the key is that ownership and decision-making powers over the copy are also transferred.

⁹¹ The archives are located in Montreal.

⁹² See e.g. Frank Boles, David George-Shongo, and Christine Weideman, “Task Force to Review ‘Protocols for Native American Archival Materials’” (Washington, DC: Society of American Archivists, February 7-10, 2008), <http://files.archivists.org/governance/taskforces/0208-NativeAmProtocols-IIIa.pdf>; Bolcer, “The Protocols for

who write that “the idea of virtual repatriation grew out of the goal of accommodating the needs of stakeholder communities without actually having *to give the thing back* [emphasis original].”⁹³ This argument is echoed by Anderson and Montenegro, who note that at the core of these programs of “return,” institutions are happy to extract further information from and provide surrogates of materials to source communities, but they are “keen to avoid[...] claims of ownership to the collections themselves.”⁹⁴

While it is not explicitly stated in Names and Knowledge’s core responsibilities above, the third point of providing copies implies that copies, rather than records, will be returned to communities. I appreciate that Names and Knowledge and HBCA do not make claims of repatriation, and are clear that what they do is circulate copies, whether physical or digital, according to the preference of the recipients. However, continuing on the discussion in the previous section, HBCA does have to decide how it would approach a request for records themselves to be returned, or for control to be given over. While the APS, Smithsonian and Plateau Peoples’ Web Portal policies mentioned above do unequivocally lay claim to the records in their possession, the Smithsonian does allow for the (rare) possibility that Indigenous materials might be returned or deaccessioned.⁹⁵ As noted above, archives often have deaccessioning policies that are contingent on reappraisals; within that framework, they could create policies that would allow them to pass materials on to others who have moral rights to or

Native American Archival Materials: Considerations and Concerns from the Perspective of a Non-Tribal Archivist”; Agarwal, “A Way Forward.”

⁹³ Boast and Enoté, “Virtual Repatriation,” 111.

⁹⁴ Jane Anderson and Maria Montenegro, “Collaborative Encounters in Digital Cultural Property: Tracing Temporal Relationships of Context and Locality,” in *The Routledge Companion to Cultural Property*, ed. Jane Anderson and Haidy Geismar (Routledge, 2017), 433, <https://localcontexts.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Cultural-Property-book-Chapter-22.pdf>.

⁹⁵ Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, “Shared Stewardship of Collections”; Plateau Peoples’ Web Portal and Center for Digital Scholarship and Curation, University of Washington, “Statement of Commitment.”

are better suited for caring for them, such as Indigenous cultural organizations or communities. Many archivists have had concerns about the perception to donors and the public regarding deaccessioning; however, a crucial component of any reappraisal and deaccessioning program is “transparent and documented policies and procedures.”⁹⁶

Perhaps more frequently for archival institutions, digital repatriation, as described above, may be the most fruitful path forward. A successful example of the digital repatriation of language records that also gives intellectual control to Indigenous nations is found at *C’ek’aedi Hwnax*, the Ahtna Regional Linguistic and Ethnographic Archive in Copper River, Alaska. The Ahtna Nation requested the digital repatriation of language materials held at the Alaska Native Languages Archive (ANLA) at the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF), as “despite the growing availability of ANLA materials online, there was still a desire within the Ahtna community to exercise more local control of Ahtna recordings.”⁹⁷ While Ahtna were already in control of granting access permissions for the records still held by ANLA, they also created their own language archive based around these digitally repatriated records, and other original recordings from around the community, within a cultural centre that promotes a holistic learning environment.⁹⁸ These materials can be accessed primarily via the cultural centre itself, but to provide access to a wider community of Ahtna villages, they have also proposed remote networked workstations in tribal offices.⁹⁹

In addition to the digital repatriation (and continued access provision) that UAF has done, it also supports this effort by providing backup storage to the *C’ek’aedi Hwnax* materials, which

⁹⁶ Huggard and Jackson, “Practices in Progress,” 2–4.

⁹⁷ Berez, Finnesand, and Linnell, “C’ek’aedi Hwnax, the Ahtna Regional Linguistic and Ethnographic Archive,” 242.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 249.

has been referred to as “distributed linguistic archiving.” Although possession of the recordings remains at UAF, it is clear that this possession was requested by the community and is accompanied by control and decision-making power that rests with them. It is this sort of support – as stewards and custodians, but not necessarily owners – that I also envision as being central to the future role of non-Indigenous archives in language revitalization and Indigenous community archives.¹⁰⁰ ANLA’s current deposit policy also states,

in archiving audio recordings ANLA assumes ownership only of the physical copy of the material being archived at ANLA. This is not a wider claim to intellectual property rights or ownership of contents of the recording. Ownership of the content of the recordings remains with the original speakers, their descendants, their communities, the depositor, and their representatives. ANLA is committed to honoring access restrictions requested by the recorder or depositor.¹⁰¹

Repatriation, though touted as the way forward, is not without its difficulties. One of these complications is determining who the recipient of repatriated records should be. In the case of well-defined, self-contained communities, such as remote communities in Inuit Nunangat, this issue is less apparent. But in many of the cases of speech communities, speakers are in disparate, geographically distributed locations, without a centralized “community,” or clearly recognized “leaders,” as PNAAM sets out.¹⁰² The E.J. Peck recordings could fall into this category, as the records were not created by identified member(s) of identified Inuit communities, and could be shared with “Inuktit speakers” more broadly. In a case like this, who is to be approached to speak for “the community,” if indeed such a thing exists, and where are materials to go, if repatriation is requested and appropriate? It is not always easy to say, although cultural organizations may be the most appropriate first option.

¹⁰⁰ See also Linda Barwick, “Turning It All Upside Down... Imagining a Distributed Digital Audiovisual Archive,” *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 19, no. 3 (September 1, 2004): 253–63, <https://doi.org/10.1093/lc/19.3.253>.

¹⁰¹ University of Alaska-Fairbanks, “For Depositors,” Alaska Native Language Archive, April 2, 2019, <http://crrd-gotbooks.com/anla/about/deposit/>.

¹⁰² First Archivists’ Circle, “PNAAM.”

Moreover, there is a question whether records such as these would be of interest to Inuit or Inuktut speakers. As discussed, many of the language records that exist in settler-colonial archives were not created by first language speakers, but by colonizers and collectors. These recordings are of a non-Inuit missionary, contracted by a commercial enterprise that functioned similarly to a colonial government and arguably exploited Indigenous populations, delivering Christian messages for the purpose (or reinforcement) of conversion. For languages that are no longer spoken, or which may have few materials to provide a foundation for revitalization, records like this can be invaluable in assisting Indigenous peoples in reclaiming and reawakening their languages.¹⁰³ But for languages like Inuktut, which are relatively robust, have many first language speakers, and for which recordings of Inuit speaking earlier versions exist: are recordings like this of use or value, for either language or cultural purposes? Would Inuit feel like these recordings belong to them, as part of their cultural heritage?

Ultimately, I would say that it is not up to archivists to answer those questions, but rather Inuit – and there may be many diverse opinions about it. Some Inuit may have no interest in hearing missionaries speak in Inuktut or feel anger about the representation of colonization, while others may feel that “we often hear non-Inuit talk about how missionaries were not good for us. When Inuit talk about this, they usually give another opinion and tell of their respect for the religious teachings, and for the other roles they played especially in those early days...one

¹⁰³ See, e.g., the work in Thorpe and Galassi, “Rediscovering Indigenous Languages”; Leanne Hinton, “The Use of Linguistic Archives in Language Revitalization: The Native California Language Restoration Workshop,” in *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, ed. Leanne Hinton and Kenneth L Hale (San Diego: Academic Press, 2001), 419–24; “Breath of Life”; Natasha Warner et al., “Revitalization in a Scattered Language Community: Problems and Methods from the Perspective of Mutsun Language Revitalization,” *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 2009, no. 198 (2009): 135–48, <https://doi.org/10.1515/IJSL.2009.031>; Jeffrey Mifflin, “‘Closing the Circle’: Native American Writings in Colonial New England, a Documentary Nexus between Acculturation and Cultural Preservation,” *The American Archivist* 72, no. 2 (2009): 344–382.

way or another these teachings have become part of our life and culture.”¹⁰⁴ It is not archivists’ job to try to divine what opinions an Indigenous group might have about the content, provenance, or dissemination of records; but it is up to them to create the space and relationship to have a dialogue about it, and to be open to sharing decision-making power. In the case of the E.J. Peck records, existing contacts HBCA might have with cultural organizations in Nunavik, like Avataq, and Nunavut could be an approach, letting potentially interested parties know that the records exist, and then being open to whatever may come from engagement.

Archives and the language of everyday use

Much of the research (and this discussion thus far) on language and archives has understandably focused on language records held by archival institutions, and archiving language now for future use. But relatively little has been said about archives promoting the use of Indigenous languages by providing opportunities to access materials, engage with exhibits, and otherwise participate in the archives in Indigenous languages – that is, to use Indigenous languages as the language of service delivery. This is probably the most impactful way that settler-colonial archives can support Indigenous language maintenance and resurgence, as many linguists, educators and elders have made it clear that immersion in and daily use of language is the most effective way to do so.¹⁰⁵ Farnel et al. note that “a great deal of discussion in the

¹⁰⁴ Juhi Sohani, “5000 Years of Inuit History and Heritage” (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, November 4, 2004), 13, <https://www.itk.ca/5000-years-inuit-history-heritage/>.

¹⁰⁵ See e.g. Louis-Jacques Dorais and Igor Krupnik, “Preserving languages and knowledge of the North,” *Études/Inuit/Studies* 29, no. 1–2 (2005): 5–30, <https://doi.org/10.7202/013929ar>; Kumiko Murasugi and Monica Ittusardjuat, “Documenting Linguistic Knowledge in an Inuit Language Atlas,” *Études Inuit Studies* 40, no. 2 (2016): 169–90, <https://doi-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/10.7202/1055437ar>; Onowa McIvor, “The Contribution of Indigenous Heritage Language Immersion Programs to Healthy Early Childhood Development,” *Research Connections Canada: Supporting Children and Families* 12 (2005): 5–20; Heather Blair et al., “Daghida: Cold Lake First Nation Works towards Dene Language Revitalization.,” in *Indigenous Languages across the Community: Proceedings of the Annual Conference on Stabilizing Indigenous Languages*, ed. Barbara Burnaby and Jon Reyhner (Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University, 2002), 89–98, <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED462238>; Patrick Moore and Kate Hennessy, “New Technologies and Contested Ideologies: The Tagish FirstVoices Project,” *The American*

literature [on metadata for Indigenous communities' digital resources revolves] around the importance of using local languages, dialects and scripts.”¹⁰⁶ For Indigenous languages that are dormant or have few first language speakers, this is a considerable challenge that might require additional steps to build up the capacity to create materials and services in Indigenous languages. But for those that have relatively robust speaker bases, such as Inuktitut, this is an approach that could be applied immediately, and to great effect given the disparities in the delivery of services discussed in chapter one. This is also supported by NISR, which advocates for the use of Inuktitut in the platforms used for information and data storage and dissemination.¹⁰⁷

However, there are many challenges to implementing such a course of action. The biggest challenge is finding people who can speak, write and translate in Indigenous languages to do this work, and prioritizing resources to pay for those services. People who have language skills can be highly sought after, and there often are not enough to do all the work that could employ them.¹⁰⁸ Alternately, institutions can be hesitant about paying people to do language work like translation or the creation of materials, particularly in an age of tight budgets and limited resources. For example, Deputy Librarian and Archivist of Canada Normand Charbonneau said in a presentation at the University of Manitoba in 2016 that Library and Archives Canada (LAC) was looking to eventually crowdsource translations of archival records into Indigenous languages, rather than pay people for that knowledge and expertise; and in 2018, LAC launched Co-Lab, a crowdsourcing initiative that includes translation as an optional

Indian Quarterly 30, no. 1 (2006): 119–37, <https://doi.org/10.1353/aiq.2006.0006>; Warner et al., “Revitalization in a Scattered Language Community”; Layla (chuutsqa) Rorick, “Wayaasuki Naananiqsakqin : At the Home of Our Ancestors: Ancestral Continuity in Indigenous Land-Based Language Immersion,” in *Indigenous and Decolonizing Studies in Education: Mapping the Long View* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 202–12.

¹⁰⁶ Farnel et al., “A Community-Driven Metadata Framework for Describing Cultural Resources,” 292.

¹⁰⁷ Ishulutak, “NISR,” 32.

¹⁰⁸ For an Inuit example in Nunavut, see Yvonne Earle, “Ikajarutit: Delivering Legislative Library Services in Aboriginal Language Environment” (World Library and Information Congress: 74th IFLA General Conference and Council, Quebec, 2008), 3, <https://origin-archive.ifla.org/IV/ifla74/papers/103-Earle-en.pdf>.

engagement field for citizen volunteers.¹⁰⁹ A similar initiative was launched in 2016 at Yale's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscripts Library, which crowdsources transcriptions of records in Mi'kmaq and Cherokee writing systems into the roman alphabet from "community members."¹¹⁰ These are yet more examples of the tendency of settler-colonial archives (and settler society in general) to undervalue the contributions and expertise of Indigenous peoples.

Archives are often underfunded, and can have difficulty finding the resources to cover even basic, day-to-day operational costs.¹¹¹ In this context, archivists often must be creative with how they manage to accomplish their core responsibilities, let alone provide additional services. Crowdsourcing and volunteer engagement have not only been touted as ways to fill some of the gaps, but also to democratize archives.¹¹² The reality of limited means is inescapable and cannot be ignored, and will naturally shape archival policies. Similarly, the desire to value the input and expertise of non-archivists through crowdsourcing is an important shift in how archives interact with the public and may begin to break down some of the gatekeeping, distrust and barriers that can exist. But in our neoliberal, capitalist society, labour has been commodified to such a degree that to ask people to provide their knowledge and expertise without compensation can feel

¹⁰⁹ Normand Charbonneau, presentation to University of Manitoba Archival Studies students, Nov. 2016. For discussion of LAC's Co-Lab initiatives (launched April 2018), including transcription and translation, see Alexandra Haggert, "Co-Lab: Crowdsourcing Our Digital Collection," *Signatures*, Fall/Winter 2019, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/about-us/publications/signatures/Pages/signatures-fall-winter-2019.aspx>.

¹¹⁰ Paul Grant-Costa, "Mi'kmaq Manuscript Available At The Beinecke," *Op-Ed* (blog), February 10, 2016, <https://campuspress.yale.edu/yipp/mikmaq-manuscript-available-at-the-beinecke/>; "Kilpatrick Collection of Cherokee Manuscripts," Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, December 14, 2018, <https://beinecke.library.yale.edu/collections/highlights/kilpatrick-collection-cherokee-manuscripts>.

¹¹¹ See e.g. Andrea Hinding, "Of Archivists and Other Termites," *The American Archivist* 56, no. 1 (Winter 1993): 54–61, <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.56.1.a752462722210517>; Mark Greene and Dennis Meissner, "More Product, Less Process: Revamping Traditional Archival Processing," *The American Archivist* 68, no. 2 (2005): 208–263; Terry Eastwood, "Archives, Democratic Accountability, and Truth," in *Better off Forgetting?: Essays on Archives, Public Policy, and Collective Memory*, ed. Mona Holmlund and Cheryl Avery (Toronto, 2010), 143–68; Jackie M. Dooley and Katherine Luce, *Taking Our Pulse: The OCLC Research Survey of Special Collections and Archives* (Dublin, OH: OCLC Research, 2010), <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/30676917.pdf>; Leopold, "Articulating Culturally Sensitive Knowledge Online."

¹¹² Zoe D'Arcy, "'The Hive': Crowdsourcing the Description of Collections," in *Description: Innovative Practices for Archives and Special Collections*, ed. Kate Theimer (Toronto: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014), 1–9.

alienating and devaluing instead. In reality, the kind of people who tend to engage with these sorts of initiatives (for free) are often the same kind of people who are archivists, and the benefits to the volunteer are not always apparent.¹¹³ Further, when the type of work being requested (for example, translation) is a type that is a paid profession, it undermines the value of this work. And when it is marginalized populations, like Indigenous peoples, that are asked to do this work, for free, it replicates extractive and exploitative power structures, and speaks volumes about whose knowledge and expertise is considered valid and worth paying for.

Nevertheless, there are recent examples of archives valuing language skills in archivists as a way of providing increased access. One is found in the processing of a collection with a significant proportion of records in Tamil at the University of Toronto Scarborough (UTSC). UTSC recognized the centrality of language not only to knowing what was in the records, but also to making sure that the records could be used by the pertinent community: it hired a Tamil speaker as an archival assistant to process and describe the records in that language for the community to access. Language skills were integral to the hiring process, rather than an afterthought, as can often be the case.¹¹⁴ A similar example at the BC Archives involved hiring Kwakwaka'wakw speakers as contractors to “interpret and describe records” (in English) in the Ida Halpern fonds, a European ethnomusicologist’s collection of recordings of Indigenous songs

¹¹³ For a study of demographic factors in online engagement/usage, see Michael Haight, Anabel Quan-Haase, and Bradley A. Corbett, “Revisiting the Digital Divide in Canada: The Impact of Demographic Factors on Access to the Internet, Level of Online Activity, and Social Networking Site Usage,” *Information, Communication & Society* 17, no. 4 (2014): 503–19, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2014.891633>.

¹¹⁴ Hilary Barlow, “Bringing Archives to the Communities They Serve: Three Takes from the Association of Canadian Archivists Conference,” *Society of American Archivists Human Rights Archives Section*, September 23, 2019, <https://hrarchives.wordpress.com/2019/09/23/bringing-archives-to-the-communities-they-serve-three-takes-from-the-association-of-canadian-archivists-conference/>.

and ceremonies.¹¹⁵ A final example is a project for the creation of bilingual Spanish-English finding aids for Chicano archives at Arizona State University.¹¹⁶

For Inuit, as introduced in chapter one, those in the library sector have already done work to provide tools for information systems in Inuktitut. In Nunavut, the Nunavut Libraries Online consortium have developed cataloguing standards in Inuktitut, including the use of syllabic script, which could be adopted by archival institutions holding Inuit records.¹¹⁷ In the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, the Digital Library North project has created a community-driven, culturally responsive framework for the delivery of multilingual and monolingual Inuktitut services in a library context, including metadata frameworks, interfaces, and knowledge organization. Unlike some of the crowdsourcing initiatives described above, this collaboration between the Inuit Cultural Resource Centre and the University of Alberta has had Inuit involved in every step of the project, from conception to evaluation, with the intention of creating “a digital platform that could serve as a model for northern, remote and/or rural regions,” and could provide a useful framework for the description and delivery of Inuit records in Inuktitut.¹¹⁸ In the case of Inuktitut materials from Nunavik, Avataq is also already doing the work of delivering services in Inuktitut, and one thing HBCA could do is point more explicitly to their website and materials, and potentially collaborate on grant funding and projects. Avataq does not currently have many

¹¹⁵ Weber, “From Documents To People,” 107–8.

¹¹⁶ Elizabeth Dunham and Xaviera Flores, “Breaking the Language Barrier: Describing Chicano Archives with Bilingual Finding Aids,” *The American Archivist* 77, no. 2 (2014): 499–509, <https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.77.2.p661555g15g981p6>.

¹¹⁷ Carol Rigby, “Nunavut Libraries Online Establish Inuit Language Bibliographic Cataloging Standards: Promoting Indigenous Language Using a Commercial ILS,” *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 53, no. 5–6 (July 4, 2015): 615–39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639374.2015.1008165>.

¹¹⁸ Ali Shiri and Robyn Stobbs, “Community-driven User Evaluation of the Inuvialuit Cultural Heritage Digital Library,” *Proceedings of the Association for Information Science and Technology* 55, no. 1 (January 2018): 440, <https://doi.org/10.1002/pa2.2018.14505501048>. See also Farnel et al., “A Community-Driven Metadata Framework for Describing Cultural Resources.”

archival materials online, but if Inuit from Nunavik were looking for HBCA materials, they could be more easily redirected to Avataq, which might be more accessible to them.

A further significant difficulty is presented when institutions hold records in several different languages, as does HBCA, an archives that is international in scope. Deciding how to prioritize which, if any, languages to promote as languages of use when there are dozens of nations represented in their collections would be incredibly complicated and fraught.¹¹⁹ As shown with Inuktitut, there are potentially many different dialects of a number of Indigenous languages that could be used as well. This is not a challenge that can easily or immediately be addressed, unless institutions were willing to either pay for the translation expertise, which would likely be time and cost prohibitive, particularly when part of a larger bureaucracy, or to partner with other organizations or portals who could provide that expertise, as noted above. Certainly, as archives like HBCA build more relationships with Indigenous peoples and their “designated community,”¹²⁰ as described in chapter two, shifts, this might become an endeavour that carries more value to the institution and can help guide which languages to prioritize.

An area that could more readily provide opportunities for the creation of materials in Indigenous languages at HBCA is in the various types of exhibits and public programming that they already use. This could include existing online exhibits and in-depth blog posts highlighting various records, as well as physical exhibits onsite at AM, which include a rotating public hallway exhibit, a Names and Knowledge exhibit in the Archives Research Room foyer, and a display in HBCA’s first floor vault that is available for tour groups.¹²¹ Names and Knowledge

¹¹⁹ For the issue of choosing which languages to privilege in their interactive national and global installations at the Canadian Museum of Human Rights, see Julia Peristerakis, “Museums, Memorials and Reconciliation - Canadian Museum of Human Rights” (Pathways to Reconciliation Conference, Winnipeg, 2016).

¹²⁰ Consultative Committee for Space Data Systems, “Reference Model for an Open Archival Information System (OAIS)” (CCSDS Secretariat, 2012), page 1-11, <https://public.ccsds.org/pubs/650x0m2.pdf>.

¹²¹ “Exhibits | Archives of Manitoba,” accessed May 13, 2020, <https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/exhibits/index.html>.

could also consider accepting and putting online user descriptive information provided in Indigenous languages, either written or oral; if it is not possible to incorporate into Keystone descriptions, they could create additional online research tools that would provide this additional context. Small, targeted use of translations or materials created in an Indigenous language, particularly when requested or initiated by Indigenous language-speaking stakeholders but also as proactive collaborations, would be a move in the direction of supporting everyday Indigenous language use.

Some examples that might provide useful models include the creation of a Cree audio guide for exhibits at the Morden Fossil Museum; the use of QR codes by the North West Company to provide Inuktitut names for items in their stores; the development of an app to translate signage into Blackfoot, including pronunciation, at a Mount Royal University library; or the publication of a freshwater mussel guide for public use by the New Brunswick Museum in four languages spoken in New Brunswick, including Wolastoqey and Mi'kmaw.¹²² Approaching Minisipic about the possibility of supporting additional fonts to the Roman alphabet, like Cree or Inuktitut syllabics, could also provide opportunities. And another way that archives can promote Indigenous language use is to offer their facilities for Indigenous language learning classes, as the Galt Museum in Lethbridge does for Blackfoot language learners.¹²³

¹²² CBC News, "Morden Fossil Museum Launches Cree-Language Audio Guide," CBC News, September 25, 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/morden-fossil-museum-launches-cree-guide-1.5296289>; The North West Company, "New Indigenous Language Shelf Signage Now in Northern/NorthMart Stores," Media Releases, October 2, 2017, <https://www.northwest.ca/uploads/documents/mr-2017-10-02.pdf>; New Brunswick Museum, "New Brunswick Museum Publishes Indigenous Guide to Freshwater Mussels," Press releases, May 2, 2018, <https://www.nbm-mnb.ca/new-brunswick-museum-publishes-indigenous-guide-to-freshwater-mussels/>; Todd McDermott, "MRU Develops App to Translate Blackfoot Language," Calgary, October 10, 2019, <https://calgary.ctvnews.ca/mru-develops-app-to-translate-blackfoot-language-1.4633175>.

¹²³ Greg Bobinec, "Galt Museum Again Offering Blackfoot Language Classes," *Medicine Hat News*, November 14, 2019, <https://medicinehatnews.com/news/southern-alberta-news/2019/11/14/galt-museum-again-offering-blackfoot-language-classes/>.

Names and Knowledge Revisited

The Names and Knowledge Initiative at HBCA has expanded from its beginnings in circulating Inuit photographs in terms of both the communities it has connected with and the record types that it has identified, and has the infrastructure and relationships in place to engage with individuals, communities and organizations about the language records identified in HBCA's holdings. It has done (and I am confident it will continue to do) the foundational work of relationship, reciprocity and redescription. At this point, it is about continuing to be proactive in the identification of relevant records, reaching out to make their existence known to communities of origin, and then starting the conversation about what HBCA could do with them. Expanding (and highlighting) the partnerships with Indigenous-led and -focused organizations like Avataq that are closer to or in the communities whose records are at HBCA also represents a way forward that could allow HBCA to play a supportive role in continuing to steward records for Indigenous peoples. However, as a primarily participatory description project, Names and Knowledge does not currently address the potential of implementing Indigenous access protocols, shared decision-making, ownership or repatriation with respect to language and other Indigenous records. Surveying what other settler-colonial institutions have done, it would be possible to create and implement new policies and practices to ensure Indigenous access to and control over their language records, and to support the resurgence of Indigenous languages through the valuing of Indigenous language labour and language use.

Conclusion

This thesis has tried to open up questions regarding what settler-colonial archives and archivists could do to support Indigenous language maintenance, resurgence and use, given the reality that most Indigenous languages in Canada (and globally) are declining in use and number of speakers. Using Inuktitut as a case study, I have outlined the circumstances that have led to both this decline and the role that settler-colonial archives have had in it. By examining Inuktitut records held by the settler-colonial institution of Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), I hope to have illustrated both the challenges posed by this situation, as well as the opportunities for settler-colonial archives to contribute to Indigenous sovereignty over their linguistic data, knowledge and records.

Chapter one provided a background to the loss of Inuktitut through various imperialist and colonialist processes in Nunavut and Nunavik in particular, which can be broadly extrapolated for other Indigenous languages throughout what is now Canada, and globally. The contribution of archives and archivists to the colonial project cannot be overstated (and should not be understated, as is often the case), and while Indigenous communities, families and individuals are losing or have lost their ability to speak their language, at the same time many of those languages have been documented in those archives one way or another, having been extracted and dislocated from their communities of origin. The continued underfunding and lack of value that colonial institutions like the federal government have placed on Indigenous language learning and use have hamstrung grassroots Indigenous efforts to support their languages, such as the Bathurst Mandate in Nunavut.

The challenges presented by language records held in these archives, as illustrated by Inuktitut records identified at HBCA, encompass a range of issues addressed in chapter two,

including discoverability and searchability, accessibility and access protocols. These challenges have been created through both the theory and historical practice of Western archives, which privilege Eurocentric notions of whose knowledge and whose rights to ownership and access have been considered worth respecting, and which obscure or erase the continued theft of Indigenous knowledge, agency, and land. Settler-colonial institutions such as HBCA must deal not only with this broader legacy within archival theory, but also with their own particular institutional histories, which can include on the one hand a lack of documentation for decisions made, or on the other hand sometimes an uncomfortable proximity to decisions made more recently.

As outlined in chapter three, there are various avenues that settler-colonial institutions have pursued for increasing Indigenous peoples' ownership, control, access and/or possession of their language records, including practices involving redescription, digitization, variable access and repatriation. The Names and Knowledge Initiative at HBCA is a project that could be utilized to explore some of those areas, particularly redescription and digitization, while it is currently less equipped to deal with questions of control, ownership and possession. Interesting projects have been developed to great effect at other institutions that explore implementing variable access protocols and community-informed and -controlled platforms, advisory councils, shared stewardship policies, and repatriation and deaccessioning practices with respect to language and other records. Finally, it is important to consider the use of Indigenous languages in the delivery of services as a concrete way to support their maintenance and resurgence.

I would like to end this thesis by summarizing some of the pathways¹ for archivists and for researchers moving forward. For archivists, the foundation for a positive way forward has to

¹ Term suggested by examiner Lorena Fontaine.

include reflexivity, cultural humility, and a willingness to take time to build relationships. It is also imperative that they continue to be proactive in identifying Indigenous records, language or otherwise, and reach out to those who should have a say in those records should be accessed; if this is not possible, then reaching out to a cultural organization is a good start. Because of the lack of trust that often exists between Indigenous peoples and archives, archivists must take on that role of initiating, making amends and building bridges; they also need to be receptive when issues are brought to their attention.

Once identified, language records can be redescribed to fully harness their ability to be discoverable, and to include both historical and self-identified terminology, at the least in an external document, if not embedded in the visible description or as part of a “back-end” thesaurus to maximize their discoverability. For (Indigenous) researchers, knowing where to look for language records can be a huge first step. The creation of subject guides and other online research tools would greatly assist researchers in negotiating the limitations of spellings, historical terminology, and other variations in archival descriptions and databases, as well as provide concrete guidance on how to navigate the idiosyncrasies of a particular archives – in the case of HBCA, for example, the need to search geographically, and for certain record types that may have been specific to HBC. The knowledge that language records are often found in records created by not only by linguists, but also traders, explorers, missionaries, anthropologists, ethnographers and musicologists, for example, is a good start. The kinds of language records that these people created initially tended to be in the form of vocabularies and word lists, occasionally dialogues and dictionaries, and sometimes words embedded in narratives, like descriptions of plants, animals, or topographical features or maps. It can be difficult to know when these types of records will include languages materials. Later on, language records can

often be found in the archives of religious figures or in academics' papers, including dictionaries, grammars, and other linguistic research data, including sound and moving image recordings.

For all of the records studied in this thesis, the creation of one or more subject guide(s) to provide guidance on how to search specifically for Indigenous records, including language records, could address where certain kinds of records are most likely to be found, what search terms to use, cross-references for analogous terms, both historical and cross-cultural, and a contextualizing discussion of the outdated/offensive/insensitive terminology that might need to be used or encountered. This could be accomplished through a freestanding document, or as an interface/portal, interactive or otherwise, to the descriptions in Keystone. Many of the records that have been identified in this study could also benefit from redescription that in particular surfaces the languages used in the records and additional provenancial context to make them more searchable and thus accessible to researchers, both by using existing descriptive fields, such as the "Language Notes" field at the fonds/series level, and by potentially creating language-specific fields at the file/item level that do not currently seem to exist in Keystone. In particular, the inclusion of information that is, at present, available to archivists in research tools that are only accessible on site or in internal files could assist remote users in locating records that would be of interest. In addition, the use of Names and Knowledge as a vehicle for relationship-building and consultation surrounding language records could be a productive expansion of its existing structures.

Graham's *Observations on Hudson's Bay* would benefit from redescription to include the unnamed word lists (including Inuktitut) and utilizing the language notes field at the fonds level, as well as putting information from the HBCA search file "Indigenous languages and vocabularies" online, either by incorporating it into the online descriptions or as a digital version

that is an online research tool. The E.J. Peck recordings in Inuktitut from the early 1920s would also benefit from redescription to include language keywords and to provide additional context for the creation and function of these records. HBCA could also reach out to cultural organizations such as Avataq and ITK to see if the dialect of Inuktitut can be identified, and also whether there is any wider Inuit interest in these records. Records such as these, which were not created by Inuit, could theoretically be circulated more widely through digitization (Graham's work has already been published), and potentially be used as resources for documenting language shift, curriculum development, or other purposes. If deemed appropriate, they could also be points of engagement within Names and Knowledge for community-derived redescription or the creation of additional resources to contextualize the language and broader cultural milieu.

The Burgess recordings are a complicated record set, presenting various challenges to HBCA. One uncomplicated and easily executed action would be redescription: to explicitly state when Inuktitut is spoken; to correct "Innu" with "Inuktitut" where it was included; and to identify the recordings on T39-20 as Ethnic Folkways Library recording "The Eskimos of Hudson Bay and Alaska," and more fully identify the participants. The topics discussed by the non-Inuit interviewed, including residential and day school staff, government officials, medical workers and RCMP may be traumatic and cause distress to those listening. As each individual recording could contain both Inuit and non-Inuit material, the use of shot lists to note when exactly Inuit are interviewed or recorded could be used to great effect. One further potential action would be identifying and engaging with Inuit who might have been interviewed or otherwise recorded, or their families or communities, to see whether it is appropriate for HBCA to provide access to (or hold) these records; this initial step could be carried out through alerting existing organizational

or community contacts within Inuit Nunangat in the places mentioned in the recordings that these records exist. Based on those consultations and relationships, future actions could range from providing copies of relevant parts of the recordings for review if requested; nurturing relationships that could support community-driven redescription, including the identification of dialects and additional perspectives on non-Inuit interviews; potential shared stewardship arrangements; or collaborative decision-making about access and retention. Recordings such as these, where appropriate, may be considered useful for language learning or curriculum development purposes by Inuit, or in providing cultural knowledge, such as about carving or a whale hunt, but may not be considered appropriate for wider consumption, and should likely not be put online for wider dissemination due to this in addition to the unclear copyright status.

The Inuk diary is an example of a record that has already been redescriptioned, to the extent that it can be thus far, and the issues here are not that it is undiscoverable or inaccessible, but rather that the archives has no real claim to it. In this case, contacting Avataq or community contacts in Kuujuarapik and/or Inukjuak to see if Inuit connected to this record can be found would be an excellent next step to take. The record is already digitized, and so digital copies could easily be sent out. Potential future steps, dependent on the result of consultation, could mirror those in the Burgess recordings – community-driven redescription, potential shared stewardship, collaborative decision-making – or even deaccessioning.

Finally, archivists, both individually and collectively, can embrace the principles laid out in NISR, UNDRIP and OCAP, and advocate for both institutional and legislative change. This can include the recognition of Indigenous sovereignty over records and the knowledge contained within them; consideration, development and/or revision of shared stewardship policies that pass over control of decision-making processes; and deaccessioning policies that are explicit about

Indigenous rights. They can also prioritize Indigenous language use in targeted ways to support language maintenance and revitalization, and advocate for valuing those providing translation and other language services financially and materially in funding and hiring decisions.

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