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Repatriation as Knowledge and Process: An Engaged Approach

By:

Chelsea Meloche

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Criminology
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts
at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2014

Repatriation as Knowledge and Process: An Engaged Approach

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby certify that I am the sole author of this thesis and that no part of this thesis has been published or submitted for publication.

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ABSTRACT

This case-study considers the case-by-case approach to return in Canada. I worked to document the history of the Rickley collection from the University of Windsor, from excavation to reburial, in the hopes that it may inform the construction of a local protocol for the community of Walpole Island First Nation. The Rickley collection was excavated in southwestern Ontario in the mid-1970s and has recently been returned from the University of Windsor. Using an engaged approach to research I interviewed five individuals who were deeply involved in these discussions. Themes that arose from these discussions detailed significant features of the repatriation process that any official protocol must account for. In seeking to further local knowledge of repatriation procedure today, I also examined repatriation statements and consider colonial relationships of power that continue to structure these relationships. This study indicates that meaningful re-evaluation of policies may be needed.

DEDICATION

For Opa and Oma.
'The more education you have, the better your life'

Miigwetch.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis became the project of so many people involved and invested in its outcome. I first want to thank those members of the Walpole Island First Nation Heritage Centre, *NIN.DA.WAAB.JIG*, whose approval of this project gave me the green light to begin, and whose tireless efforts to see the return of these individuals to rest finally provided closure to this project.

I would like to thank James Jenkins, Eric Isaac, David White, Russell Nahdee and Dean Jacobs for their contributions to this work and for their patience while I found my way through the process of engaged qualitative research. Your stories and experience shaped the entirety of this project and without you it would never have been what it has become.

To my family and friends, for the support and encouragement that has always been a steadfast foundation over these past few years, thank you. I would never have made it through this without you.

To the members of my committee, without your constructive criticism and discussion I am sure that it would be far more long-winded and filled with information that is not as relevant as it could be. Dr. Glynis George provided me with a name for the method I set out to follow. And with the help of the rest of the committee, we managed to take what I wanted to do and narrow it so that I could actually finish it in time to graduate. Dr. Shelagh Towson as a constant outlet of support and feedback, your experience and input was gratefully received and implemented. Russell, your dual nature as a participant and advisor has meant the world to me. I would not have been able to work through this without you, and will always admire the determination with which you pursued the return of the collection to Walpole Island. To Dr. John Albanese, my thesis supervisor, talking with you—whether it was about the project or not—became a source of relief for me. Whenever I was feeling like I could not do this, I left a meeting with you and felt like I could, and that I was on the right path. To all of you, I have appreciated your advice and support throughout this process.

To all those who have contributed their knowledge and time to see this thing through, thank you.

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*In order of appearance

NMAIA	National Museum of the American Indian Act
NAGPRA	Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act
AFN	Assembly of First Nations
CMA	Canadian Museums Association
RCAP	Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
ICOM	International Council of Museums
WAC	World Archaeological Congress
CMCC	Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation (includes the Canadian Museum of History—former Museum of Civilization—and the Canadian War Museum)
UBC	University of British Columbia
MOA	Museum of Anthropology
LOA	Laboratory of Archaeology
HRC	Haida Repatriation Committee
MACPRA	Michigan Anishinaabek Cultural Preservation and Repatriation Alliance
TRCC	Trust and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The concept and process of repatriation emerged in the late 20th century as a response to demands for justice and recognition from Indigenous communities for their ancestors, whose remains were excavated, collected, studied and curated by cultural institutions since the 17th century (see Bieder, 2000; Fine-Dare, 2008; Hubert & Fforde, 2002; Thornton, 2002). Repatriation is the process of negotiation and return of ancestral remains and items of cultural significance from cultural institutions—like museums or universities—to source communities, typically of indigenous origin (Fforde, 2002; Thornton, 2002). Social movements of the mid-20th century spurred discussions of human rights, and brought the campaign of many Aboriginal groups to the public domain, broadcasting calls for the return of their ancestors from national and international institutions (Ramos, 2008; Staggenborg, 2008). In the United States, this movement and its calls for the return of these remains grew louder in the 1970s and 1980s, until in 1989, the National Museum of the American Indian Act (NMAIA) was enacted by the United States Congress to facilitate the inventory and return of collections containing Native American remains from the Smithsonian Museum to their affiliated groups (McKeown, 2008). This Act was quickly followed by the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990, which outlines the process for the inventory, consultation and return of all federally funded cultural institutions holding collections containing the remains of Native American individuals affiliated with contemporary cultural groups (Fine-Dare, 2008). These Acts have spurred debate and controversy

between Indigenous and academic communities, but served to inform the adoption of various approaches globally.

In Canada, there is no federal policy facilitating or mandating the return of Aboriginal human remains (Gadacz, 2012). In the early 1990s, the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) and the Canadian Museums Association (CMA) jointly sponsored a project now known as *the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples* ('Task Force Report,' 1992). Nation-wide consultation and discussion among First Nations and museum professionals brought this report to Canadian society, and guides ethical proscriptions set by the CMA for their memberships' actions regarding First Nation communities and ancestral remains that may be contained within them (CMA 2006). Thus, individual museums and institutions that manage collections of
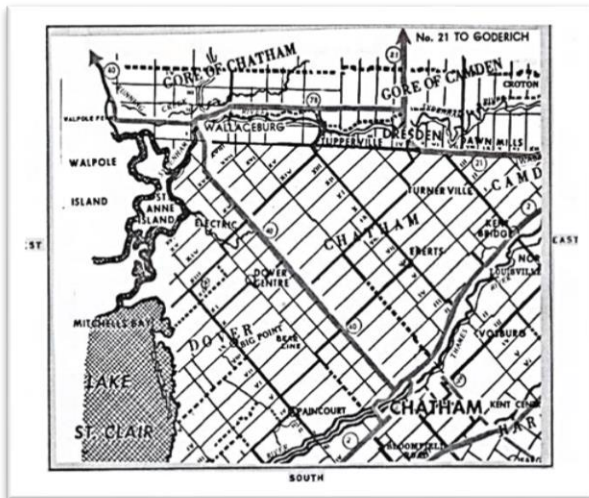
Figure 1: Map of Dover Township, Kent County.

cultural materials construct and mitigate their own policies regarding repatriation of collections on a case-by-case basis. This lack of framework has both benefitted and hindered the processes of repatriation in Canada. For though there is often no need for litigation, there are also no requirements for notification, nor timeframes or budgets available for the benefit of those requesting these materials from an institution.

The Rickley collection was excavated in Kent County, Ontario (see Figure 1), in the 1970s, and since then has been curated within what is now known as the Department

of Sociology, Anthropology and Criminology, at the University of Windsor. Representatives of the University, not associated with the original excavation and curation of the collection, have been in contact with members of the Walpole Island Heritage Centre, or *NIN.DA.WAAB.JIG,* since the early 2000s, yet the return of these materials has been delayed or stalled in some way or another since. Today, those attempts have been reinvigorated and the final process of return and reburial completed. This project seeks to document the history of these efforts, as well as engage with existing museum and university repatriation policy, to examine the motivations and process of these requests for return. My goals for this research were to assist in the successful return of those remains held in the Rickley collection, and to work with those involved towards a protocol that would inform future repatriation projects on Walpole Island.

To further unpack a local subjective understanding of repatriation and return, my research was guided by questions deconstructing the motivations and discourse characterizing this process. Utilizing an engaged anthropological approach (see Chari & Donner, 2010; Clarke, 2010; Scheper-Hughes, 1995), and motivated by a strong moral obligation to return these remains, I use the methodological tools of interview and thematic analyses (see Braun & Clarke 2006; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995) to actively involve stakeholders that have participated in the Rickley repatriation in this project and document the process thus far. For an impression of contemporary protocol, I also examined the introductory statements of the repatriation policies of two well-known cultural institutions in Canada, and compared them with those of two Indigenous groups. Using a textual discourse analysis (see Fairclough, 2003), I use the concepts of modality, assumption and intertextuality to unpack and examine the existence of colonial

relationships of power in these assumed *postcolonial* policies. The long process of return in the case study of the Rickley collection indicates the need for some sort of a framework to provide insight into the process. Interviews with those individuals involved indicate the need for a framework that is structured with some sensitivity for the complexity of this process, and the examination of current Canadian policies indicates a disconnection between institutions and First Nations groups' motivations and desired outcomes. Since this project was centred on a particular case-study in repatriation within a local community, results are not meant to apply to the diversity of other Canadian First Nations, but merely to offer insight into the development of a framework within First Nation traditions and beliefs, and the subjective reasonings that guide the return of ancestors long curated and finally returned. Sharing the experience of one community may offer inspiration and insight for another, which could offer wide-spread benefits for First Nations in Ontario seeking the return of ancestral remains from various cultural institutions.

In order to locate my research within those broad global postcolonial discussions in which it is situated, I will present a condensed history and background of repatriation in Chapter Two. Repatriation is part of a global movement for the return of Indigenous ancestral remains and this is further engaged during discussion for a myriad of reasons. Approaches for the return of ancestral remains differ around the world, as well as among Indigenous communities themselves, and the contested site that these colonial bodies now represent is considered. Locating this project within a global framework acknowledges the historical and cultural processes which shaped and constructed the present

environment for negotiation between the communities like Walpole Island and representatives of institutions like the University of Windsor.

I next present a discussion in Chapter Three of the theoretical and methodological frameworks for my research. The repercussions of ascribing the remains as artifacts under colonial rule, and their return, can be representative of the lingering colonial relationships of power experienced by First Nations communities today. The complex relationship that is established through a dialogue of repatriation requires a critically deconstructive approach to flesh out underlying discourses of power that structure these interactions, one that is found in the postcolonial framework that guides this project. I present the origins of my involvement with this project in order to situate myself as researcher and participant in the repatriation process. I then detail influences and my location within non-Aboriginal society, and outline an engaged approach to research. By involving interview participants to review the transcripts of their interviews, and providing access to written drafts of the final thesis project I worked to ensure that representation of the narratives they shared regarding their involvement with the Rickley collection is acceptable and any discrepancies are my own. In this chapter I also detail the methods used to engage with contemporary examples of repatriation policy. These were used to further understanding of influential approaches for Canadian society today.

The scant analysis and consultation during the excavation of the Rickley site contributed to the chaotic state the collection was left in, and thus confusion as to what the *next steps* are, or should be. In Chapter Four I present the specific context of this project, including a brief history of archaeology and First Nation consultation in Ontario, to familiarize the reader with the more local context for the inclusion of Walpole Island

First Nation, in discussions regarding this collection, and by extension this project. The strong leadership position that the community at Walpole Island occupies in this region is presented here as a way to provide some ethnographic context for the reader as well. Woven throughout this discussion is a timeline of the excavation and curation of the Rickley collection, and a consideration of how it came to be in the state it was when I first encountered it.

To answer the research questions guiding this project, I analysed both the transcripts of interviews and the introductory texts of policies from well-known institutions, comparing them with introductory statements by Indigenous groups dedicated to facilitating repatriation. I did this to unpack the motivational and influential discourses that affect and guide the processes involved in the return of ancestral remains to a source community. By presenting the results of my thematic analysis of interview data, and textual analysis of existing policies, Chapter Five details the outcomes of these results. Interview data was organized into the thematic categories representing some local motivations for repatriation. These motivations reflect the complexities that characterize the process of return for the community on Walpole Island. The potential for furthering cultural and scientific knowledge is acknowledged, while it often stands in opposition to the more traditional reasonings for return. These contrasting beliefs can be considered evidence of the ever-evolving relationship of the community on Walpole Island with the academic and non-Aboriginal communities that exist adjacent to it. The significance of repatriation for these stakeholders from Walpole Island First Nation is understood through 3 broadly constructed themes from our discussions. My textual analysis of policy in Canadian institutions are presented by comparison with those of Aboriginal

organizations. Repatriation texts are seen to simultaneously perpetuate and mask

relationships of power created when a dialogical relationship of request and review is

constructed between First Nations and cultural institutions.

In Chapter Six, I bridge the two sections of my research to connect their

implications for this project. Repatriation comes to be understood as a feature in the

larger post-colonial project that seeks to decentre relationships built out of colonial

power. It seeks to return autonomy and control to those communities, from whom it was

forcibly removed during the colonial period. Considering issues that connect the local

context on Walpole Island with the repatriation of the Rickley collection, and the national

discussion regarding repatriation, I work to show the complex nature of repatriation and

discuss the ramifications of any policy that may not reflect those complexities.

The concluding chapter will provide closure for this project by considering the

results of my research within the global postcolonial discourse of social justice and

potential implications in the movement towards sovereignty fostered by Indigenous

groups worldwide. I reflect and consider the implications of this research, detailing the

successes and pitfalls experienced along the way. I recommend the potential for future

research, and present options for study that further engages local communities in

Southwestern Ontario on the topics of heritage and ancestry. The process of return for the

collection assembled from the Rickley site is not complete yet, and to conclude the

project I briefly consider the next steps to be taken towards the successful repatriation of

this collection.

CHAPTER 2

Situating the Discussion: The Complex Movement for Return

The repatriation of human remains continues to have a direct impact on First

Nations communities in Canada, and Indigenous communities worldwide. The legacy left

by colonialist practices and imperialism is one that reverberates through history with

implemented notions of superiority. Global debates surrounding the patrimony of

Aboriginal collections in formerly colonized states have largely been centred on both

political and moral reasoning for their return (see Dongoske, 2000; Fforde, 2002;

Lambert-Pennington, 2007; Riding In, 2000; Thornton, 2004; Turnbull, 2004). This

project is situated within a global atmosphere of postcolonial resistance and

decolonization. Repatriation debates in North America and globally provide a contextual

understanding of the development of policy at the local level, offering a conceptual

framework within which return operates. In this section I detail colonial constructions of

the Native body as a contested site for the purposes of locating motivations for their

return within a history of colonial occupation. Considering the development of

repatriation policy in museums and federal legislation, I also examine repatriation as a

movement for social justice and moral obligation. Finally I consider the affective

motivations for the return of these remains and the significant role that this action has for

Indigenous communities. First though, I will clarify some terms of reference to be

utilized throughout this paper.

A Few Definitions

When the Europeans first arrived on the shores of North America, they assigned a

label to those peoples already living here. The term *Indian* has been studied in a myriad

of ways in recent years, the renegotiation of identifying terms often casting it in a

negative light in reference to the First Peoples of North America. Since the assignment of

that label centuries ago, the group of people that it refers to has undergone extensive

changes and has fought to be recognized on their own terms. This term is an important

political and legal term as it continues to structure the legislation that governs federal and

provincial responsibilities to First Nations. Diversity of these nations, though lost when

using terms to encompass the entirety of populations, comes to be witnessed at local

levels of discussions, as with the focal point of this thesis. It is necessary at points to

group this diversity with all-encompassing terms though, and with this section I hope to

delineate the various meanings behind terms used moving forward.

'Indigenous communities,' as a term of reference, was given a *working definition*

in a 1983 report to the U.N. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and

Protection of Minorities as:

> Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having
> a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that
> developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other
> sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of
> them (as cited in Sanders, 1999).

This definition establishes First Peoples as those groups that occupied space prior to the

arrival of European explorers centuries ago, and has since been used to refer to those

communities worldwide that have existed as part of that space before it was colonized.

For the purposes of this paper I will use *Indigenous* or *Native* people(s) in reference to

those original occupying communities of a geographical area when discussion operates at

a global level.

9

According to the federal Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern

Development, the term *First Nations* encompasses the approximate 617 communities in

Canada, representing more than 50 cultural groups and Aboriginal languages ('First

Nations,' 2013; McMillan, 1995). Federally, groups are categorized by the terms: Status

Indian, Non-Status Indian, Metis and Inuit. The Canadian Constitution (1982) constructed

these categories and they carry with them the racial influence of the Indian Act (1876).

For the purposes of this paper, when referring to the diversity of communities within the

borders of Canada, I will thus use the term First Nations.

The term 'aboriginal' can be understood as a method of identification as part of a

larger collective identity that was and is shaped by a history of tradition and colonial

relations (Kesler, 2009). But the term has come under some scrutiny since being adopted

by the Canadian government in reference to First Nations. Criticism stemming from the

European origin of this term and the continued imposition of an external system of

authority for classification (see Cairns, 2000; Kesler, 2009). It may even be understood as

a tactic of modern assimilation practices by those it seeks to encompass. By the desire of

the people with whom I have worked during this project, I have done my best here to

refer to the community on Walpole Island as Annishinaabe, a term that carries the

meaning of *person* or *first man* (McMillan, 1995). This identifying term was relayed to

me by those participants with whom I worked, and was presented by others that I

interacted with on Walpole Island. I use each descriptive term when referencing

community action at the international, national and local levels during discussion.

Historical Development of a Movement: The Legacy of Colonialism

'To Preserve a Dying Race'

Colonialism has been defined as a form of domination over particular individuals or groups, through control of territory, livelihood and often, behaviours and cultural traditions (see Horvath, 1972; Seidman, 2013). When the European imperial powers first discovered what they termed the New World in the late 13th century, Native groups had been occupying the land for at least 11,000 years (Ferris, 2013; Munson, 2013). Archaeological evidence of Indigenous occupation in North America supports the claim of communities across the Americas: that they had been here long before any Europeans stepped foot on the shores (Ferris 2013; McMillan, 1995). In pursuit of resources, European empires sought to control these new lands, and by extension, had to control those peoples already living there. Racialized colonial science, interested in the evolution and ranking of *races* along a timeline from savage to civil, constructed the racialized body as an object—to be studied, displayed and to pass judgement upon (Moore, Kosek & Pandian, 2003). This along with the popularity of discussions surrounding the hierarchy of race fuelled the construction of the Native body—among others—as inferior and a *living fossil* (Mihesuah, 2000; Rothschild, 2008). This status fostered the belief among Europeans, and later colonists, that these people were evidence of a primitive time gone by, and an earlier stage in civilization. The construction of colonists as superior to indigenous populations was done through this ideological discourse of *preservation*, which in turn served to justify and motivate the desecration of thousands of Native burial sites in the New World, and lingers in the undertones of the reburial debate today (Francis, 2011; Hinsley, 2000; Riding In, 2000).

Struggles between colonists and imperial powers to attain control over the colonies resulted in several instances of conflict, which involved alliances with Indigenous groups to gain the advantage and define land boundaries (Cunningham, Jeffs & Solowan, 2008; Francis, 2011). Prior to the 19th century, many First Nations experienced an almost nation-to-nation relationship in Upper Canada. First Nations were often critical allies in colonial conflicts to establish borders and control, and prior to the 19th century were understood as military allies to the Crown. The parallel development of scientific and medical thought through the 19th century carried with it a distinct influence of these colonial mindsets. The skeletal body provided a key source of evidence for cultural history through the osteological categorization of people according to racial types (Sofaer, 2006). Medical science produced a disconnect between person and object, which served to distance the scientist from a corpse or set of human remains and constructed the body as material (Krmpotich, Fontein & Harries, 2010; Mihesuah, 2000; Sofaer 2006). This objectification of bodies serves as a foundational platform for the development of archaeological and curatorial practices, and characterizes the debate surrounding human remains even today. The colonial gaze then turned towards the acquisition and settling of land, and *civilizing* the Natives within their borders (Fine-Dare, 2008; Hamilton, 2010).

Stages of evolutionary progress were constructed by social philosophers to describe humanity's ascent from savagery to civilization. Bieder (2000, p. 19) notes that this was a political act: Europeans constructed representations of non-Europeans, searched for their origins, assigned differences and determined their ranks in social evolutionary stages. Constructed through the mindset of cultural evolutionism, the racialized lives and cultures of Indigenous peoples needed only to be studied further to

understand these *prehistoric* and *primitive* groups, before they disappeared forever (Bieder, 2000; Fforde, 2004). As the colonies expanded, groups of Indigenous peoples were pushed off their land and decimated by diseases, and legislation was enacted to *civilize the Native* as a method of ridding society of the *burden* that Indigenous communities had come to be constructed as (Cunningham et al., 2008; Francis, 2011). In Canada, these efforts were carried out by outlawing traditions like the Potlatch and the Sundance, and utilizing the veil of Christianity—which had mostly been adopted by this point—to assimilate Native groups in a *civilized* way (Bell, Raven & McCuaig, 2008). Outlawing traditional practices was accompanied by the confiscation and seizure of First Nation goods, and ceremonial items like masks and other sacred artifacts, often for display in museums or private collections (Jacknis, 2000). These collected objects and narratives were further used to reinforce the constructed claim of Indigenous cultures and communities as '*uncivilized'* and *'savage'* in comparison with the '*civilized'* societies of the colonizers (Francis, 2011). These collections were intended to serve as sources for future study of Aboriginal and Indigenous cultures, and in effect have served to alienate those cultures from—and refute their input and control over—representation of their own histories and cultures (Gadacz, 2012; Landau & Steele, 2000). Those Christian civilizing missions, which served to construct the basis for the devastating Residential Schools, were instrumental in educating Aboriginal children and removed the children's access to their native cultures and languages (Bell et al, 2008). In the colonialist spirit of the administration at that time, Residential Schools were mandated by the Indian Act, when Canada was declared a nation in 1867, requiring the compulsory attendance of Aboriginal children. Children were required by law to attend these centralized institutions, leaving

the familiarity of home, family and community, to be immersed in mainstream Canadian culture and contact with the community they were brought from was discouraged. They were educated in languages that their parents could not understand and became reluctant participants in foreign customs and traditions (McMillan, 1995). Children were often severely punished if they spoke in their own languages or were caught practicing their own customs. These highly regulated and disciplinary systems came to carry the same stigma as penitentiaries, and in educating children mainly in religious doctrine failed those students by neglecting other academic subjects (McMillan, 1995). The damage done by Residential Schools is evident, as many young generations of First Nations have lost extensive knowledge of their Native languages, oral narratives and other traditional practices (Bell, et al., 2008: Fine-Dare, 2008). With the last of the schools not closed until the late 1980s, they have left a bitter legacy in the minds of those First Nations who were forced into their structures. Accounts of abuse and torment remain within living memory, and evidence that contemporary alcohol abuse, high rates of suicide and family violence on reserves were intrinsically linked to these experiences was supported by the results of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) in 1993. Residential Schools are now understood to have been a devastating force acting upon First Nations in Canada, facilitating the loss of cultural traditions and First Nations languages, and thus contributing to the current position that many First Nations communities find themselves today (see Bell et al, 2008; Cunningham et al, 2008).

Sofaer (2006) presents bodies as a key feature to archaeological thought. For they feature in the analysis of physical remains, consideration of the spaces through which bodies move, and finally the representation or depiction of bodies in society. This

construction allows bodies to become understood as both material and social, operating as an articulating part of the material culture investigated by archaeologists today (Sofaer, 2006). In the past, policies and practices of archaeological excavation and anthropological research were to display and study remains and artifacts, and were sanctioned and encouraged by governing bodies. The estimated millions of remains and cultural artifacts, associated with indigenous populations that were removed for scientific study and colonial curiosity remain contested today. A local example can be seen in the looting of the Huron Ossuaries discovered in Ontario in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Accounts of the hundreds of townspeople who dug up and collected hundreds of human bones were reported in the *Toronto Star*, and the arguments over the control and ownership of materials uncovered was notes as well (Hamilton, 2006, p. 66). Many of these remains were curated in collections at the University of Toronto, and have recently been returned to the Huron-Wendat communities in an official repatriation in the fall of 2013 (Pfeiffer, 2013).

Diseases introduced from the European colonists had a particularly brutal effect on the Native populations in North America, the resulting deaths allowing for the further collection of Indigenous remains in the New World. Deaths are estimated to have decimated entire communities, groups succumbing to epidemic diseases like small pox and measles, with those survivors abandoning villages and moving closer to new European settler outposts (Beider, 2000; Bewell, 2003). The bodies left behind were often harvested for purposes of research and study. Accounts of bodies stolen after mass deaths are noted in the journals of well-known anthropologists and others**.** Disease served as a major contribution to collections of skeletal remains that were amassed over the 19th

century and beyond. As disease took the lives of entire communities, survivors were often

ostracized and isolated, resulting in starvation (Bewell, 2003). Bodies were gathered as

scientific specimens when the community was deserted, leaving shallow graves easily

discoverable for the prospecting collectors.

The furthering of scientific thought was used as a justification for the use and

theft of these bodies, but the construction of the Native body as a conquered object

furthered the acceptance of the removal of these bodies. Another example is Harries'

(2010) account of a narrative of the colonial theft of the remains of two Beothuk

individuals killed in a violent interaction with settlers in Eastern Canada. Their remains

were returned to their camp after death, and remained there until a self-described amateur

natural historian disinterred them, and transported them back to Scotland. In this case,

expansion in the Maritime colonies had contributed to the decimation of the Beothuk

communities—this story in particular was recorded from one of their last living elders

before she died. Stories like these and others which propagated the notion that Indigenous

cultures were disappearing all over the world spurred collectors, ethnographers and

anthropologists to collect and gather as much evidence as they could before it

disappeared forever (Bieder, 2000; Fforde, 2004; Simpson, 2008).

Colonial practices of display and control over another culture's ethnographic and

material history serves as a continued form of social control over Indigenous groups

worldwide, and fuels much of the demand for the return of these collections by

contemporary Indigenous groups. The construction of the Native body as an object of

study by colonial scientific ideology has lingered in society today. Arguments against the

return of Indigenous remains from cultural institutions to living descendants are often

grounded in the continued use of remains for study. Bio-archaeological study collects information regarding disease, physical stress and labour practices, and demography using human skeletal remains as their subject (Rothschild, 2008). By studying these bodies, the social experiences of contact and pre-contact times can be elucidated. For example, skeletal remains can shed light on both the lives and deaths of peoples who suffered epidemic diseases, providing insight on when and how quickly a disease overtook a population after its introduction (Linn, 2002 as cited in Rothschild, 2008). The Native body, both living and dead, then becomes a contested site for discussion. Collecting and the dynamics of settlement life are inexorably and intimately entwined (Hinsley, 2000). Colonial relationships of power can be understood from the differential treatment of burials and bodies during the mass excavation and collection of indigenous remains that occurred during the 19th and 20th centuries. The acts of collecting during times of exploration and settlement were especially prominent an essential for colonists to establish control over these new environments, objects and history itself (Hinsley, 2000). These bodies remain a site of colonial relationships of power even today, as debates over the control of indigenous remains—that continue to be held in collections and whose return is subject to the approval of those museums' administration—exhibit these very colonial relationships, defined by the control of one group over the other. For while it is clear that information that can be gathered from the study of human remains is significant within the academic realm, a balance must be struck with the invasive and colonial methods and techniques of investigation. The use of these bodies for academic study is often done without permission, either of the individual themselves or the community from which they came. Bioarchaeologists and anthropologists have

incorporated these ethical dilemmas and questions of origin, acquisition and consultation into their practice when considering human remains for study (Rothschild, 2008). Often policy implementation facilitates this conversation with those Indigenous communities involved. The body then remains an important site for the investigation of the impact of colonialism and though study may benefit both sides of the debate, it must be approached with respect for those individuals whose bodies have now become the subject of study.

Repatriation as Policy: Different Approaches

Globally, human remains represent something unique. In contrast to other cultural and material objects, they are consistently seen as sources of respect and fear with regard to the dead, and the ultimate reality of death itself. Individual cultural beliefs regarding these concepts vary greatly around the world, and though death itself is universal, the practices and rituals that surround it are not. With the theft of indigenous bodies that occurred in North America and globally, groups were further subjugated and forced under colonial rule. Heritage and tradition were systematically being destroyed, and the removal of any tangible evidence of their past was also removed. Colonial control was exerted over these ancestral remains, and through them, over living descendant communities as well. Though requests for the return of indigenous remains did occur at the time of their removal, the term *repatriation* has been applied to the process only recently. It has been adopted as the title of a movement for its conveyance of the need to *free* an item or object from the control of its steward for its return (Sledge, 2005, p.143, as cited in Krmpotich, 2008, p. 74). This connotation gives the word power in the academic and political arenas where this topic of return has been hotly debated. Relationships between indigenous groups and researchers are tense at best, with the distinct feeling among indigenous

groups that mortuary archaeology continues to deliberately desecrate sacred burial grounds and disregards their wishes (Krmpotich, 2010). The objectification and construction of the Native body as an object of research by colonial ideologies serves to inform debates between descendant communities requesting the return of their ancestors' remains and those cultural institutions that identify as *stewards* of their collections.

With the development of human rights discourses in the 1950s and 1960s, Indigenous groups worldwide made their collective voices heard and began to demand recognition (Bell, Statt, Solowan, Jeffs & Snyder, 2008; Ramos, 2008). These discourses of human rights and anti-colonialism fostered the recognition of nation-states' treatment of Indigenous groups within their borders, reinforced by the return of Aboriginal servicemen from the wars as politically active and critical of government policy (Ramos, 2008). When the World Archaeological Congress (WAC) met in the United States in 1989, the discussion of the treatment and return of human remains led to the first internationally accepted guideline regarding the treatment of archaeological human remains. The Vermillion Accord heralded the impending trends requiring proper consent, consultation and respect regarding the discovery of human remains within an archaeological setting (Jenkins, 2008; WAC, 1989). The more specific national policies that came into effect in the late 1980s and 1990s have since been sources of success and controversy.

Canadian history "is based on a recursive relationship between the economic marginalization and social stigmatization of ethnocultural and racialized minorities, and the ideological justification of the founding 'nations' as dominant" (Koboyashi, 2008, p. 133). Government policy and ignorance have contributed to the disastrous conditions that

characterize many contemporary First Nation communities in Canada (Fleras & Elliot, 1992). The return of objects and ancestral remains that were removed from the control of First Nations under colonial policies fosters a renewal in these communities. Traditional practices are revisited to *put right* the wrongs done when bodies and artifacts were removed from their graves, or ceremonial objects were seized during the illegal potlatch ceremonies in Canada. Policies of return sought to recognize the rights of those communities who were demanding to regain control over the representation of their own histories for the benefit of their own communities as well as those outside. In what follows I will briefly outline the approaches to repatriation in the United States and Canada, and their impact on the *reburial debate* (Fforde, 2002). These approaches are not meant to be globally representative of return[1]. I discuss them here because they are geographically and socially relevant to this research.

NAGPRA: The Introduction of Federal Legislation in the United States

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA, 1990) has fostered discussion and orchestrated development of other repatriation policies globally, and was the first implementation of federal legislation in the United States in reply to social activism by Native American groups and their supporters (Fine-Dare, 2008). The United States has long been involved with the conversation of repatriation and throughout the earlier debates, saw the increasing likelihood of federal legislation (Kakaliouras, 2012). In 1989, the National Museum of the American Indian Act

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[1] For further examples of global repatriation policy see 'Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Acts: Queensland 2003, and Victoria 2006;' 'National Australian Repatriation Policy 2013;' and 'Human Tissues Act 2004.' Citations are provided in source list.

(NMAIA) was enacted as the first law to specifically consider repatriation in the United States, outlining requirements for the inventory and repatriation of collections specifically within Smithsonian facilities (Fine-Dare, 2008; McKeown, 2008). The enactment of NAGPRA one year later extended the requirements for inventory and repatriation to all federally funded institutions in the United States, and assigned timelines for doing so (NAGPRA, 1990). Each Act was developed in consultation with Native American groups as a means of integration and decolonization, though significant debate about them continues (see Bell and Napoleon, 2008; Fine-Dare, 2008 & 2011; Krmpotich, 2008).

NAGPRA calls for the proactive inventory of all Native American and Native Hawaiian collections containing human remains and material artifacts that exist within federally funded institutions, aside from the Smithsonian (Fine-Dare, 2005; NAGPRA, 1990). Levels of collaboration and consultation between researchers and Indigenous peoples have developed and been advanced within the incorporation of repatriation policy and have become a foundational feature of professional training processes and practices of osteological and archaeological education (Dongoske, 2000; Kakaliouras, 2008; Thornton, 2004). It does not remain impervious to criticism though. The associated costs and frustrations felt by institutions carrying out lengthy inventories are not in its favour among academic communities. As well, practices that establish cultural association of remains with Native American communities, among other issues, elicit criticism from both Native American and scholarly camps (see Fine-Dare, 2008; Graham & Murphy, 2010; Rose, Green & Green, 1996). Utilizing scientific methods of association in concert with documented proof of association or continuity of location during the associated dates of the collection can often result in skewed associations, especially with particularly

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ancient collections. For example, NAGPRA mandates that cultural association is to be established through the best available scientific information and analyses (NAGPRA, 1990). Thus if remains were merely classified as *Iroquoian* when collected, as can be expected from collections standards of the times, they can then be repatriated to any of the Six Nation tribes (Jacobs, 2008; Scott, 2013). Institutions under the jurisdiction of NAGPRA may return collections with the potential for misappropriation and the loss of reputable data analysis (Jenkins, 2009; Kakaliouras, 2008). This process also does not allow for non-academic methods of association used by tribes and Native American communities, continuing the colonial relationship that recognizes an academic determination of source as the only reputable one.

The intensity of these debates has softened somewhat since the early 1990s, and many notable researchers and institutions now consider consultation and repatriation to be part of the normal procedure. The implementation of NAGPRA in the United States brought repatriation officially to the forefront of cultural heritage preservation concerns, becoming an international source for discussion and policy development. These policies also served as victories in the movement for recognition and social justice that was spearheaded by Native American and non-Native supporters over the course of the 20th century.

Repatriation in Canada: A Case-by-Case Basis

Compared to the legislative encumbrance of repatriation in United States law, Canadian policy is non-existent within the more flexible and negotiable legal system. The *Standard Practices Handbook for Museums* defined repatriation as:

> The process of returning cultural objects from museum collections to the culture, nationality or country of origin. Repatriation can be requested by representatives of the object's culture, nationality or country, or it can be initiated by the museum. The process can be undertaken on legal or moral grounds. (2001: 21).

This excerpt from the Alberta Museums Associations ethical handbook is exemplary of the Canadian approach to repatriation. Repatriation is not federally mandated in Canada; indeed no legislation exists regarding the return of First Nations collections in Canadian museums and cultural institutions. Many stakeholders on both sides of the Canadian—American border consider this approach to be effective (Bell, 2008; Gadacz, 2012). It has been argued that because of the respectful and collaborative approach between First Nations and Canadian archaeologists and museums, cooperation is the common experience in Canada, rather than a general antagonism often experienced in the United States (see Buikstra, 2008; Watkins, 2005). Canadian repatriation attempts are considered on a case-by-case basis in a long-established environment of negotiation and request between individual museums and recognized source communities. For example, after the repeal on the ban of Potlatch ceremonies by the mid-20th century, the Canadian government and the Canadian Museum of Civilization were made to return confiscated objects to First Nation communities in British Columbia, and provided some funds to construct cultural centres (Bell, Raven & McCuaig, 2008; Fine-Dare, 2002; Jacknis, 2000). Then in 1988, intense demonstration over the display of culturally significant artifacts was brought to the public's focus by Alberta's Lubicon Cree who called for a boycott of the Glenbow Museum's exhibit *The Spirit Sings* (Steward, 2008). This event led to the joint report *Forging New Relationships between Museums and First Peoples* in 1992, between the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums Association.

This document addressed the need to consider repatriation, and called for the inclusion of and consultation with Aboriginal peoples regarding how their history and culture are displayed in museum exhibitions (Task Force Report, 1992). The Task Force Report was used by the Canadian Museums Association to inform the construction of their Ethical Guidelines (2006), and membership now requires the adoption of those policies. This report remains a most influential guiding document for repatriation discussions and procedure in Canada, in regulating consultation practices and requests for return between Canadian cultural institutions and First Nations communities.

Canadian repatriation has continued to develop without the adoption of federal legislation. Often operating 'under the radar' per the wishes of the Aboriginal community in question, it appears not to require federal legislation for the process to continue. A recent example is the return of collections held at the University of Toronto, to the Huron-Wendat descendant communities ('University of Toronto…' 2013; Pfeiffer, 2013). This was a long and considerably complicated process, which in the end showcased the collaborative relationship built between University representatives and First Nation communities involved. Repatriation in Canada can thus be seen as an ever-evolving and fluid process. Research as to the processes and social dynamics and repercussions of a colonial past and its complex present may be beneficial for the establishment of future policy among First Nations groups, like Walpole Island First Nation, as they move to negotiate for the return of ancestral remains and artifacts from cultural institutions across the country and internationally.

A Healing Process: The Obligations for Return

Colonialism had an undeniably negative and detrimental effect on First Nations and indigenous communities, and often repatriation is presented itself as a political act of decolonization (Fine-Dare 2008; Krmpotich 2008 & 2010). However, assuming that repatriation merely exists as a matter of rights or as an anticolonial act is an insufficient perspective to take, and a deeper sense of connection and mourning of the dead can be understood through the ethnographic works of anthropologists and researchers investigating this practice in the field. Krmpotich (2010) discusses repatriation among the Haida, along the northwest coast of British Columbia. Noting the "emotional force of Haida kinship and the central if not indispensible role of bodies in mourning and healing," Krmpotich (2010, p. 159) discusses repatriation among the Haida as a service to their ancestors; ancestors that contemporary communities recognize to be in distress due to what they view as an atrocious deed, when these remains were unearthed, collected and studied. The practice of First Nations to disinter their dead is not the norm, so often repatriation serves as an unprecedented production informed by a history of colonization, marginalization, and the struggle for recognition among First Nations and indigenous communities (Krmpotich 2008; Lambert-Pennington 2007; Nahrgang 2002). Thus the process of return and reburial is a complex combination of traditional knowledges and contemporary subjectivities and practices.

Krmpotich (2010) notes that repatriation and reburial produces an intangible experience which transcends generations, and that performing these death rites for ancestors and examining artifacts returned can create a discourse of tradition and revitalize often forgotten traditional knowledge among the youth and younger generations

who may not have the shared experience of the elders in a community. Reburial

ceremonies have been noted to bring individuals together in a communal fashion to

mourn and lay to rest their shared kin, while embracing this connected nature by

remembering and sharing the past (Kakaliouras 2012). The process can result in the

experience of multiple, conflicting and strong emotions of loss, anger, distress, kinship

and hope, and can be cathartic for community members (Chandler and Lalonde 1998;

Kakaliouras 2012). The loss felt through the incredible decimation of Indigenous

populations, languages and traditions through disease, colonization and assimilation

practices has reverberated through generations, and has often left younger generations

with limited knowledge of ceremonial practices and the sense of community that is

grounded in cultural traditions and language. Repatriation, as a form of cultural renewal,

then becomes more than a mere process of delivering boxes to communities for political

preening (Lambert-Pennington, 2007); rather, it is a significant affective force on identity

and heritage that must also be considered.

Conclusion

This project will serve to provide a case-study in repatriation in Canada to be

included within the wider repatriation literature. Repatriation as a conceptual process

remains a relevant topic for society to consider in the light of cultural heritage protection

and preservation, and needs further in depth, ethnographic case studies to encompass the

broad and diverse character of discussions in Canada today. Through the presentation of

the colonial history, political approaches and affective dimensions of repatriation, I

familiarize the reader with its complexity. I next present the theoretical and

methodological frameworks for this project, detailing the methodological tools I used to

consider the complex nature of repatriation as a local process.

CHAPTER 3

An Engaged Approach: Research to Benefit a Community

In presenting the conceptual framework for this study in chapter two, I located my research within a global, postcolonial discourse of recognition and sovereignty for indigenous groups in formerly colonized countries. The racialization of bodies served to construct boundaries of power, defined often by apparent phenotypic differences between groups. This has been described as an inherently political act, and one that involves the ideological construction of cultures based on these differences (Wong, 2010). The project of postcolonialism has been touted to theorize the nature of colonized subjectivity, through critical examination of concepts of domination and resistance for the representation of the marginalized *other* (Wong, 2010). Constructing the body as a contested site of colonial power and subjugation during the colonial period, I work to consider the implications of those relationships of power that have been inscribed into the fabric of this project. The remains discovered at the Rickley site become a lens to examine the ways in which relationships of power in the past were negotiated by different cultures and worldviews, and continue into the present. As it interprets relationships of race, racialization, culture and power, postcolonialism offers a structure of investigation that decentres these mainstream notions of truth, power and knowledge and the representation of groups that are marginalized in society (Wong, 2010). Postcolonialism maintains that a continuity of power relations between the colonizer and colonized remains, through a sort of textualism that often obscures the specificity and existence of neo-colonial encounters in society today. The debate over the control of ancestral remains housed in cultural institutions around the world today hints at this continued relationship

of colonial power. Indigenous communities claim right of descendants for the return of the remains of their ancestors that were illegally removed for study and display in the museums of the colonizers, while institutions claim the right of stewardship and scientific progress. Colonial perceptions of the Native body as an object of conquest influenced the mass collection of remains from Indigenous burial grounds that served to construct these very collections in question. This process also served to inform the extensive social suffering that First Nations were made to endure, many of which have lasting effects that continue to shape the lives and experiences of First Nation groups in Canada.

Colonial experiences, from the epidemic of diseases that decimated entire populations to Residential Schools seeking eradication of the diverse cultural and linguistic structures of First Nations, served to inscribe a marginalized and objectified identity onto Indigenous bodies in Canada. The call for the return of ancestral remains by descendant communities establishes a strategy of resistance to these colonial ideologies seeking to repress. A relationship built upon the imbalance of power develops, as the language of science that often opposes claims of return continues a colonial position of power. In the case of the Rickley collection, the assumption of ownership by the University representatives at the time of excavation resulted in the removal of remains for study and display without proper consultation. The historical and legal context at the time enabled this to occur without any question regarding ethics. The University then remained in control of the collection until it was brought to Walpole Island for reburial. The process of repatriation often continues a relationship of power echoing the colonial past, as it is often the First Nation that must be active in requesting and proving, while ultimately the power of decision remains with the colonial institution—the very

institution that often unethically removed the remains in the first place. Since postcolonialism has been described as naming a political and theoretical position that embodies the active concept of intervention within oppressive circumstances, an engaged methodological framework was constructed within this theoretical structure to match the strong desire I felt to see the remains of these individuals returned to their community (Wong, 2010).

Qualitative research seeks to work with research participants to consider perceptions and subjective assumptions (Silverman, 2001). Codes that define ethical research with human beings now consider the power relationships that exist between researcher and participant and between participant and the wider society. Early anthropological research was often based in a discourse of vanishing cultures, and the need to preserve those remnants still left to us, including not only the cultures of First Nations in Canada, but also other *folk* traditional cultures of marginalized peoples (Nurse, 2006). This sort of salvage ethnography and anthropological research was part of the process that relocated the site of cultural authenticity from First Nations and marginalized groups of study, to the museums, archives and academic environments of dominant society. Research involving Indigenous peoples has thus often been conducted by those who do not share in their experiences, nor work for their benefit. Thus approaches have generally not been reflective of world views that are held by First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples of Canada and do not always benefit the communities concerned (TCPS 2, 2010). The imperative to *protect* the disenfranchised that is often the defining feature of an engaged framework tends to obscure the active role that the research participant plays

in the development of the research design and outcome and echoes the discourses of *preservation* as identified above (Clarke, 2010; Scheper-Hughes, 1995).

By engaging with forms of reflexivity to produce ethnographic and narrative inquiry, social researchers incorporate the recognition of power relations in research, in society and in the act of writing research (Chari & Donner, 2010). In Canada, anthropologists have participated in major legal cases, agreements, etc., as consultants, activists and researchers. Social events like the introduction of the White Paper (1969) by the government as part of the initiative to assimilate Aboriginal populations into Canadian society, or the James Bay Agreement (1976) which may be considered the first *modern treaty* in Canada, are foundational works for engaged research in Canada (Harrison & Darnell, 2006). These active and socially significant projects, among others, have facilitated the increasing challenge to anthropologists working with Aboriginal peoples to assume a more politically committed position and develop collaborative practices to respond to the needs and aspirations of the people with whom they choose to work (Buchanan, 2006). Work concerning claims of social justice from communities, like those noted above, is indicative of this importance for reciprocal research relationships that weave the activist thread into the extension of social research goals and outcomes (Chari & Donner, 2010). Linking research pursuits to a public engagement and the meaningful collaboration of a variety of actors allows for a wide range of epistemological thinking to be considered (Clarke, 2010; Low & Merry, 2010). The researcher takes on the multifaceted role of activist and advocate, gathering information and knowledge to share with the community for their benefit.

It is the collaborative nature of this research design that renders it an engaged anthropological approach. My desire as a researcher was to engage in forms of activism and generate a collaborative and community-based perspective on how this knowledge is shared, on whose terms and for what purpose. Because of the complex nature of the research topic, data collected for the purposes of this study were not suited for a quantitative analysis. The project would involve the inclusion of individuals who were directly involved in discussions to repatriate the remains in the Rickley collection from the University of Windsor, and in translating their experiences onto the written page I needed to involve them in the construction of the final project to ensure that what I was depicting and understanding was indeed part of their experience. I also considered existing policy through a deconstructive textual analysis of the *purpose* sections of repatriation policies (see Fairclough, 1989, 2003). This analysis considers the discursive influence that colonial perspectives still cast on repatriation in Canada for the purposes of informing the community of the existing approaches and procedures of other groups. Comparison of institutional purpose statements with those of First Nations organizations highlights differences in the valued modalities of each. A critical examination of these sections could contribute to a holistic perspective of repatriation policy as it may influence the development of one by Walpole Island First Nation.

Origins of the Project

Though this research is reflective of my own interests and choices of topics to pursue, it has also been influenced by each individual who participated and gave their time to see its completion. I have worked with members of Walpole Island First Nation to understand their approaches towards returning the remains of these individuals to rest

within their territory. The solidarity I felt with those individuals who advocate for the return and reburial of the individuals in the Rickley collection has served to influence the construction of this research project as a whole and the design for its implementation.

I became interested in the politics surrounding repatriation through exposure to anthropological and sociological studies, fuelling the desire to advocate for social recognition and change within my own community. Perpetually interested in the study and analysis of skeletal remains, I was given the opportunity to work as a research assistant in the University of Windsor's physical anthropology laboratory, which was my first introduction to the Rickley collection curated there. Further inquiry brought with it the story of the excavation and some detail to the attempts made to return the collection. For various reasons, including the lack of a clear mandate to return collections in Canada, lack of resources and shifting priorities, this collection was temporarily forgotten, and return delayed. My interest in this collection's fate again surfaced when applying for graduate studies shortly thereafter. I was presented with the potential repatriation of the Rickley collection as a thesis topic, one that could have a real benefit for the communities involved.

In beginning to develop a proposal for this project I was introduced to the use of an engaged anthropological and ethnographic approach to working with groups for the benefit of the wider community. As is presented by Scheper-Hughes (1995), the decision to engage in critical social research comes from specific settings, personal developments and relationships with those communities that are marginalized in wider society. I have been motivated by a desire to see the remains of these people returned and to work with those individuals involved to help in any way that I can. This qualitative research project

was approved both by the Research Ethics Board of the University of Windsor,

NIN.DA.WAAB.JIG, and through them the Council of Three Fires of Walpole Island First

Nation (Jacobs, 1998; Sands, 2008). Working with the group *NIN.DA.WAAB.JIG*, or

those who seek to find, at the Walpole Island Heritage Centre, has widened the scope of

this project to consider the impact that repatriation and reburial have on a community.

Methodological Framework: Tools of the Trade

Method One: Active Interview and Thematic Analysis

The strategy of active interviewing was utilized to document the experiences of

some of the key stakeholders in the repatriation of the Rickley collection. Levels of

interview structure delineate among the different types of interviews that are available to

any researcher. Unstructured, semi-structured and structured interviews vary in the level

of control that is given to the participants; from very little in a structured interview to the

participant-dominated unstructured interview (Corbin & Morse, 2003, p. 339). To

document individual subjective experience with the Rickley repatriation, I utilized the

semi-structured active interview (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). The construction of

specifically targeted interview questions beforehand allowed for the structure and agenda

of the interviews to be controlled to some extent by myself as the researcher. Then during

the interview itself, conversation could develop from the provided areas of interest and

follow the paths taken by participants. This strategy of interaction thus recognizes the

active participation of both participants, since the researcher may retain some control

over the topic, the participant retains control over what information is shared and how it

is framed and presented for the listener (Corbin & Morse, 2003; Holstein & Gubrium,

1995). As considered in *The Active Interview* (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995), the interview

as a conversational dynamic can be understood as evidence that all interviews are reality-constructing and meaning-making occasions where both participants collaborate to construct what is being produced, whether this process is recognized or not. This levelling of the power dynamic (to some extent, but not fully) that a semi-structured interview would create a more equal dynamic between the participant and me. The construction of the research design was completed in consultation with committee members, as well as individual participants.

Participant selection involved contacting those individuals involved in the efforts to repatriate the Rickley collection to Walpole Island. An obvious choice for participation would be Dr. John Albanese, my research supervisor, to detail his experiences. It was decided, however, that because of Albanese's dual role as both research supervisor and research participant that this approach would not be productive and that Albanese would not participate in the interview process. He remained a steadfast and positive influence, detailing the process, events and outcomes of the efforts to return the collection for reburial in review. Due to the public nature of each individual's participation in this repatriation anonymity was not guaranteed, and this was noted on the *Consent to Participate in Research* form that each individual signed during the interview[2]. Since the general topic of repatriation and those processes that both inform and result from those discussions can be highly emotional for individuals participating in the interview process, some emotional risk was acknowledged both for participants and the wider community. Participants were chosen based on their well-known involvement in situations requiring sensitivity due to the presence of ancestral remains. Each has been involved in cases like

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[2] see Appendix A for a copy of the approved Consent to Participate in Research form

this before, and thus the risk of emotional distress for them was lessened. Risk for participants was also minimized by the return of interview transcripts for review and approval before analysis began, and the provision of early drafts of this thesis to ensure that my representation of their experience was approved.

Interview participants were noted to have played pivotal roles in discussions for the return of these remains and included individuals from the University of Windsor, along with representatives from the Heritage Centre of Walpole Island First Nation. Russell Nahdee and I met in his office at the Turtle Island Aboriginal Education Centre on campus. He was the first contact that Dr. Albanese made regarding the remains in the laboratory. I have worked closely with him as well in recent efforts to return these remains for reburial on Walpole Island. Russell brought with him an academic appreciation regarding repatriation, but his interests in the archaeological and bio-anthropological study of human remains can often conflict with more traditional obligations to rebury those individuals. Dean Jacobs and David White have each served as Director at the Heritage Centre, among other roles, during the last decade since discussions first began. Each remains a significant contact for questions regarding repatriation, and has extensive experience with situations involving the discovery of ancestral remains. Dean and I spoke in his office one morning at the Heritage Centre. He has occupied many positions within the government there and offers extensive political experience regarding negotiations with Canadian and American cultural institutions. David began his undergraduate degree in anthropology at the University of Windsor, and remembers classes led by Professor Kroon, who played a central role in the story of the Rickley collection. Presently David advises local construction projects when burials and

archaeological sites are unearthed during development projects. He offers an opinion guided by the notion that mutual benefits can be found through the study of these ancient remains and was an advocate for further study of this collection in particular. James Jenkins served as Research Advisor to the interim Director at the Heritage Centre at the start of this research project, and has had significant experience in facilitating discussions surrounding the discovery and reburial of ancestral remains from within the Heritage Centre. We met for our interview in the Band Council Chambers of Walpole Island First Nation, a room that is fixed in my memory for its echoing beauty, all wood structure and bright colours. His present position as Advisor brought with it a perspective that considered policy to be an asset for his and future generations to learn from. Finally I had the pleasure of speaking with Eric Isaac—a respected community elder on Walpole Island—about the cultural and spiritual significance of bringing the remains of these people home. He provided some insight into the ceremonial aspects of the process to repatriate remains without disclosing the processes themselves, and the significant spiritual effect that the spirits of those who are not at rest have upon the community. We met in a room at the Heritage Centre overlooking the water there. I listened while he told stories of cultural rejuvenation, spirits wandering around the pharmacy, and childhood experiences in a Residential School. His stories captivated my attention, making the time pass more quickly than I thought possible. These individuals represent those from Walpole Island who are contacted regarding the discovery of Indigenous human remains within their traditional territories, and have experience how to proceed when they are found. They each were directly involved to different extents and for differing lengths of

time with the discussions to return the remains from the University to Walpole Island for reburial, but each had a distinct desire to see the remains of these people returned.

The interviews themselves were approximately one hour discussions which outlined the participants' involvement with the Rickley and other collections from archaeological sources. I first questioned the participant's involvement in discussions for repatriating the Rickley collection in particular. This focus allowed for the documentation of those events that resulted in the successful return of the collection. Questions were structured for the project overall, but were tailored during interviews based on who I was speaking to[3]. For example, James was briefly involved in discussions regarding the Rickley collection and the questions assembled for that conversation reflected that. The conversations considered what elements of this process a policy should address—and why—and whether or not it would be aided by an all-encompassing policy at the federal level. I also questioned participants for their opinions of bio-anthropological analysis on remains. Methods to determine basic demographic features of a population can be enlisted to learn from remains that are discovered, in the case of the Rickley collection however, no known analysis was completed prior to the involvement of Albanese. The traditional beliefs of many—holding that remains should be reburied as soon as possible—are often opposed to any support for further research to learn more about those people and the time from whence they came. Participants were often conflicted when faced with this query, interested in furthering local knowledge of the past while reconciling that these remains were once people, their people, and they deserve the respectful burial they were denied.

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[3] For a list of questions asked during interviews, see Appendix B

After completion, interviews were transcribed and forwarded back to participants, who in turn, verified the interview information they contained and made recommendations for reconsideration and approval. This continued collaboration process incorporated participant opinion and inclusion into the analysis and returned control of representation to them and attempted to ensure their satisfaction with the outcome (Clarke, 2010; Scheper-Hughes, 1995). Interview transcripts were then analyzed utilizing a strategy of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This strategy allows the researcher to develop a thematic map of a qualitative data set, to engage with the emerging story that and to translate that story into a final product. I immersed myself back into the data, engaging and considering it within the literature I had extensively examined beforehand, I analyzed transcripts for themes. Thematic maps of the data were constructed, utilizing coded data that marked points of interest and structural notations for a policy across each transcript (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Then themes were compared and condensed across the data set for their insight into factors that influence repatriation and associated policies. Interview participants are each stakeholders in return on Walpole Island, and their insight was compared amongst themselves to consider what facets of a framework would work best for their local community, and what was influencing their desire to see these individuals returned. The results of this analysis are considered in more detail in following chapters.

Method Two: Textual Analysis of Policy

Fairclough (2003) describes texts as elements of social events. They are shaped by social structures and processes, and the agents that facilitate their creation–whether through oral or written narrative. Texts can provide insight into dynamics of social action,

representation and identification when examined with a critical eye. Literary devices can

be used to establish commitment to a reality, identify relationships between entities and

imply types of meaning. The text of policies can be understood as a negotiated text

(Fairclough, 2003). They represent the final draft of a document that has undergone

extensive revisions and negotiation. This process is often centred upon the representation,

inclusion and exclusion of voices and the relation of these voices to the authorial voice

when included (Fairclough, 2003, p. 43). My research incorporated an analysis of texts

that are representative of repatriation policy in Canada for the purpose of providing the

community on Walpole Island with some familiarity of what approaches other

organizations followed concerning the return of ancestral remains. For this reason I

considered the repatriation policies of two well-known Canadian cultural institutions and

two Indigenous organizations. Due to time constraints, I chose to examine the purpose

statements of these texts because they can be the life-blood of a protocol that guides the

return of remains (PC-DJ: April 28, 2014). The reasoning behind the focus of the purpose

statements of these policies was mentioned during my interview with Dean Jacobs,

when—as we were speaking of the potential for a policy on Walpole Island regarding the

repatriation of ancestral remains—he noted that,

> "it would be important to guide future decision-makers, having a policy
> statement and more of a, more of the principles around the policy. And
> there could be different levels of a policy statement, something that
> could be…motherhood statements and value principle statements,"
> (PC-DJ: April 28, 2014).

The mention of these fostered my rationale for examining these particular sections of the

policies of these organizations. This focal area could provide substantial insight into the

establishment of positionality of the organization within the discourse on returning these collections.

I considered the purpose statements of the repatriation policies of the Canadian Museum of History (formerly the Canadian Museum of Civilization or CMCC) and the Museum of Anthropology (MOA) at the University of British Columbia. The Museum of Anthropology also incorporates the guidelines for repatriation from the Laboratory of Archaeology (LOA), which curates collections containing any human remains. It is important to note that though the LOA has specific guidelines for repatriation, they refer directly to the MOA's policy, which is why the purpose statement of the MOA is considered fully here. I focused particularly on Canadian cultural institutions because of the relevance of their work to a Canadian case study like my work with Walpole Island First Nation. Comparing these documents with purpose descriptions of First Nation organizations provided some contrast. Since the Haida Repatriation Committee (HRC) is well known for their repatriation efforts in Canada and the United States, I chose to consider them for the purposes of this project. I also considered the purpose statements of the Michigan Anishinaabek Cultural Preservation and Repatriation Alliance (MACPRA) to contrast the Canadian approach and experience with repatriation to that of the United States. The influence of the NAGPRA legislation was not discounted in this way, since the influence of American federal legislation over the construction of a local policy in this community could be significant. Utilizing Fairclough's (2003) outline of textual analysis for social research, I examined the purpose statement sections of each policy for linguistic evidence of colonial discourse. Utilizing the analytical concepts of modality, assumption and intertextuality I was able to recognize the power relationships embedded

within these texts. Several interesting themes emerged during my analyses of these texts, both individually and across the data set, which will be considered in detail in the next chapter. The importance of including an analysis of these texts was to provide further knowledge of repatriation approaches to the community on Walpole Island, for the purposes of informing the development of an official protocol for future cases involving repatriation negotiations.

Conclusion

These methodological tools and tactics of analysis have contributed to the sensitive complexity that defines the process of repatriation in Canadian society today. Engagement with both narrative experience and related texts provided me with a rich multi-source data corpus to draw out some conclusions regarding the subjective experience and opinions of stakeholders for repatriation on Walpole Island. Several key participants were interviewed because there was an expectation that individual opinions would vary as to the significance of return as a concept for community and society, but each conveyed the complexity and particularly noted that any policy or protocol seeking to structure it must incorporate some sensitivity to this multifaceted nature. I next present the particular context of the Rickley collection's history, repatriation and return.

CHAPTER 4

Local Repatriation: Context for Research

This project considers the narratives shared by stakeholders in the repatriation of the Rickley collection from the University of Windsor. First, I introduce a brief history of archaeology and First Nation consultation in Ontario, to familiarize the reader with the more local context for the focus on Walpole Island First Nation in particular, in discussions regarding this collection. This chapter will then consider the excavation of the Rickley site, and reconstruct events leading to the curation of the collection, making use of official site reports and surviving unpublished student accounts[4]. The Rickley tale is woven through this chapter, as much its tale permeates the entirety of this project[5]. As a point of clarification, the name Rickley has had several variations in spelling, including Rickly and Rikley, as noted in various unpublished student accounts and published works regarding the site (see: Donaldson & Wortner, 1995; Spence, Pihl & Murphy, 1990; various Student Accounts). I use the spelling used by Leonard Kroon throughout his site report of the excavation that was submitted in 1975. Details of the excavation itself have been gathered through the examination of this text along with several unpublished student accounts of the dig as well. It is also important to note that since only approximately 7% of the site was excavated, and evidence points to the sites variable periods of occupation over a significant number of years (ie., approximately 2,000 years), any interpretation or conclusions drawn concerning the Rickley site are thus speculative (Stanciw & Walker, 1980).

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[4] For a directory of these accounts see AppendixE
[5] For a timeline of these events see Appendix F

Ontario Archaeology: A Troubled Past

By the 1970s, archaeology in Ontario was widely represented and celebrated in popular media as a grave-robbing and treasure-hunting enterprise (Latta, 2004). Landowner permission was the most important requirement to excavate any sites, and evidence of this trend is witnessed in the account of Murray Tuck's early excavations on Irad Rickley's land in both his own early notes and those of Kroon's site report (Kroon, 1975; Tuck, n.d.). Any data gathered during these times were recorded, in pencil, sporadically upon thousands of index cards, and analysis was usually limited to the possible inventory of items with records of descriptions (Latta, 2004). The resultant collections were often left in disarray, as was the case with Rickley. Collections, once excavated, were conserved through the boxing of materials and storage in a dry, convenient location, like an attic or basement, and for the most part promptly forgotten (Latta, 2004). The arrival of the Rickley collection to the University of Windsor was undocumented, and there are no located documents that refer to provenience, osteobiographical information, or what was expected to become of the collection beyond remaining within the University's care. The assembly of the Rickley collection may be considered characteristic of a time when unregulated and unlicensed digs occurred in great numbers. Collections may still remain forgotten, uninventoried and unanalyzed due to poor data collection methods when they were excavated. In the case of Rickley, the collection had been intermixed with other archaeological collections excavated and curated by members of the University, and only through extensive inventory and analysis of both the remains and the student accounts of the dig that source and identification could possibly be established.

The Ontario Heritage Act came into effect in 1975, for the purpose of giving municipalities and the provincial government powers of protection over heritage sites. The Heritage Act allowed for the shift in Ontario archaeology towards regulated, scientific evaluation and regulations now require the licensing of archaeologists and reports made regularly to the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport in the process of excavation (Latta, 2004; Ontario Heritage Act, 2009). A second influential piece of legislation for Ontario archaeology is the Cemeteries Act. Enacted in 2002, it applies to the discovery of all human remains within Ontario and requires consultation when Aboriginal origin is suspected. The question of *who* to consult with is determined by the location of the site in terms of treaty territories, what cultural information can be inferred from the site, known interest, and geographical proximity to a recognized First Nation (Cemeteries Act, 2002). In the report of the Rickley site, Kroon mentions the role of the local First Nations in passing, and never by name or title, in regards to participation and consultation concerning the site and the events that occurred during excavation (1975). When consultation for the return of the remains at the University began, Walpole Island First Nation was considered the closest recognized First Nation to the site. This, along with their considerable experience regarding the reburial of discovered human remains, was the reasoning behind their selection as the first contact for discussions of the return of this collection (PC-RN: April 117, 2014).

Archaeology in Ontario has come a great distance from what it once was, with regulation and licensing in place, professional archaeologists are accountable and amateur archaeology and collection is illegal. New debates and perspectives have presented themselves as First Nations defend their rights and call for the return of their ancestral

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remains, and questions regarding this return have become what and how, not when and why. Considering the state of many collections that remain from the many excavations conducted under less than ethical conditions, the road to successful relationships within this area of society is a long one, and one that must be flexible enough to incorporate a myriad of opinions, but it is a fruitful venture, and one that promises to benefit a holistic understanding of our relationship to the past.

The Place Where the Waters Divide

Walpole Island First Nation is located between Ontario and Michigan at the mouth of the St. Clair River. The Ojibwe name for Walpole Island is *Bkejwanong*, or 'the place where the waters divide', and it has been described as a meeting ground and place of sacred fire (Jacobs, 1998; Sands, 2008). These lands and waters remain intact and unceded, they represent a sacred place to the people who call them home, and they represent the soul of Indian Territory (Jacobs, 1998; *NIN.DA.WAAB.JIG*, 1987). And the history of self-governance and spiritual significance of this location for First Nations in Southwestern Ontario provides a sense of meaning applied to this place chosen for the final rest of the remains of these people that we have fought to bring home (PC-JJ: April 15, 2014).

Walpole Island first Nation has a long history in southwestern Ontario, with records of Aboriginal habitation in the area dating back several thousand years in the archaeological record. The people there have been active in their dealings with the colonial governments and settlers in the surrounding areas. The Potawatomi, Ottawa (also known as the Odawa), and Ojibwa (also known as the Chippewa) are their ancestors, and constructed a confederacy on this unceded territory, known as the Council of the Three

Fires (*NIN.DA.WAAB.JIG*, 1987; PC-EI: May 6, 2014). In 1965, they were the first to expel the last Indian agent from their territory, and begin the era of self-government and Walpole Island First Nation became an example for other groups to follow (Van Wynsberge, 2002). The Potawatomi, Ottawa and Ojibwa have had a long history with one another and have protected and conserved *Bkejwanong* from time immemorial, and their collective history comes from the name for stories: *Gin Das Winan*, these stories connect the people to their place, since place is all-encompassing, deserving of people's respect (Jacobs, 1998). *NIN.DA.WAAB.JIG* or 'those who seek to find' officially developed the Heritage Centre on Walpole Island in 1989. It is the research arm of Walpole Island First Nation, dealing with items like land claims, environmental protection and heritage conservation. Walpole Island First Nation is one of the first Native communities in Canada to take a leadership role in the field of environmental sustainablitity, and it is the group at the Hertiage Centre that facilitates these local and international discussions.

Figure 2: Location of Site within Dover Township, with proximity to Walpole Island**.**

Excavation at Rickley: Tales of Thievery and Discord

The Rickley site is an archaeological site, located in Dover Township, Kent County, Ontario (see Figure 2). The Rickley site was brought to the University of Windsor's attention by Murray Tuck, who was investigating and

surface collecting from a number of archaeological sites in Southwestern Ontario (Tuck, n.d.). Leonard Kroon, a professor at the University, was lead Field Archaeologist on the dig and noted that Tuck began surface collecting from the site in 1969, and had taken an aerial photograph that potentially linked it to a village site, known as Liahn, approximately a "half-mile away". Tuck's (n.d.) notes on each site are documented in his 'Directory of Indian Village Sites,' an unpublished volume containing his notes on site locations, artifacts collected and aerial photographs he took of the sites himself. In his first account of the Rickley site Tuck notes that he 'found a fair amount of fire-cracked stone and two artifacts of fine grained flint…[and] two pieces of skull casing' and that this site could and should be excavated (Tuck, n.d., p. 13).

The official site report notes that in 1974 the University of Windsor leased a portion of Rickley's farmland for excavation as a University-led undergraduate field school in archaeology. The excavation that season yielded artifacts that indicated an Early to Late Woodland[6] occupation of the site by Aboriginal groups (Kroon, 1975). As the season closed that year Tuck made out a cheque for rights to excavate to the landowner. Kroon endorsed the cheque and noted in his report that *intermittent digging* by Tuck and an acquaintance would be of little issue and 'no immediate problem' (1975, p. 4, emphasis added). The 1975 season was a notably more fruitful effort. Undergraduate students worked in teams, supervised by more experienced senior-level students, and kept daily records of their assigned squares and progress. These student accounts are where much information regarding the site has been gathered, apart from Kroon himself[7].

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[6] For an overview of Ontario's archaeological time-periods, see Appendix C.
[7] See Appendix E for a directory of these documents

In total, the class located evidence of six human burials at the site during the 1975 season. Because of the proximity of the plow zone, which extended approximately 10.5 inches[8] from the surface, many of their find were disturbed, and some showed evidence of previous digging. The crew reported three flexed burials on the site, two without associated goods, and two instances of incomplete sets of remains (Kroon, 1975). A most notable discovery was made when the crew unearthed a circular formation of six cremated bundle burials in square 50C. As each was unearthed, significant burial goods were located including two tubular limestone pipes with pebble inserts, a large, double-walled pipe-form, a very rough sandstone tubular object, and most notably a roughly made, full-bodied, nubbin-eyed birdstone of green slate, each associated with the bundles (Kroon, 1975; See Figure 2.2). The importance of each associated artifact with the bundle burials indicates that the site may fall within the *Glacial Kame* burial complex in Ontario during the transition from the Late Archaic to Early Woodland time periods (Donaldson & Wortner 1995). Items such as these and their location in proximity to one another indicate the Rickley site to be a multicomponent burial site of some significance, used transiently. The number of burials located on the site, along with other faunal evidence, may suggest ritual internments, suggesting the site to be a location of importance for the people who journeyed there (Stanciu & Walker 1980).

This exciting find of square 50C proved to be the dig's undoing though, as it was soon after that relations between Kroon and Tuck were noted to have broken down. Tuck was described by many students as a grave robber, and was documented as pocketing quite a few items assumed to be of some value. Kroon himself noted that when the

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[8] Note: Unit dimensions are original descriptors from Kroon's site report, 1975.

circular burial was first discovered "the original investigator [Tuck] and friend *took over* the unit in question and in their zeal to collect, were ignoring all basic scientific methodology," (emphasis added,1975, p. 5), and this contributed to the significant loss of data from the site. These notations are reinforced by their repetition in several of the unpublished student accounts, though some implicate Kroon himself in the more

Figure 3: Photograph of the enigmatic birdstone uncovered at the Rickley site, current location unknown (Unpublished site photograph, 1975).

questionable disappearances that occurred over the 1975 season, with his argument of the University's claim of ownership used as justification. Soon after its discovery, the birdstone disappeared, and Kroon's report, along with several student accounts as well, blamed Tuck for the loss. According to Kroon, Tuck, claimed a questionable authority over all artifactual materials by virtue of some vague assurances given to him by an unnamed cabinet minister and the Ministry of Culture. Shortly thereafter Kroon's account notes that he terminated the dig due to the fact that selective looting was occurring regularly and that no authoritative action was taken to rectify it, and so they backfilled the burials (Kroon, 1975). The theft of the birdstone is heavily felt, since it was unique in that it did not follow the standard 'classic plain bar type' that characterizes others in Ontario (Donaldson & Wortner 1995).

There is no conclusive evidence as to how the collection was received into the Anthropology department at the University of Windsor, but some assumptions can be made. Of the six burials discovered, only the circular bundle burials were noted to be

reburied in Kroon's report, thus the fate of the others can be considered highly questionable. The involvement of a Dr. Singh, who was the physical anthropologist on staff at the University, was also noted in accounts of the excavations and at least some of the remains associated with the Rickley site ended up stored in boxes within the Physical Anthropology Laboratory on campus. They may have been excavated afterward and stored for curatorial purposes for the 'Museum of Man' that once operated on campus, in the present-day Anthropology Museum, or they may have been removed from the site during the excavation—though not reported in the 1975 report. The boxes that contained the more fragmentary remains may have come from Tuck's surface collecting prior to the involvement of the University of Windsor, since the state of many of these remains may be indicative of their existence within the plow zone at the Rickley farm. Remains had been bagged and boxed, washed and some fragmented pieces articulated with glue or masking tape, suggesting some intended purpose.

The Call for Return

Regardless of method, some or all of the remains were curated and have been documented and handled, to some extent, by staff and students of the University of Windsor. When Dr. John Albanese arrived to the department in 2004, and realized of the state and potential source of the remains that he discovered in the laboratory, the decision was made to attempt to repatriate them. Contact was established with Russell Nahdee at the Turtle Island Aboriginal Education Centre at the University and he served as liaison to Walpole Island during discussions. Walpole Island First Nation was the closest recognized First Nation to the University of Windsor in the early 2000s and they had considerable experience with those situations that consider ancestral remains (PC-RN:

April 17, 2014). Though in the case of a collection of human remains that had been stored

for nearly 30 years, the procedure was mostly unknown. Walpole Island First Nation was

the primary contact in the area for those at the University, for it was not until recently that

Caldwell First Nation settled their land claim with the government ('Caldwell First

Nation…' 2010), and the other communities in the area were thought to have less

experience with situations like these. The proximity of Walpole Island to the site in

Dover Township was also taken into account for consultation purposes as well given the

consultation requirements as laid out in the Cemeteries Act in Ontario (see Figure 1, 2).

The remains within the lab were associated with several different sites excavated

by the University during that time period, and it would be difficult to sort and separate

them. With some experience concerning repatriation, Albanese determined that the first

task was to catalogue and inventory the collection extensively, showing influence of the

well-known process outlined in the NAGPRA legislation (PC-RN: April 17, 2014). Due

to lack of funding and resources available, the help of students was enlisted to complete

the task. Using part of his research grants, Albanese purchased secure storage cabinets for

the remains and hired work-study students to inventory the laboratory's contents.

Students worked to catalogue the remains, attempt to establish provenience by

comparison with student accounts, and work on research projects focused on topics

dealing with human skeletal variation when they could.

This inventory project had its ups and downs, again due to availability of funding,

the focus of those people involved and unavoidable circumstances like leaves of absence

and other general delays in progress (PC-RN: April 17, 2014). From the University,

various heads of the Sociology, Anthropology and Criminology department were

involved in the movement of this collection, at different times and with different goals and motives in mind. Albanese facilitated discussions about returning the Rickley remains within the department as early as 2005, organizing a committee to discuss options for research and a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) grant to properly investigate the collection and perhaps assign provenience, but because of shifts in focus and lack of resources, this research never materialized (PC-RN: April 17, 2014; PC-DW: April 28, 2014). On Walpole Island, the focus of the Director at the Heritage Centre changed depending, to a certain extent, on the person who held that office, with different priorities taking precedence over the collection for a variety of reasons (PC-DW: April 28, 2014). Early on during these meetings David White, a former Director, was interested in what research on these remains could tell the community about their distant past and heritage. During his tenure as Director, he authorized research initiatives on remains sent to Western University, while hoping for similar research to be completed with the remains at the University of Windsor. Dean Jacobs, also a former Director at the Heritage Centre, noted in his interview that in the beginning he was more concerned with the respectful storage and safety of the bones, and did not actively attempt to return them until he could be sure that this file could be closed and the remains reburied (PC-DJ: April 28, 2014). And political advisor, James Jenkins noted that resources are scarce, and are allocated according to demand by the community, with social issues remaining ahead of cultural issues like the return of these remains (PC-JJ: April 15, 2014). The more pressing issues of the living often tend to take precedence over the final rest of the dead. Though this does not mean the return of these remains were not a priority for the community members of Walpole Island. Often Russell would be

contacted to give an update on the status of the collection, and the individuals in the collection remained on the minds of those involved from Walpole Island and the University. Differing goals for research and furthering knowledge of the past existed but the end goal of return and reburial for these individuals remained steadfast in their minds.

Return and Reburial

Over the summer of 2013, Albanese hired me to complete a comprehensive inventory of the collection. I noted the contents of each box, both those that were assumed to be associated with the Rickley site and those that were evidently from other archaeological projects completed in Essex and Kent Counties. The paucity of an established process and framework is felt here, the remains of the individuals excavated from the Rickley site were left in limbo for a very long time because, among other factors, a lack of identifiable structure left those looking to return them without a clear path to follow. The remains were highly fragmentary and documentation nearly non-existent. There were a few boxes that I assumed to be from the Rickley site, but were not labelled as such; notes were scribbled on the exterior of boxes and scraps of paper within them. Some were made to articulate with glue or masking tape, and re-boxed after these attempts were completed or a semester ended. I made my way through the entirety of it, documenting everything and noting any anomalies that might be pertinent to the investigation of this collection in the future.

When a research application brought the collection again to the attention of the current administration in late 2013, the collection was quickly moved from the physical anthropology lab into a more secure storage location. Discussions of return were hastened at this point. Russell and I met with the stakeholders from Walpole Island First Nation in

November 2013 to discuss a renewal of the efforts to return and rebury these remains, and the administration's involvement indicated that this goal may be in sight for those of us involved. In January 2014 a delegation of individuals from Walpole Island First Nation came to the University to see the remains and to discuss further the path forward. It was at this meeting that Dean felt there were enough individuals present with the goal of return in mind to make this attempt successful. Individuals present included Russell Nahdee, Dean Jacobs, David White, Eric Isaac, John Albanese, myself, Dr. Towson, the associate Dean of graduate studies and research, Dr. Maticka-Tyndale, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, Dr. Wright, and briefly, the President, Alan Wildeman. The presence of these individuals indicated the renewed dedication to see these remains returned at last. It was decided to wait for the outcome of the research application, if it was positive then research with the remains could move forward; if it was rejected, then plans for return and reburial could move forward immediately.

In the spring of 2014, the news that the application was rejected came, and preparations began for the return and reburial. A caucus was formed by delegates from Walpole Island First Nation, and invitations were extended to the neighbouring communities as well. What I have learned about these meetings and preparations is that there was extensive community involvement. It was decided that the remains from the University of Windsor would be reinterred along with other remains that had been discovered on Walpole Island during construction, as well as those previously sent to Western University for research purposes. These remains were sampled for a future DNA analysis project that will attempt to genetically link them with the community. The women of Walpole Island First Nation began to organize the reburial ceremony,

consulting with community Elders as to what should be done, and gathering the necessary materials. And the involvement of the surrounding communities was again encouraged by invitation.

Finally in the first days of summer 2014, the reburial ceremony took place. The remains had been bundled according to traditional customs, and were transported to Walpole Island by Russell. The ceremony was held outside the Heritage Centre and the beauty of the day was reflected by the ceremony itself. It was fortunate that I could bear witness to the return of these remains while working through this thesis, since when I began this project I did not expect that the two would intersect so soon. The community asked that the ceremony not be recorded by those who attended, and I continue to respect those wishes by only briefly mentioning the event here. I was honoured to have been asked to attend with the community to recognize and honour the spirits of the dead. Though the day was characterized by feelings of loss, mourning and farewell, it was also a day of joy and happiness. The return of these individuals for a proper reburial was understood in successful terms, finally fulfilling the obligation felt to put them to rest and to make right the wrongs done when they were removed from their graves. The community members present remarked tales of their experiences with other burials of this type, and the mood was a sombre sort of celebration, one that will remain in my mind for many years to come.

Conclusion

The history of the Rickley excavation and context of the collection's curation and current state has influenced the need for the return of these individuals on moral grounds to their descendant groups. The process as it was laid out by individuals from the

University and from Walpole Island indicates the benefits that would be provided by having an established framework or protocol to structure repatriation discussions. Regulations in Ontario that describe the procedure when burials and remains are located, as well as the procedures for consultation with First Nations today, served as reasoning for contacting Walpole Island First Nation as descendant of the ancient individuals held in the collection. In the next section I present the results of my analyses, considering them for their significance in the influencing an official protocol on Walpole Island.

CHAPTER 5

Inherently Complex: Repatriation as Local Process

In this chapter, I first present some of the results from the analysis of interview data for this project. Interview participants identified the need for a local protocol to be framed with *sensitivity* to the complex nature of repatriation for the communities involved. This identified several themes in discussions that would be affected by the return of these ancient remains. Additionally, I examine linguistic tactics used in the purpose statements of well-known repatriation policies with special attention to evidence of colonial discourses of power. These documents provide some experience with the process of repatriation at a larger scale than the experience of repatriating the Rickley collection from the University of Windsor. Relationships based in colonial imbalances of power that continue to linger on in society are constructed and obfuscated by the use of a language of *consultation* and *discussion*. These notions were required in the Task Force Report in the early 1990s and continue to serve the assumption that a true consultative relationship between First Nations and Canadian cultural institutions exists, while obscuring the colonial foundations of the relationship.

A Framework from Sensitivity: Conversations with Stakeholders

When I examined the transcripts of interviews for this research, I constructed an overarching theme that seemed to characterize our discussions. Ultimately repatriation on Walpole Island could benefit from an established protocol, but it would need to be constructed from a perspective sensitive to the complexities that surround the process and significance of repatriation for a community. The use of the term *sensitivity* was used in reference to the complex role that repatriation plays within the community. The return of

ancient ancestral remains brings with it different affects on the community receiving them. Several participants mentioned the potential for communities to react strongly regarding the question of returning ancestral remains and for this reason made recommendations for procedure to pre-emptively address community concerns. An example of the highly sensitive discussions that may arise can be seen in a controversial governmental ruling regarding ancient human remains in the United States. The Kennewick Man was discovered in Washington, on the shores of the Columbia River. The debates surrounding these remains are well-known, and have been thoroughly discussed in the literature that considers the debates regarding the return of very ancient remains to those Indigenous groups claiming them. The remains were dated to approximately 7300 to 7600 BCE, and the finding began a nearly decade-long clash between scientists, the US government and Native American tribes claiming the Kennewick Man as their own (Zimmerman, 2002). Both sides fought hard to win control over the Kennewick Man's fate. Tensions remain high even with the ruling of the United States Court of Appeals in 2004, which ruled that no cultural link between the Native American tribes and the remains could be genetically justified (Crawford, 2000). This is merely a singular example of the tensions that can arise in discussions relating to human remains and their return to contemporary Indigenous communities. In my analysis of existing repatriation policy, this potential is downplayed by facilitating a language of consultation and discussion regarding the fate of human remains held in collections.

The individuals I worked with to consider this complex topic each brought different perspectives from their own social locations within the community on Walpole Island and the University of Windsor. Participants differed in age and though each was a

member of the Walpole Island First Nation they all brought with them influential beliefs and subjectivities fostered by their social locations. As a community elder, Eric Isaac was the oldest of the five individuals I worked with. He has lived through the era and experience of the Residential Schools and brought with him living memories of his grandparents and the Chippewa customs and language that he worked hard to relearn after his time at school. Both David White and Russell Nahdee discussed their undergraduate experiences at the University of Windsor with me. David completed his degree elsewhere, but relayed memories of his classes with Professor Kroon and Dr. Singh. Both studied anthropology and carry with them the academic interest in the potential for anthropological research to positively inform the present. Dean Jacobs continues to work at *NIN.DA.WAAB.JIG*, acting as a liaison for various projects off Walpole. He has had an extensive experience within the political sphere there as well, occupying many different positions. Finally James Jenkins was the youngest participant in this project. Academically influenced as well, James' perspective from within the Political Office on Walpole was one influenced by current policy and procedure on Walpole concerning the discovery, return and reburial of human remains there. These different subjective understandings brought the important and complex role that this repatriation could and would play for the community on Walpole Island to the forefront of discussion, and maintained that any protocol had to be sensitive to the multifaceted role that repatriation represents to the community.

Three subthemes emerged from my analysis of the interviews regarding the significance of repatriation for the community on Walpole Island. First, the potential to further knowledge through returning ancestral remains was a topic that was highlighted

by several participants. Different perspectives on the knowledge that could be shared through further investigation and the process of return presented some insight into the important effects of consultation as it has been incorporated into the foundations of archaeological and anthropological research in Canada. Next I consider the potential to build important relationships through the return of ancestral remains. Each participant indicated the establishment of relationships within the community, as well as with different parties involved in the return of these remains, as an important effect of this process. Strengthening relationships among diverse community members like those on Walpole Island can create a sense of solidarity and contribute to community knowledge sharing by fostering interest in heritage and past traditions that may be disappearing today. Political relationships built on a mutual obligation to consult regarding the remains held within collections have the potential to carry forward and may ease future discussions if necessary. Finally, a third theme in discussions was a distinct sense of obligation to put these ancestral remains to rest. This obligation spoke to the injustice experienced by the individuals whose remains were removed from their final resting places to be curated in a museum or teaching collection. Often conflicting with the desire to learn more about these people through scientific analysis, this obligation was often framed by establishing a sense of kinship with the remains in the Rickley collection, and constructing a strong spiritual respect for the dead amongst the community. In what follows I present each of these categorical features of repatriation as they relate to repatriation processes on Walpole Island.

Sharing Knowledge: Cultural Development as Effect of Repatriation

With the assimilationist policies of the 19th and 20th centuries, the loss of First

Nation cultures, traditions and languages is only becoming fully realized as organizations

and agents like the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada investigate their

procedures and motivations (TRCC, 2008). The furthering of knowledge about ancient

and historic communities is a positive notion of archaeological research, but one that is

criticized for its lack of public access and community sharing of knowledge. The

turbulent relationship that continues to exist between researchers and First Nations spurs

questions of control, preservation and the lament for the potential loss of information that

results from the return to communities (Hubert & Fforde, 2002; Jenkins, 2012). Russell

Nahdee describes a grappling of worldviews that characterizes his interest in studies

investigating human remains:

> I think there is, in my mind, there are two views that I, I kind of grapple
> with. Again the interest to know more, to learn from…but on the other
> hand though, there is the strong community sense of these people, these
> are remains of individuals and people. And that they had not expected to
> be turned over like that, or disturbed, and that they should be
> immediately returned in the proper way. (PC-RN: April 17, 2014).

This conflictual perspective on research concerned with the remains of Aboriginal

ancestors is one that can be understood as widespread through accounts of repatriation

discussions in Canada and the United States (see Hubert & Fforde, 2002; Jenkins, 2012)

and is often the source of contention between Aboriginal groups and researchers. For

example, after authorizing the transfer of some remains to Western for further analysis

David goes on to note that "just because you ask that things be done, they're not

necessarily done" (PC-DW: April 28, 2014).

The contested site of scientific knowledge, viewed through the removal and return

of these bodies, is one that is again characterized by the colonial history that has

constructed the present environment for First Nations communities across the country.

Bodies of indigenous peoples were looted and collected across the New World, and now

a lack of access to resources often prevents communities from actively seeking

inventories from local museums and cultural institutions to investigate whether there are

ancestral remains in their collections. In discussing the nature of resource allocation,

James notes that,

> There's not really a structure in place for First Nations to have the resources to
> properly be involved in issues like repatriation…finding a person that even has
> the time is a challenge, then resourcing any kind of initiative is always, always a
> major challenge. Simply because other priorities like social needs are
> underfunded…so that always drains cultural initiatives, even really important
> ones like human remains (PC-JJ: April 15, 2014).

The strain on resources that can be allocated to initiatives like repatriation then restricts

the efforts made to locate collections that continue to hold remains like the Rickley

collection. In this case, these remains were removed with no clear purpose for research.

Evidence points to their use as teaching specimens and for display in the Museum of Man

on campus. This is the present-day Anthropology Museum in the Department of

Sociology, Anthropology and Criminology and was managed by Leonard Kroon at the

time of the excavation at the Rickley site. These remains were removed with no intention

of being returned for reburial, characteristic of archaeological excavations that were

conducted during that time and earlier (Latta, 2004; Nahrgang, 2002). The absence of any

requirement for the inventory of collections in Canada is felt here as well. Resources and

funding are an important part of the scientific study of human remains, as well as their

repatriation to affiliated source communities. Without funding, a mutually beneficial

discussion concerned with research of any remains in question of return becomes

unproductive for parties involved. In the case of the Rickley collection, the absence of

funding and other resources restricted any options for further research with the remains.

The study of human remains for scientific research has often been the subject of

debate among First Nations communities, that often recognize colonial motivations for

preservation as detrimental to the assertion of their rights and disrespectful of those

individuals' remains that are the focus of such studies (Fforde, 2004; Mihesuah, 2000).

The question of anthropological study of these bones to identify demographic

characteristics like age, sex, etc., was presented, and answers often conflicted between

notions of academic interest and traditional beliefs. James mentions a definite "interest

[of the community] in helping to generate a holistic understanding of the archaeological

history of our territory" (PC-JJ: April 15, 2014), going on to outline measures that

Walpole Island has taken to facilitate mutually beneficial relationships with educational

institutions and municipalities, including actively furthering archaeological research with

the Museum of Ontario Archaeology in London, Ontario. Both David and Russell noted

that further study of the remains in the Rickley collection would be of interest to them, as

a way of expanding their knowledge of the past in Southwestern Ontario and from an

academic standpoint, learning more from the remains for their importance to

archaeological history there (PC-RN: April 17, 2014; PC-DW: April 28, 2014). Whereas

Dean notes that though the topic of research is essential to discussions, the topic of

further research with remains often shifts the focus from a prompt and respectful reburial

for these people to research and study, that "it took away from the process, and still does

today" (PC-DJ: April 28, 2014). The goal for him, and other community members, is to rebury these bodies out of respect.

The individuals interviewed here each recognized the important role that the scientific study of ancient remains can have for the present community. The contested site of body research can benefit all parties involved in discussions over the fate of collections of human remains. In discussing a recent research endeavour to establish DNA links between ancient remains and living descendant groups on the West Coast of Canada, David notes that a continuity could be established in a particular location (PC-DW: April 28, 2014). The significant role that research like the project from the West Coast can have for communities in land claims, political negotiations and repatriation negotiations is immense. David noted that the potential for a similar course of action-research was available with these remains as well, opportunities to further the holistic knowledge of the past while having a direct impact for present communities as well (PC-DW: April 28, 2014).

Repatriation has been shown to stimulate community interest in culture, history and links to the past (see Jacobs, 2009; Krmpotich, 2010; Simpson, 2008). The loss of cultural knowledge that resulted from assimilation tactics enforced with the Residential Schools in Canada often facilitated the breakdown of communities, loss of language and the disappearance of cultural traditions from the community. As David mentioned in conversation, the potential for projects to benefit both the First Nation community as well as the research community are immense. Projects could come to foster connections to these lost traditions and knowledge, as well as having real political impact in claims of continuity for communities. For example, the international project that genetically linked

ancient remains with a living Tsimshian descendant in British Columbia in 2013, was the type of cross-community, mutually beneficial project that he refers to (Boswell, 2013). The project has the potential to enforce the community's claims of continuity in that place for thousands of years, and creates strong ties to this place that are recognized by wider society. And it is this project among others that inspires the people of Walpole Island First Nation to commit to projects of their own. The remains that were returned from Western University for reburial alongside those from the University of Windsor were sampled for a future DNA analysis project that hopes to establish genetic ties between the contemporary community there and these ancient remains discovered in the area. The return of ancestral remains then becomes a site of hope and renewal for the community. For though there are established methods of association, many believe that the incorporation of oral traditions and community ceremony can establish association just as strongly (PC-RN: April 17, 2014). Often there is a sense of solidarity at all levels by the community to bring these people home, as was evidenced in my discussions with Eric Isaac, who lived through the period of the Residential Schools and now works hard to continue traditional knowledge among his community (PC-EI: May 6, 2014). These returned bodies then become a site of cultural knowledge, fostering the reinvigoration of traditional ceremonies and the sharing of elder knowledge among younger generations.

Ultimately academic pursuits that concern the study of human remains continue to be a source of contention between the academic and Aboriginal communities, and members of Walpole Island. But if policy were established that could allocate resources for First Nations to investigate the fate of their ancestral remains, the balance of power between them and those cultural institutions holding the bodies of their ancestors would

shift. Osteological research with ancient remains to determine demographic

characteristics like age, sex, along with other information about morbidity and mortality

can be mutually beneficial; First Nations groups do recognize the benefits of research of

these bodies, and are interested in the stories they can tell. The discussion of research is

dependent on the parties involved and resources available. This knowledge should not be

excluded from any discussions regarding the fate of collections, it just cannot shift the

focus of discussion from "the return to Mother Earth and reburial" (PC-DJ: April 28,

2014).

Building Mutually Beneficial Relationships

The process of returning ancient and long-buried remains to rest involves

discussion and consultive relationships to be built and maintained. These relationships

will characterize how smoothly—and timely—the process is carried out. The ancient

status of the Rickley remains and others invites the participation of culturally affiliated

groups across southwestern Ontario and Michigan. Participation in ceremony meant to

recognize and reinter ancestral remains involves input and experience from more than

one community, for emotions of pride, guilt and grief can be experienced. This can lead

to a sort of communal therapy, fostering the development of a shared memory and

collective identity (Kakaliouras, 2012; Krmpotich, 2010). Communities can be linked

closer through this, re-establishing political connections that benefit both sides of these

agreements.

Contention arises from community members who do not agree with measures

taken during the process, and individuals from outside communities who feel some

connection to the remains as well (Scott, 2013). Issues of association and connection

facilitate discordance with protocol if the proper community consultations are not undertaken in the required order. David noted that he thinks that the sequence of events and contacts made is important for the support of community after the fact (PC-DW: April 28, 2014). This is important in considering the steps that a protocol would outline for consultation with Walpole Island's political apparatus upon the discovery of human remains. Contact must then first consider both the political representatives of the community, like the Chief and Council, along with the recognized and respected traditional Elders of the community (PC-DJ: April 28, 2014). This establishes a chain of knowledge that will lay the foundation for discussions and decisions made going forward. Establishing this foundation with the proactive involvement of these leaders ensures that queries from the community at large can be answered to their satisfaction. A protocol must consider the involvement of political dynamics in the process of repatriation when determining the *right people* to have at the table, and recommending the inclusion of proximal groups to the site of discovery to benefit the region (PC-JJ: April 15, 2014; PC-DJ: April 28, 2014; PC-EI: May 6, 2014).

The sensitivity that surrounds discussions involving human remains requires the consultation of the local government and administration bodies. This importance is outlined by Dean Jacobs:

> So this one, that's why it's important to make sure that the political leadership is involved, because these can get very sensitive, and that's what I've seen in the past, that its almost too shared, if that was possible, that everybody has a hand in the solution, with really no leadership and that's when the squabbling and the fighting happens— when there's no correct way to do it except to work it out amongst everybody involved (PC-DJ: April 28, 2014).

Dean makes it clear that a protocol must establish and recommend the 'right people' to involve and have at the table for discussion. For Dean, the *right people* in this sense were the ones who "were prepared to do something and sustain the effort to get it done," (PC-DJ: April 28, 2014). I use the term in this sense moving forward. Since the Chief and Council are political leaders of Native groups and Elders provide the more traditional voice of a community, both need to be involved in discussions and the process of return. For example, a clear focus of return was held when repatriation discussions began regarding the collections held by the University of Toronto, individuals involved included the Grand Chief and Council from Quebec, the Vice-Provost of the University, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science, as well as key stakeholders from both the university and the Huron-Wendat (U of T News, 2013). In the case of the final negotiations regarding the Rickley collection, the involvement of the President of the University of Windsor was sought by stakeholders for the repatriation on campus, along with the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences. From Walpole Island, a caucus was formed with the participation of community Elders, *NIN.DA.WAAB.JIG*, and representation from the neighbouring Caldwell First Nation. In Dean's perspective, the presence of high ranking University officials was indicative of their commitment to see these remains returned and the re-focusing of the discussion ultimately to the return itself (PC-DJ: April 28, 2014). After many years without the support of the University, the collection was removed from the Physical Anthropology Lab and Albanese was able to present the possibility of research and their return to the newest committee assembled. From there, the representatives from Walpole Island were able to form a caucus, inviting neighbouring First Nation communities to participate, and to plan for the reburial ceremony. The

establishment of a committee of this sort builds significant, and hopefully lasting, relationships between communities.

There are practical political implications for including the local government in the protocol for the discovery of ancestral remains as well. Collaborative relationships between local governments can serve to reinforce the recognition and respect for local Aboriginal rights and sovereignty. Cross-community relationships can be bolstered through inclusionary practices and consultation during the repatriation process. This identification can establish a sense of continuity with place through the connection to the individuals being reinterred, which can have significant impacts on the potential for claims made for traditional territories and rights to those lands and resources. David and James particularly made the potential for claims clear in relation to establishing connections with remains that have been unearthed from traditional territories. David mentions the importance of establishing a continuity of recognized occupation in one place, and that with technology available today, direct links are made between the long dead and their living descendants. With recent DNA research linking ancient remains to descendants in the Pacific Northwest and Great Britain, (see Boswell 2013; Bryson 2009; Lyall 1997) claims of continual occupation are gaining the clear evidence that western legal systems demand for their consideration. David saw the benefit of such research with the remains in the Rickley collection (PC-DW: April 28, 2014), which unfortunately were not realised in the Rickley case. The politics of return and repatriation facilitates the need to foster respectful avenues for communication and to work towards mutually beneficial outcomes. In the case of the Rickley repatriation, discussion considered the benefits of research that would be positive for both the community and the University. But

ultimately the lack of support and funding for those potential projects prevented their inception, fostering a quicker return for the community.

The Obligation to Return

Repatriation can foster the continuation of traditional spiritual knowledge from generation to generation, providing living members of a community with some closure and opportunity to mourn these individuals as they are re-laid to rest (Krmpotich, 2010). Though it is often an unfamiliar experience for a First Nation community to rebury remains that were uncovered years before, it can offer the opportunity to teach, learn and remember for future generations (Nahrgang, 2002). The experience of colonization was so destructive on communities through epidemic disease, assimilation policies, loss of sovereignty and autonomy. The bodies of the lost that were collected during these times can be understood as representative of those experiences and their return can foster a cathartic sense of hope and renewal amongst the living descendants. The obligation for the return of these bodies from collections to these communities is thus highly complex and it becomes more than just boxing bones for burial. The process becomes representative of an effort to decolonize the structure of museums, and to recognize the sovereignty of First Nations and Indigenous communities. These bodies are inscribed with the atrocities of the past and the job for scientific research today is to recognize the detrimental effect that colonization had upon those people. The emotional atmosphere that often erupts around discussions regarding the fate of ancestral remains in museums can be seen as a complex understanding of the feelings of loss, distress, and anger left over from the removal of all human rights as groups of Indigenous peoples were forced off of their lands, devastated by disease, forced onto reserves, forbidden from speaking

their languages or participating in their ceremonies, then in many ways forgotten by mainstream society. The return of those bodies from the museums and cultural institutions that unethically removed them from their final rest seems almost an answer to this distressing history. The fight for control over their ancestors becomes a fight for the control over their future. The return of these bodies is a sign of hope and renewal.

Community Elder Eric Isaac grew up in the Residential Schools witnessing firsthand the loss of cultural traditions and language. His role as Community Elder on Walpole Island serves his desire to bring back those cultural traditions and spiritual connections that were broken during the time of the Residential Schools, and he says that it is working (PC-EI: May 6, 2014). He says that restless spirits cause events like deaths and disturbances to contact the living,

> Still acting in the winter months, so they're restless. And—that's part of the, I always say, the gifts that was given to us by the Creator, to see all these little signs. And we picked those up because they're reminders of what they want…And if we don't do what we're supposed to do, then they start taking loved ones from this side…I always say, the spirit world is very strong (PC-EI: May 5, 2014).

Part of the obligation to return these individuals to the earth is to finally put their spirits to rest and to offer some closure for the dead who have been disturbed in their rest by archaeological activities. The allusion to the disturbing practices of colonial occupation is recognized here, for as long as these bodies remain with the colonizer their spirits are wandering. These restless spirits have a continued effect on the living community, causing deaths and disturbances within the community.

A protocol must be grounded by a framework that is sensitive to these spiritual connections to remains that are returned from cultural institutions. Complex spiritual ties

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of kinship with the dead can create a highly emotional atmosphere, in which discussions

of return and reburial often take place, and drive the obligation to put these people to rest

among their kin. This sense of kinship with the people in the Rickley collection can be

felt in a statement made by Eric:

> Their people to our people. To be brought back…I want to have a
> ceremony for our community, ceremony for those people and who
> knows, maybe my great-grandfather might be—they found him out
> there somewhere (PC-EI: May 6, 2014).

This connection that Eric feels to the individuals that are to be returned to Walpole Island

is reflected in each of the interviews that I participated in. The language of 'our people'

and 'bring them home' is evident in each participant's view of bringing these remains to

Walpole. Connections like these are a contributing factor to the highly emotional

atmosphere that characterizes this process (Krmpotich, 2008; 2010). This feature of

repatriation's significance among communities is one that is not well understood, for as

Russell noted,

> People are grappling with so many other things on that level, but I think
> that's an area that's not well understood…I think people try to
> understand it in terms of the sort of cultural level, and the historical
> level, that too is important, but I think there are from my, just knowing,
> growing up in my community and seeing things like this over the years
> happen, and the high level of conflict that comes to mind. (PC-RN:
> April 17, 2014).

Here Russell touches on the importance of in-depth studies to understand the ties of

kinship and community that result from the return of these bodies. The inscription of a

colonial history of power is written on them and the ramifications of the continued

relationships between museums and Indigenous groups are indicative of why it should

not be erased. The interweaving of culture with history and kinship experienced during

the process of repatriating ancestral remains to their descendant community can be considered a complex mixture of emotion, obligations, cultural and scientific knowledges, and political relationships.

A Comparative Analysis of Texts

Discourses that justified the removal of Indigenous remains were ideologically adopted by colonial society and were based in the notion that colonists were superior to the *dying race* that indigenous peoples were constructed as. In examining the purpose statements of repatriation policies from Canadian institutions and First Nations organizations, I aimed to elucidate the different discursive perspectives that serve to inform the construction of official protocol for these negotiating groups. Included were the policies of the Canadian Museum of History, the Museum of Anthropology-Laboratory of Archaeology at the University of British Columbia, the Haida Repatriation Committee, and the Michigan Anishinaabek Cultural Preservation and Repatriation Alliance. Each of these documents was similar in their layout. The two official institutional policies were laid out with the purpose statement or introductory section first, followed by definitions of terms if necessary, then the procedure for requests and consideration of requests. The introductory sections that are the focus of this analysis each offer a brief insight into the entire document, concisely detailing the reasoning behind the policy's development, a basic overview of the procedure and potential outcomes of discussions. Through these documents, the institutions identify the necessity of consultation and discussions of return, a deontic modality of obligation to First Nations requesting materials from their collections (Fairclough, 2003).

The First Nations organizations' documents were laid out differently, though they were modalized in similar ways. The introductory statements of purpose I examined were found on the organizations' websites. Each statement introduces the organizations' purpose and goals, thus somewhat mirroring the institutional policies. These texts constructed the obligation of return for communities to be of a more complex nature than the mostly political obligation of the museums. Through detailing their obligation to the *ancestors* and committing to the truth of return, these organizations establish the necessity of return for the benefit of the community (Fairclough, 2003: 219). Each section of text studied here can be assumed to have undergone extensive review by the organization before the final draft is posted thus considering it a social and political event, and are regularly revised at established intervals (Fairclough, 2003). For example, the repatriation policy of the Canadian Museum of History is revised every five years (CMCC, 2011). Though the original purpose behind the examination of these documents was to provide further information to the community of Walpole Island First Nation, the continued pervasiveness of colonial discourses of control found to exist in these policies required further analysis to consider the implications. Each official policy is "committed to working respectfully," (MOA) with communities which request the return of remains and cultural materials held within their collections since they recognize the "need to consider repatriation from time to time," (CMCC). The combination of such statements establishes a power dynamic between museums and First Nations, while at the same time masking it. It is a pattern that may continue to be seen when examining texts and policies created for interactions with Aboriginal peoples. The duty to consult and entertain requests is blatantly stated, while power dynamics that exist between these *stewards* of

collections and those requesting their return are ignored. In the section to follow I present

how the use of language can clearly define relationships of power, while at the same time

obscuring them from the uncritical eye. Finally I consider the contrast between

established desired outcomes of the cultural institutions and the First Nation

organizations, and reflect on the potential reasons for these differences.

Acknowledging the Past: Tales from Obscurity

The mandates of museums generally state that maintaining, protecting, and

preserving materials in their collections is for the benefit of society. Social events are

described by Fairclough (2003, p.223) as constituting what is actual, and a textual

analysis begins with the examination of texts as an element of social events. The policies

that construct the procedures of repatriation for museums and organizations each have

their foundation in the colonial practices of collection that amassed the contents of

museums around the world. Whether the statement is in reference to the process of return

or details the reasons why an organization seeks the return of these items, the context of

acquisition remains the same. In each purpose statement the acknowledgement of the

context of acquisition that amassed these collections is made to different extents

establishing different power structures between the requestor and the steward of the

collection. Those First Nation organizations considered were quick to make it clear that

collection was done in an unethical and often illegal manner. The Mission Statement of

the Michigan Anishnaabek Cultural Preservation and Repatriation Alliance contains the

following statement:

> thankful to the Creator for our sovereign freedom, in order to rebury
> ancestors that have been removed from their resting places and are

known to us, to bring home to rest all the remaining ancestors who have been taken out of their aboriginal homelands… (MACPRA, 2014).

Similarly, in the Welcome Statement for the Haida Repatriation Committee's website asserts that: "…as long as the remains of our ancestors are stored in museums and other unnatural locations far from home, that the souls of these people are wandering and unhappy," (HRC). Using phrases like 'removed from their resting places' and 'stored in museums and other unnatural locations' constructs an understanding that the actions of collectors and archaeologists over centuries were illegal and not in the favour of those communities from which they were removing these items. In this way, these groups acknowledge the colonial past that served as justification to amass the well-known university and museum collections that exist today.

The repatriation policy of the Canadian Museum of History somewhat presents the notion that some collections were constructed under circumstances that were shaped by colonialist ideals. In reference to the human skeletal remains included within their archaeological collections, the policy states that:

> Most were found in the course of archaeological excavations; a few were acquired by private donation, police work, or non-archaeological collection by naturalists, geologists or anthropologists. The majority of remains held by CMCC date to the period preceding the arrival of the first Europeans, and none represent individuals whose name or identity is known (CMCC, 2011).

Though they note these potential sources for their collections, there is no acknowledgement that the collection practices of these 'naturalists, geologists or anthropologists' were in contrast to the wishes of First Nations witnesses to the destruction of those graves. Their status as a national museum may contribute to this

portrayal, as it may often be in the best interest of the federal government and its

subsidiaries to mask their involvement in questionable events of the past to remain in

favour with the populations of the present. The Museum of Anthropology at the

University of British Columbia is not a federal institution and is located in a province that

has very distinct and strong First Nation groups active in the provincial legislature and

successful in claims against the local, provincial and federal governments. This being

said, they also seem unable to acknowledge the colonial motivations for collection. They

state in their Guidelines for Repatriation that:

> There are cases where it is clear that objects should be returned to a
> community—for example if they were illegally taken. In addition,
> MOA considers the return of cultural objects to individual families in
> cases where the objects are private and ceremonial, or left the family
> under dubious circumstances (MOA, 2000).

Though they do acknowledge that some items may have been 'illegally taken,' and that

every effort will be made to return those items to their source communities, the obligation

to consult still obscures the methods of collection that were implemented to build these

collections of artifacts and remains, for the purposes of study and display.

In each institutional policy there is also an assumption of implicit control that is

made through text. Fairclough (2003, p. 213) considers assumptions to be the implicit

meanings of texts and distinguishes between different types of assumptions made to

convey the intended meaning. In the MOA's Guidelines for Repatriation, the following

statement is made:

> In addition, the Museum is committed to the stewardship of objects
> purchased with public funds, and to a museum's potential as an
> educational and public facility. The Museum also acknowledges that all

> First Nations' material is part of the intellectual and cultural heritage of the respective First Nations. It is for reasons such as these that MOA considers all requests for repatriation of cultural materials on a case-by-case basis (MOA).

By first stating their position as steward over the collections, then acknowledging the importance of First Nations' cultural heritage, the obligation to work with First Nations in regards to collections in their holdings is established. When the document states that the MOA 'considers all requests' this distinguishes the institution as the group which approves a request and thus is in a position of power and control over the collection itself. Contrastingly, the language used by the Haida Repatriation Committee and MACPRA in their introductory statements construct the object of their action as individuals. For example, the HRC Welcome Statement states that "Our ancestors are our relatives, and we have a deep connection to them. We are who we are today because of them." This constructs those bodies held in collections as individuals, as recognizable people, deserving of respect and motivating the Committee to negotiate with museums for their return. This and similar statements from MACPRA do not allow for an assumption of control or stewardship to be constructed as it is in the policies of those cultural institutions studied. Rather, the assumption here is of responsibility to their kin and a motivation to bring these individuals home for reburial.

Ultimately, assumptions of responsibility are evident through the examination of these texts, though they are established to different extents between those statements of purpose from Canadian cultural institutions and the First Nations organizations dedicated to repatriation. The acknowledgement of the extremely divided past of colonial power and the resulting hegemonic notions of superiority should be essential to an effective and

obligatory policy that mandates and facilitates discussions surrounding the return of

indigenous ancestral remains.

Voices: Representation and Agency

Neither institutional policy of the Canadian Museum of History or the Museum of

Anthropology recognizes the input of specific communities in the creation of the

procedures for requests. The intertextual use of the *Task Force Report on Museums and*

First Peoples (1992) seems to be the only direct incorporation of First Nation voices in

the construction of these guidelines that very much concern them. This in itself is an act

of power for it constructs the assumption that these policies are approved by members of

the Assembly of First Nations, thus excluding those groups that are not recognized by the

Indian Act, and thus the Constitution. Evidence of this intertextuality within the policy of

the Museum of Anthropology can be understood from the following passage:

> While the MOA recognizes that First Nations are governed by their
> own traditions and policies, MOA's negotiating position is guided by
> Canadian law and international agreements…In accordance with UBC
> procedures, any decision made by the Museum of Anthropology to
> remove the object(s) permanently from the collection must be
> confirmed by the senior levels of university administration to which the
> Museum reports…MOA is also guided by professional museum Codes
> of Ethics, and the 1992 report "Turning the Page: Forging New
> Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples (Assembly of First
> Nations and the Canadian Museum Association Task Force Report on
> Museums and First peoples), which MOA has endorsed (MOA).

This section details just how the subtle layering of several different voices into the

construction of this policy assumes the approval of this policy by those communities it

directly relates to (Fairclough, 2003). The direct reference to the Task Force Report

(1992) as a 'guiding document' reinforces the approval of the Assembly of First Nations

and the Canadian Museums Association. Then the mention of the influence of Canadian law subtly includes those First Nations recognized by the Indian Act and the Constitution of Canada and excludes those groups that are not recognized under this law. This indirect reference to colonial legislation that classifies First Nations into categories is further evidence of the pervasive colonial power relationships that guide the process of repatriation in Canadian museum policy.

In contrast, the introductory statements of the First Nations organizations directly acknowledged the community input in their construction. The Haida Repatriation Committee notes that:

> The Repatriation Committees of Skidegate and Old Massett are authorized to do this work on behalf of our nation by the Hereditary leaders of Haida Gwaii, the Council of Haida Nation, the Skidegate Band Council and the Old Massett Village Council. Regular consultation and planning meetings are held with our Hereditary Leaders, Elders and the rest of the Haida communities, and every part of the process is guided by the wishes of the Haida community (HRC).

In stating this, the HRC names the contributions of the wider Haida community as social actors in the social event of repatriation. MACPRA also presents the active representation of the Michigan Anishinaabeg people, and notes that their actions have been officially sanctioned by representatives of each. The solidarity that such an alliance creates allows for the acknowledgement of each group's input and representation. The acknowledgement of voices with input into the proceedings and policies that regulate the process of repatriation grants those groups power in the relationship established between them and the cultural institutions in question.

These relationships of power are further recognized through the assignment of different levels of agency that are established through the outlines of these policies. In the CMCC Repatriation policy these roles are established through the assignment of agency.

> Requests from Aboriginal individuals and organizations outside treaty and self-government negotiations will be reviewed by the appropriate Acquisitions sub-committee, whether at the Canadian Museum of Civilization or at the Canadian War Museum, and the CMCC Collections Committee. Those approved by the Collections Committee will be submitted to the CMCC Board of Trustees for approval (CMCC, 2011).

The assignment of agency to First Nations groups is limited to requesting materials and presenting their case for association to the museums committees. The role of power here is that of the multiple museum committees who are to decide the fate of the request made.

In the case of these examples of Canadian institutional power, the obscurity of First Nation voices in their construction fosters an imbalance of power. The reality of contrast between the construction of such policies disregards the simple fact that museums and cultural institutions retain the socially accepted position of steward over collections and thus retain their position of power with regard to repatriation requests. The agency of First Nations is again removed by the colonial institution. Furthermore the subtle intertextual inclusion of documents like the Indian Act by detailing the levels of influence over the construction of these institutional policies reveals the pervasiveness of colonial discourses of power (Fairclough, 2003). The ramifications of the roles of these social actors and how they are represented in these texts implies that only the museum representatives (e.g., the approval committees and boards) are capable of agency

regarding repatriation, while the role of First Nations requesting material is constructed as passive, waiting for the decision of the institution to be made.

The Construction of Bodies in Text

There was also a clear demarcation between how the remains and materials in question are constructed by the purpose statements I considered. In each of the introductions to the First Nations committees established by communities to facilitate the return of remains from museums, these remains are clearly referred to as *ancestors* and *our people* (HRC; MACPRA). The significance of this I believe lies in the establishment of the public conception of human remains as people, as individuals who once lived as we do. This is contrasted by the objectifying language used by museums and cultural institutions, which often comes to refer to remains in terms of study and curation. For example the Repatriation Policy of the Canadian Museum of History states, "This policy applies to human remains and associated burial objects, archaeological objects and related materials, ethnographic objects, and records associated with these held in the collections of the Canadian Museum of Civilization and the Canadian War Museum" (CMCC, 2011). Grouping human remains with material objects like artifacts and ethnographic tools further objectifies the individuals that they represent. This echoes a long tradition in the sciences that serves to distance the researcher from their subject, to remain objective in their pursuit of the scientific truth (Krmpotich, 2010; Mihesuah, 2000; Scott, 2013). But in the case of these bodies, this distancing also serves to reinforce the notion that these people can be understood as property, objects of museum collections whose fate is subject to negotiations.

The kinship between First Nations communities and remains, that were removed during excavations and curated is a strong tie to break and has been the moral backbone of the movement for their return (Fforde, 2002; Fforde, 2004; Jenkins, 2012; Krmpotich, 2010). The construction of these remains as individuals and humanizing them through the language of *ancestors* and *relatives* thus serves multiple purposes of acknowledging communities' longstanding ties to the land, recognizing the detrimental effects of colonialism on their people, and bringing the reality of spiritual mourning to the communities from which these individuals originated. The objectification of these remains through language used in repatriation policies studied speaks to the underlying obfuscation of indigenous ties of kinship to remains held within their collections, perpetuating the discourse of protection that was established in colonial times. A bridge must be constructed to balance the objectified distance between researcher and remains with the bonds of kinship felt by First Nations and indigenous communities around the world. The construction of a respectful, mutually beneficial relationship between researchers and indigenous communities begins with the policies that facilitate these conversations. Language structures the way these consultive relationships develop, and if language establishes a relationship of power that echoes with notions of colonial superiority, the foundations will only perpetuate the social and political context that allowed for the removal of these people and these objects.

Organizational Commitment: Contrasting Goals

Comparing the purpose statements from each organization, outcomes of negotiations are constructed in such a way that offers some insight into the sometimes elevated discussions that result from these types of negotiations. The evaluation of value

assumptions in these documents is considered here through the establishment of desirable

and undesirable outcomes (Fairclough, 2003). In the introduction, the Haida Repatriation

Committee makes it clear that their goals are to ensure that the "remains of our ancestors

are cared for with proper respect and brought home in safety," (HRC, 2014). This

markedly establishes the goals of the HRC to be the return and reburial of remains that

were removed and curated by museums outside of Haida Gwaii and establishes the

undesired outcome as ancestral remains continuing to be held by museums without

explicitly stating this. Again the remains are humanized, and as 'our ancestors' further

establishing the direct connection and obligation to the remains of these individuals. But

in obscuring any possibility of research or study to be facilitated for the benefit of both

the cultural institution that is holding the remains and the community they will be

returning to, the group seems to remove this option from the table. This may be for the

community's benefit, as the topic of research can be a sensitive discussion for those

community members who may directly oppose it.

In contrast, the Introduction to the Museum of Anthropology's (MOA) Guidelines

for Repatriation outlines options of a very different nature:

> We will consider a variety of options to meet the spirit and intent of a
> request, including special access to holdings, loans, exhibits,
> stewardship arrangements, sharing authority and responsibility for care
> and interpretation, replication or new creation of objects, and respectful
> storage and/or display of collections in accordance with the advice of
> the originating peoples (MOA 2000).

In presenting these options for the desired outcomes of negotiation and discussions, the

Museum of Anthropology also constructs a strong view on the option of return to

communities. The absence of complete return and reburial as an option that they will

consider—in this introductory statement—constructs a strong power dynamic between the museum and those communities who request materials from its collections. In cases of 'no clear evidence' the museum may then entertain a request, but delay return citing 'complex issues' before presenting alternatives to the removal of those items from a collection within their care (MOA). In this way, the Museum of Anthropology provides their evaluation of desirable outcomes, in direct contrast to the desired outcome for many First Nation groups.

Chapter Conclusions

From the perspectives of those individuals involved in the repatriation of the Rickley remains, a framework or protocol must establish a structure that recognizes the sensitive nature of three key motivations and features of repatriation for the community of Walpole Island First Nation. These can be broadly categorized by themes of sharing knowledge, relationship building, and moral obligations, each playing important and influential roles in the proceedings of returning remains to the community. In analyzing the texts of repatriation policies, I came to the conclusion that a discourse of colonial power can be understood between First Nations requesting return and the institutions that review those requests. Through the lack of acknowledgment regarding the context of acquisition, the intertextual inclusion and exclusion of voices in these policies, and the contrasting construction of desirable and undesirable valued outcomes, these institutional policies tend to indicate some reluctance towards return, contradicting the deontic modality of return that the documents themselves imply. I argue that through the use of language in the construction of policies and guidelines for repatriation, museums and cultural institutions foster the continuation of relationships of power that are constructed

within these circumstances. To begin to deconstruct these relationships, policies that facilitate negotiations and requests from First Nations need to be critically examined for the colonial discourses of power that lie in their construction. In the next section I will consider the significance of the results of both the analysis of interviews and the comparative analysis of texts. These results have implications for a broad discussion of repatriation at the national level, as well as a very real impact for the local community of Walpole Island First Nation when they construct an official protocol for the return of ancestral remains from institutions in Ontario, and beyond.

CHAPTER 6

Building Bridges: Discussion

In this chapter I will consider the synthesis of themes that arose during the two

research approaches that I undertook for this project. Ultimately the results of this study

have indicated the need for a sensitivity to be structured into any framework that is meant

to regulate discussions surrounding the return of material artifacts and collections of

indigenous human remains from museums and other institutions in Canada. The term

sensitivity is complex for its intended meaning in this context. The definition from

Collins English Dictionary defines this term as 'the state or quality of being sensitive,'

('sensitivity,' n.d.), and is thus considered to be a state of reaction to various stimuli. For

the purposes of this research, the phrase *framework of sensitivity* was presented to me by

the participants involved in discussing the significance of repatriation and its policies for

their community. James mentions that

> there's different examples out there of protocols that encourage
> governments, for example, to be sensitive to culture, and so you could
> have a broader protocol for making sure that at least there is sensitivity
> and awareness … because I think that a lack of sensitivity and
> awareness…could be enough to derail the process (PC-JJ: April 15,
> 2014).

In this way he presents the notion of a framework of sensitivity as implicating the need

for any protocol or policy to be carefully aware of the cultural significance and

complexity that repatriation and scientific analysis of remains represents for First Nations

communities. The difficulty of incorporating this framework into policy can be

understood by the examination of Canadian institutional policies in the previous chapter.

Legacies of colonial relationships of power can still be teased from the construction of

repatriation policy in Canadian museums. The lack of acknowledgment and transparency regarding the origins of collections is a main signal for the complicated nature of the relationship shared by First Nations and museums today. The call for sensitivity thus is in some ways a call for the recognition of the colonial past, and its continued presence in the daily lives of Indigenous peoples.

Policy that acknowledges these relationships of power that continue to characterize discussions surrounding collections and their return to First Nations in Canada should be developed through meaningful consultation practices and involve members of all groups at every step along the way. In each interview, conversation dictated that any policy or protocol developed should contain a culturally sensitive structure, one that recognizes the still potent role that a colonial history plays in contemporary social relations, respects the sovereignty of First Nations in Canada, and continues to develop understanding of the obligation to consult and for return. It is only through this structural sensitivity that the desired outcomes of those discussions between cultural institutions and First Nations will begin to align. Frameworks guiding these discussions need to recognize the multiple sources of motivation for the return of ancestral remains to a community. These motivations may be identified as kinship ties, spiritual reasons for reburial, practical reasons like land claims and cultural development, but are all linked back to the intense periods of social suffering experienced by Indigenous peoples in Canada, and elsewhere, that echo in society today.

The mutually beneficial practice of the sharing of scientific and traditional knowledges amongst parties involved in these discussions should be incorporated into frameworks as well. Human bones can come to be understood as *both* ancestors and

material artifacts whose study could provide significant information in the history of humankind. The scientific analysis of human remains that can have mutually beneficial outcomes for all parties involved remains of particular interest for some of the participants in this discussion of repatriation. David White constructs his source of motivation for further analysis of remains as a source of benefit for the community and out of respect for the wishes of the dead. Upon the discovery of remains on a nearby property, the landowner made a point that David found captured the necessity of research with ancient remains:

> And it was said at that time, by the owner, 'these remains were exposed for a reason, for us, spiritually.' And we are to study those and get what stories they tell to us, for that reason. That would be the reason they were exposed, to tell us about ourselves. (PC-DW: April 28, 2014).

David was one who would like to see the use of present technologies to further the community's understanding of these people and whatever stories their bones might tell. He was part of an effort to facilitate research with the Rickley remains, and other remains located on Walpole Island, sending them to the University of Western Ontario in London for further analysis.

The important role that community plays for the advancement of research, especially with regard to First Nations, Dean considers below:

> I think the success of anything, going down that road would be the comfort level of everybody involved, especially the community. A lot of times, individuals don't necessary drive research, communities drive research from my perspective, and sometimes the individuals can lead that, but unless the community drives this type of research, it just won't happen. Not only just driving, but they also have to support the research and know their role and their involvement…because you come back

and say, this is what we learned and this is how we've been able to benefit from a community perspective (PC-DJ: April 28, 2014).

The approval and involvement of the wider community is established as a necessity by First Nations organizations and was reflected in the analysis of voice inclusion and exclusion when I examined the policies of those organizations that engage in repatriation today. Scientific study that can provide a shared outlet of information, that provides results of studies back to communities every time, and contributes to a holistic understanding of the local past would benefit both (PC-JJ: April 15, 2014). As in the case discussed briefly above, the potential for research projects to have real impact on community's political and cultural development. Projects like those that use DNA analysis to link living communities with the long dead can have significant impacts on claims of continuity and place for First Nations.

Considering that Canada has no federal legislation that mandates and regulates this process, the case-by-case approach from these museums has fostered the development of a more consultive and negotiable terrain for these discussions to develop. Because of the lack of federal framework, funding for alliance projects like MACPRA in the United States appears to be non-existent in Canada. Yet this relationship of consultation is still based in a discourse of colonial relationships of power, which continues to shape how and when discussions take place. For example, the issues of funding and timelines result in the lengthy and frustrating negotiations that can occur in Canadian repatriation discussions. James remarked that perhaps this was the reason relationships in Canada were more consultative, simply because many First Nations cannot afford to become combative and assert their rights to collections through legal means (PC-JJ: April 15, 2014).

In the United States, the NAGPRA legislation allocates grants for institutions to inventory collections and establish affiliation with living descendant groups. This may provide a significant motivation for institutions to dig out what is in storage for the potential of research, catalogue and return. When funding is not allocated explicitly for these purposes, stakeholders in Canada may not be able to provide these services, and thus timelines for the return of properly catalogued and associated collections may run long, as was the case with the Rickley collection at the University of Windsor. The University made no attempts to allocate time or funds to foster the return of this collection until early 2014 when a small amount of money (approximately $1500) was made available for me to digitally archive the relevant documents for the benefit of both the University and Walpole Island First Nation. For whatever reason, funds and other forms of support were not available, and the successful inventory of the collection took many years to complete before the possibility of its return was discussed.

To fund their efforts for return, the Haida Repatriation Committee organizes community fundraising events. These events are open to the public, and offer the neighbouring and tourist communities to partake in portions of the Haida culture through dinners and other events, while providing a feasible way to fund the efforts to return Haida ancestors to their community (HRC, 2014). Even in conversation, several participants in my study made reference to the lack of available resources to provide the staffing necessary to fully engage in the efforts to return collections like the Rickley collection. Dean pointed out that while he was Director of the Heritage Centre, and even after that, his other responsibilities took precedence over the return of these remains (PC-DJ: April 28, 2014). David noted that though his interests guided the direction of study

for remains that were located within their territory when he occupied that position, the directions of focus changed as different individuals stepped into that role (PC-DW: April 28, 2014); And James reflected on the lack of funding available to establish a position where the sole focus would be the return of remains and significant artifacts from institutions (PC-JJ: April 15, 2014). Resources must begin the process to facilitate independent investigation by First Nations into collections that could contain the skeletal remains of their ancestors in Canada, and globally.

In Canada, the lack of overarching structure creates significant limitations according to those individuals with whom I spoke for this study. The ethical guidelines that serve as repatriation policy for museums in Canada, are based on a document that was created over 20 years ago, and though the *Task Force Report* remains relevant for processes of consultation and return, it should be re-evaluated along with each institutional policy to search out discourses of power that limit the sovereignty of those First Nations making a request. These ethical guidelines have fostered the construction of policies regulating the process of repatriation in museums across the country, and though they are beneficial, they do continue relationships of colonial power. The language of *making the request* and *working to bring our people home* is used in both the institutional policies and First Nation organizations, with regard to the limited agency of the requestor. The agency of the institution, on the other hand, can be understood to be in a position of power, being the actor that *approves the request* in due time, after review by multiple institutional boards. In this way the language used in the construction of policy regulating the return of ancestral remains and material items of cultural significance establishes clear relationships of power during these discussions.

This research used a case-study of the Rickley site to recognize the need for sensitivity to be inherently constructed into any policy or guide that considers the process to return ancestral remains to established communities of origins. My review and comparative textual analysis of existing Canadian museum policy with purpose statements of Indigenous organizations whose focus is the return of remains, brought the critique that these policies and the Task Force Report that influences their creation needs to be revisited. Canadian approaches to repatriation on a case-by-case basis appear to be effective, but places the responsibility for claims onto First Nations, while institutions offer approval or denial based on the cases made.

The lack of clear guidelines for procedure is felt from the experiences of participants in this project. A lack of resources was established as a main source of discontent among interview participants who were involved with the Rickley repatriation. There is no allocation for the establishment of alliances and cultural resource officers for Canadian repatriation, as there is in the United States, and thus First Nations in Canada are almost forced into their roles of negotiation with museums and cultural institutions, revealing the discursive colonial nature of these relationships (PC-JJ: April 15, 2014). The efforts of fundraising and community donations are presented in the introduction to the Haida Repatriation Committee, and are a main influence behind the successes of that group (HRC, n.d.). The implications of this research for the Canadian approach to repatriation is to reconsider the appropriateness of a national discussion for a body that would facilitate the inventory, analysis and return of collections containing human remains in Canadian institutions, and most importantly, provide some measure of

resources to make available for sovereign First Nations to organize and facilitate their own approaches to repatriation discussions.

Ultimately this case study and examination of particular documents regarding the existing processes of repatriation indicate that there is a wider need for respect. Any policy that engages the Indigenous population of a colonized country requires the implementation of respect. Respect for sovereignty, respect for recognition, respect for living communities and respect for the dead. Meaningful consultation begins to traverse this chasm, but it needs to go further, delve deeper into the colonial relationship to understanding the deep social suffering that drives and will continue to motivate the movement of return. Until this can be codified into these policies which guide the construction of the often tense relationships regarding the current and future statuses of collections held in cultural institutions around the world, the present situation will continue.

CHAPTER 7

Closure and Conclusion

One of the goals of this project was to assist in whatever way possible in the process of repatriation of the Rickley collection and to document how this collection ended up in limbo. By engaging with original accounts of the excavation and speaking with those individuals involved in discussions to repatriate the remains from the Rickley collection at the University of Windsor, as well as participating myself, I was able to document the successes and delays of the process and have outlined them here. In this concluding chapter I reflect on the research process and outcomes and present potential avenues for future research to consider the subjective motivations and processes to return ancestral remains from cultural institutions. After considering the local implications of this research, I briefly consider the implications it may have for a wider national and international discourse that considers repatriation approaches worldwide.

By utilizing an engaged anthropological approach (see Clarke, 2010; Chari & Donner, 2010; Scheper-Hughes, 1995) guided by a deconstructive postcolonial theoretical framework, I considered the local motivations for this repatriation and structured that discussion through the development of protocol. I utilized a strategy of semi-structured, active interviewing involving participants who had direct experience in the efforts to repatriate the Rickley collection. This approach allowed me to engage with participants at a more direct level and to level the relationship of power that inevitably is constructed by the action of interviews (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). It was effective in that it provided a neutral ground for these narratives to be shared to understand this process and the significant role it plays within a community. To further consider the

construction of repatriation policy, I also examined the purpose statements of established Canadian cultural institutions and compared them with similar mandates of Indigenous repatriation organizations from Canada and the United States. This was done to garner a wider perspective on how different groups approach and carry out the process of repatriation today.

The results of this research condensed the complexity of a local repatriation within three main areas for consideration. Broadly constructed thematic categories were elucidated from the transcripts of those conversations I had with the participants. They included the sharing of scientific and traditional knowledges, relationship-building within and between communities and the obligation felt by a community for the return of ancestral remains. With this local framework, when I examined the purpose statements of those organizations involved with repatriation on a larger scale the need for a framework aware of the complexity of discussions for First Nations communities was still evident. Institutional policy continues to carry within it colonial discourses of power, not acknowledging why collections exist in this context, while Indigenous approaches do: using this context as an obligation for return. Incorporating analysis of each, this project can further the understanding of community protocol and repatriation policy on a larger scale, as an entity that must account for the social location and history of the community that it may encounter. Social events do not occur in a vacuum, they bear the marks of influences from outside histories and relationships. Discussions like these are by their very nature situated within a global postcolonial framework, and do not exist in a national void either.

Reflection

My inexperience as a researcher can be reflected on as a source of influence on the results of this study as well. When I consider my notes from the first interview to the last, the levels of confidence and comfort that I ease into with each interview is clear. The first interview was with James Jenkins, an advisor for the Political Office on Walpole Island. It was my role in this interview that I was most critical of, I took note of how conversational in form it was, and of the amount of time that I—as the researcher—spent talking. The transcripts read more as a conversation than an interview, and the topics that I had hoped to cover were discussed, but not to the extent that I had hoped. I recognized my own inquisitive nature coming out during this discussion and leading us off the topics at hand, even while the interview was ongoing. In the subsequent interviews, I strove to listen more and speak less. By the time I met with Eric Isaac, I had learned to speak less often and to follow the direction of conversation.

Further examination of transcripts and conversations I had with this group of stakeholders in the local movement for repatriation fostered criticism of the questions that I had constructed as well. Questions[9] were centred on participation in the efforts to return the remains from the University, yet also broached topics of policy at different political levels and what sort of focus they should have. Documentation of involvement in the Rickley return, though a substantial focus of the interviews, tended to take a side-seat to these discussions as well. Since the focus of my research is for the benefit of local policy development in the community of Walpole Island, these discussions did reveal the need for some cultural awareness and sensitivity to the complex nature of repatriation for the

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[9] as found in Appendix B

community to be built into a policy's framework, and structured the discussions described above. During analysis, I maintained a level of focus that often turned in various, unstructured directions. The discipline of narrowing the focus of this paper and then remaining focused in my writing proved difficult and I hope that the fruits of my labour are sufficiently and clearly reflected here.

In allying myself with those individuals with whom I worked with, the engaged anthropological role that I occupied shifted from a mere researcher to an active and participating advocate among and for them. This is reflective of the literature on militant anthropology and engaged social research that aided in the construction of the research design for this project (see Scheper-Hughes, 1995; Clarke, 2010; Chari & Donner, 2010; Fine-Dare, 2005). The important role that critical reflection occupies is inherent to writing the final project, but the experience and relationships built during the process of research are the real successes for me. I will help in the furthering of this process in any way that I can, for I feel that though research is constructive and necessary to further our understanding of the past, there is also an inherent respect that needs to be paid to those whose remains we are studying. A recognition of their lives and deaths, and expectations for after-death must be made, for otherwise as Dean remarked during his interview: "it's a failure, and we don't want to fail the human remains in doing the right thing for them," (PC-DJ: April 28, 2014). In death, people have no way of seeing their wishes through—the living must bear that role for them.

Potential for Future Avenues of Research

For this project I worked with five individuals previously involved in efforts to repatriate a collection of ancestral remains from the University of Windsor to Walpole

Island First Nation. While I believe that for the purposes of informing the development of a protocol for Walpole Island, the information gathered will be beneficial, the perspectives are only representative of a specific social and geographical location. The limitations of this project—as with many—were in time and resources. Because of the limited timelines within which one has to construct, conduct and complete research for a Master's thesis, I was limited by the amount of work I could successfully manage to complete before my time had run out.

As well, the selection of participants to interview had to be limited in number, therefore limiting the scope of this project as well. The small number of participants only offered a correspondingly limited insight into the significance of this repatriation for the community on Walpole Island. Also, after completing the interviews, I spoke with other members in the community, and realized that a significant voice was excluded from this analysis, that of the women. I wanted to specifically include the current Director of *NIN.DA.WAAB.JIG*, but circumstances and her schedule did not allow sufficient enough time to collaborate for the purposes of this project. Her involvement with the Rickley collection in particular, as the focus of this project, also began upon her return to the position of Director in January of 2014, and thus was temporally restricted as well. The exclusion of other women from participation was done with the decision to document the process from the perspective of those already involved when this research began. Only those involved with discussions and negotiations prior to this year were included in this project, and the significant loss of experience from the exclusion of female voices in this discussion was felt as I attended the final reburial ceremony on Walpole Island. Women play a large role in the final stages of repatriation and, as was also shown in Krmpotich's

(2008) work with the Haida, in discussions regarding the return of collections as well. Further ethnographic study of repatriation experience and knowledge from the community on Walpole Island would be ideal, since the absence of different voices for this study render it incomplete.

Considering a regional alliance like that established in Michigan, a wider sampling of geographically different community perspectives would be required to inform local discussions. The potential for fruitful further research with First Nation communities in southwestern Ontario. Repatriation as a driving force and outlet for cultural renewal should be considered at the national level as part of the federal government's obligation to First Nations peoples to acknowledge the past and work towards a sovereign relationship in the future. Since issues of funding were identified by participants as being a main factor holding local repatriation discussions back, perhaps a governing body at the federal level to consider requests for grants and sponsorships would be a beneficial first step. This research can serve to inform the re-evaluation of institutional policy in Canada, as well as offer some insight into the possibility of legislative funding to be made available for First Nations to operate their own repatriation offices, like those provided by NAGPRA legislation in the United States. Repatriation can come to be understood as a significant piece when First Nations begin to reclaim their stolen autonomy and revisit cultural traditions that were outlawed and forgotten. Because the return of ancestral remains still occupies a controversial position in social relationships today, further research into the subjective perceptions of repatriation as a process and influence in social dynamics of a community should be pursued.

Wider Discussion: The Implications of this Research

International discussions of repatriation and return grow more complicated. In countries that have a strong Aboriginal voice—like Canada, the United States and Australia—consideration of claims for return have developed and even resulted in federally mandated approaches (see Australian Repatriation Policy, 2013; NAGPRA, 1990). The implications of case-study research like this project have been felt in the construction of mutually beneficial research opportunities that involve communities in scientific analysis of ancestral remains. For example, James mentioned the development of the Archaeology Museum in London, Ontario, into a repository for remains and artifacts discovered here (PC-JJ: April 15, 2014). This would develop a relationship of shared stewardship between the museum and the surrounding First Nations and facilitate research that can reciprocally be shared with local communities to contribute to a more holistic understanding of their heritage. International collaborative projects like the recent example from British Columbia have developed as well (Boswell, 2013). Researchers from Canada and the United States and China participated, alongside community elders and members, to potentially link the remains of several ancient individuals that were dated from 2,500 years to 5,500 years old to living individuals from surrounding First Nation communities. The research was successful in genetically linking a living Tsimshian woman from the Metlakatla First Nation with two individuals' remains that were tested. But in countries where a direct voice and call is not as loudly felt, like the United Kingdom, the move to return and entertain claims for return is slow. The initial analysis of museum policy that was completed here could be pursued further

to provide a critical understanding of museum policy and regulations which affect it on a much larger scale.

Moving Forward

Throughout my engagement with these individuals who worked for the return and reburial of the human remains held in the Rickley collection on traditional territory, I came to understand the need for a sensitive awareness in establishing any framework to guide this process. We documented the timeline of the collection itself, as well as those delays and set-backs that advocates for this repatriation encountered, and took stock of those successful moments that finally rewarded their efforts. The complexity involved could result in the undoing of relationships that many have fought to develop, or it could offer further insight into the development of community identity and systems of mourning that are engaged in when remains are returned. From considering those policies that already exist, I came to bear witness to the continued evidence of colonial relationships that still exist in today's social reality. Claiming to have been rid of these colonial ways of thinking through processes of decolonization and respectful consultation with those groups claiming a right to their cultural and ancestral materials disregards and obscures the reality of their acquisition and disenfranchisement.

Colonialism and the relationships of power still exist today, within our own borders, in the paradox of connection between First Nations groups and the institutions that they must now *request* materials from. The complexity of relationships and processes of repatriation should be further studied to offer insight into avenues of change and development, and to foster the construction of protocols that will ease the process of negotiation when begun. The saga of the repatriation of the Rickley collection is not

complete yet, even though the skeletal remains held at the University of Windsor have been returned and reburied on Walpole Island. The next steps in this process will consider the artifacts that were removed during the excavation and stored within the collections of the University. Given the state of poor documentation and organization thus far, it is possible that there may even be more human remains commingled with these artifacts that remain in storage at the University of Windsor. The significant difference of repatriation discourse referring to the return of human remains versus material objects is one that would be too complex to include in this thesis, but needs some acknowledgment here still. The importance of completing the job of return correctly and thoroughly will come to be seen as this process moves forward and negotiations continue. Dean Jacobs made this concept very simple when he stated: "once you know of your obligations, and if you don't do anything it makes it worse. So, like you said, if something happens, it shouldn't, because we can prevent that" (PC-DJ: April 28, 2014).

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Appendix A:

Consent to Participate in Research Form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title of Study: Repatriation and Knowledge: An Engaged Anthropological Approach

I am a graduate student from the Sociology department at the University of Windsor. I am here today asking if you would like to participate in my research to complete the requirements for a Master's thesis. My research seeks to document the narrative of the Rickley collection and its repatriation. I am asking you to participate in this project because of your knowledge of the Rickley repatriation efforts. This field research forms the basis of my Master's research.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel to contact Dr John Albanese by phone at 519-253-3000 ext. #3973 or by email at albanese@uwindsor.ca

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

By assembling experiential accounts of involvement and interest in the Rickley collection's trajectory, this research considers the motivations and practices regarding the repatriation of ancestral materials and remains from collections held by institutions. Ultimately a guide for future events requiring the knowledge and practices relayed through this example of repatriation may be constructed from the narratives gathered by this research.

PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to:

- Participate in a single, approximately hour-long, digitally recorded interview in regards to your role(s) and participation in the ongoing attempts to repatriate the remains and artifacts held within the Rickley collection at the University of Windsor.
- Review the completed, typed transcript of the interview interaction and return it to the principle investigator when it meets your satisfaction. Any requested deletions or additions will be respected.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

If, at any time during the interview or after, you feel discomfort about the proceedings the interview will be paused to be rescheduled at another time, or participation can be withdrawn. If, after receiving the typed transcript of the interview, you feel uncomfortable or wish to withdraw you can do so with no negative effect.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

Benefits for the community and individuals involved may include the establishment of an official guide for future instances which require the repatriation of ancestral materials and remains to the community of Walpole Island First Nation. A guide which recognizes the influence of discourses utilized in constructing national and large scale repatriation policies like those of NAGPRA or the Canadian Museum of Civilization allows for the critical understanding of what motivates repatriation and thus what constructs the terms for its implementation. Much can be learned from the obstacles which have delayed the repatriation of the Rickley collection, especially if they are to be avoided in the future.

An analysis of this sort will also benefit the wider realm of postcolonial repatriation literature. Though specific in its consideration and documentation of the Rickley repatriation, this research also engages with discourses that shape larger bodies of repatriation legislation. Critical understanding of which may shed light on the dissatisfactory areas of these large-scale relationships with Aboriginal communities in Canada, as well as internationally.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study will be disclosed only with your permission after verification of the interview transcript. However, due to the public nature of involvement in engagements requiring repatriation, anonymity of participants may not be guaranteed. Your name and position in regards to your community and the proceedings of the repatriation of the Rickley collection may be disclosed in the final analysis and thesis.

Interviews will be transcribed, and upon completion of transcription the audio recording will be destroyed. Until that time, recordings will be kept under secure conditions, accessible only by the principal investigator. A copy of the typed, completed transcript will be provided to you in hardcopy, by email, mail or physically dropped off. Any requested additions or deletions will be respected and taken into account before analysis. Only the principal investigator, Chelsea Meloche, and Dr John Albanese, the research supervisor, will have access to these documents to retain their confidentiality.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

If at any point in time you do not feel comfortable with the proceeding interview or analysis you can ask questions of the principle investigator until satisfied with the answer(s). The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so. As a research participant, you can withdraw your participation at any time prior to verification of the interview transcript without penalty. After transcripts are verified and analysis commences, participation cannot be withdrawn.

FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

A summary of research findings will be made accessible to you once analysis is complete. A copy may be emailed or hand-delivered to you no later than August 15, 2014.

SUBSEQUENT USE OF DATA

These data may be used in subsequent studies, in publications and in presentations.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact: Research Ethics Coordinator, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, N9B 3P4; Telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3948; e-mail: ethics@uwindsor.ca

PERMISSION TO USE PERSONAL INFORMATION

The information recorded here will be used in association with the testimony provided during the interview.

_____
Name of Participant

_____
Position held within Community/Role in Rickley repatriation

_____
Email address for contact

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT/LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

I understand the information provided for the study 'Repatriation and Knowledge: An Engaged Anthropological Approach' as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, I understand that I can withdraw my participation at any time without penalty and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____
Name of Participant

_____   _____
Signature of Participant   Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

_____   _____
Signature of Investigator   Date

Appendix B:

Research Approval Letters

Today's Date: April 04, 2014
Principal Investigator: Ms. Chelsea Meloche
REB Number: 31519
Research Project Title: REB# 14-069: "Repatriation and Knowledge: An Engaged Anthropological Approach"
Clearance Date: April 3, 2014
Project End Date: August 11, 2014
Milestones:
Renewal Due-2014/08/11(Pending)

_____

This is to inform you that the University of Windsor Research Ethics Board (REB), which is organized and operated according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the University of Windsor Guidelines for Research Involving Human Subjects, has granted approval to your research project on the date noted above. This approval is valid only until the Project End Date.

A Progress Report or Final Report is due by the date noted above. The REB may ask for monitoring information at some time during the project's approval period.

During the course of the research, no deviations from, or changes to, the protocol or consent form may be initiated without prior written approval from the REB. Minor change(s) in ongoing studies will be considered when submitted on the Request to Revise form.

Investigators must also report promptly to the REB:
a) changes increasing the risk to the participant(s) and/or affecting significantly the conduct of the study;
b) all adverse and unexpected experiences or events that are both serious and unexpected;
c) new information that may adversely affect the safety of the subjects or the conduct of the study.

Forms for submissions, notifications, or changes are available on the REB website: www.uwindsor.ca/reb. If your data is going to be used for another project, it is necessary to submit another application to the REB.

We wish you every success in your research.

Pierre Boulos, Ph.D.
Chair, Research Ethics Board
Lambton Tower, Room 1102 A
University of Windsor
519-253-3000 ext. 3948
Email: ethics@uwindsor.ca

Walpole Island First Nation
Council of Three Fires

April 10, 2014

Research Board of Ethics
Faculty of Anthropology
University of Windsor
401 Sunset Avenue
Windsor, Ontario
N9B 3P4

Attention: Research Board of Ethics

Dear Sir/Madam:

RE: Chelsea Maloche
         Dissertation on Repatriation and Knowledge: an Engaged Anthropological Approach and the
         Repartriation of human remains

Please be advised by the following motion at the Walpole Island Heritage Committee held on March 17,
2014, Motion #6 that the Committee approved Ms. Maloche's thesis:

      "Moved by Elaine Jacobs
      Seconded by Jennie Blackbird
      That this Committee accepts the presentation made by Chelsea Maloche and Russell Nahdee
      from the University of Windsor regarding the Proposal Thesis/Dissertation on Repatriation and
      Knowledge: an Engaged Anthropological Approach and the repatriation of human remains.
      Further, that this Committee approves of the initiative moving forward.
      Carried"

Should you have any questions or concerns, feel free to contact me at (519) 627 – 1475 or by email:
Joyce.johnson@wifn.org

Miigwetch

Joyce Johnson
Director
Walpole Island Heritage Centre

R.R. 3 • Wallaceburg • Ontario • N8A 4K9 • Phone: (519) 627-1475 • Fax: (519) 627-1530
Walpole Island Heritage Centre   **NIN•DA•WAAB•JIG**

Appendix C:

Interview Questions

Tentative Interview Outline: Repatriation and Knowledge

*Note: Unanticipated questions may arise through conversation, and some questions from this list may not be utilized; Also order does not denote importance;

1. What is your relation/role to/for the Rickley collection? Describe your experience with attempts made to repatriate these [or other] human remains.
2. What is your relation/role to/for the Rickley collection? Describe your experience with attempts made to repatriate these [or other] remains.
3. How has the process to repatriate these remains been carried out thus far? What still needs to be done?
4. Could you tell me how you view the significance of the repatriation of the Rickley collection and other excavated remains?
5. Is there ever some hesitancy to make a request to return remains and associated artifacts? Why/why not? Should such reasoning be considered in an official protocol?
6. How do you think an established policy would benefit the current process of repatriating ancestral remains? Would it hinder the current process in any way? Why or why not?
7. What areas should a protocol or framework cover to apply to future events requiring repatriation?
8. In your opinion, would a federal or provincial policy be like the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in the United States be more effective for Canadian situations requiring repatriation? Why or why not?
9. What are your opinions regarding the anthropological study of remains in regards to a holistic understanding of prehistoric peoples prior to repatriation? Should research considerations be incorporated into a local repatriation protocol?
10. Describe for me your experiences with returning ancestral remains to their people and communities for proper burial.
11. Why should these individuals from the University be returned?
12. What still needs to be done to properly return the individuals held at the University of Windsor?
13. What areas should a protocol cover or focus on for the future?
14. What are your opinions about learning more about these individuals? How can they teach us? What stories can they tell?

Appendix D:

A Note on Time Periods in Ontario Archaeology

General Archaeological Time Period	Sub-Period	Calibrated Dates	Economic Systems	Diagnostic Pottery Period	Burial Styles
Paleoindian	Early – Late Paleoindian	>13500 - 12000 BCE	Hunter-gatherer	Ground stone tools; Lance shaped weapons;	Largely unknown; Not much evidence left;
Archaic	Early Archaic	12000 – 6500 BCE	Hunter-gatherer	Stone knives; spear points; weights for spears;	Little evidence of grave goods; unmarked
	Middle Archaic	6500 – 2500 BCE		Copper nuggets	Multi-burial sites; Some grave goods; red ochre;
	Late Archaic	2500 – 1000 BCE	Some evidence of settlement;	Trade goods: copper, lead galena;	Glacial Kame; Red ochre; Goods: birdstones, stone pipes, etc.; Burial Mounds
Woodland	Early Woodland	1000 – 200 BCE	Ceremonial Interaction – Great Lakes; Seasonal Movement	Clay Pots/Pipes; Cache stone tools: eg, bifaces;	Grave goods: gorgets, birdstones, copper; Evidence of secondary burials;
	Middle Woodland	200 BCE – 600 CE			Cemeteries; grave goods w/ women + children too;
	Late Woodland	600 CE – 1400 CE	Gradual Farming	Longhouses;	Ossuaries; Offerings for collective remains (pipes, etc);
European Contact		1400 – 1800 CE	Villages to towns	Longhouses;	

Table 1: Ontario Archaeological Periods, (Munson, M.K. 2013; Ellis, C.K., 2013; Williamson R., 2013; Spence, M., 2013; Nahrgang, K., 2013)

Time periods in Ontario's pre-contact history are classified by common themes (eg. Projectile points, food trends, etc.). It is important to note that they are also arbitrary and can be misleading if one assumes them to be hard, determined dates. The above terms give a sense of broadly classed time periods, though they tend to associate with the calibrated dates to the right, they may not be as precise as they appear and variation in calibrated date associations with periods is consistently debated (see Ferris, 2013; Munson, 2013).

Appendix E:

Directory of Rickley Documents

Table of Contents—Scanned Documents

University of Windsor

These scanned documents represent accounts of University-led archaeological projects. They include accountings of the excavation and collection of artifacts and human remains related to First Nations people that have been stored at the University of Windsor. They were electronically scanned and saved from May to August 2014, and provided to the Heritage Centre of Walpole Island First Nation. These files are organized as follows:

1. 0000-archive – Documents located in the physical anthropology laboratory that pertain to archaeological excavations associated with collections of human remains and artifacts.
    1.1. Miscellaneous – This file contains documents that were associated with singular accounts of excavations, news articles, site sketches and notes, etc. Each file is named according to what it could be associated with.
    1.2. Rickley – The largest number of documents relate to the Rickley site. These are organized into folders by the year the document was prepared. There are a few files here for quick reference, they include: *Bundles2014*—photographic documentation of the processing of the human remains before they travelled to Walpole Island for reburial; *DoverMap*—location of Rickley site in context of surrounding county; *SiteLocationMaps*—location of Rickley site in Southwestern Ontario.
        1.2.1. 1974 – Containing documents associated with excavations undertaken during the 1974 season.
            1.2.1.1. Miscellaneous – Contains documents without associated names.
            1.2.1.2. Official – No official documents remain from 1974 season.
            1.2.1.3. Student Account – Contains 7 student accounts of the 1974 excavation.
        1.2.2. 1975 – Containing documents associated with excavations undertaken during the 1975 season. *ArchClassPackage*—included as package that was distributed to students to organize their final accounts.
            1.2.2.1. Miscellaneous – Contains documents without associated names.
            1.2.2.2. Official – 1975 Site Report by Leonard Kroon included here.
            1.2.2.3. Student Account – Contains 29 student accounts of the 1975 excavation.
        1.2.3. 1980 – Contains Faunal Project Report on Rickley site by Stanciu & Walker.
        1.2.4. Undated – Site maps, notes, etc. Undated + not associated with known student names.
    1.3. Weiser 1970 – Contains 4 accounts of the Weiser excavation in 1970.

2. RICKLEY – Documents that inventory the human remains in the physical anthropology laboratory, and associated student research projects. Contains C Meloche's 2013 inventory of remains for reburial, and notes taken during that inventory process.

   2.1. Repatriation files – contains files collected over the years by Dr. Albanese, while students worked with human remains to inventory, and attempt to establish provenience.

      2.1.1. Archaeology Lab - Misc inventory docs.

      2.1.2. Backup2008March26 – Artifact descriptions

         2.1.2.1. Arch.Card Images New – scans of arch artifact catalogue cards

      2.1.3. BirdStone – Photos collected of missing birdstone from Rickley

      2.1.4. Lab Data by Kendra – Artifact descriptions

      2.1.5. Lauren

         2.1.5.1. From Lauren April 2007 – Student project

            2.1.5.1.1. Rikley – Student's work with Rickley student accounts

            2.1.5.1.2. Scans –Scanned images collected by student accounts

      2.1.6. Lauren StudentReports – Contains much same files as above, student project to collect and scan images from student accounts of Rickley excavation

      2.1.7. LenisArchSummaries – Student Project to investigate archaeological time periods associated and how student accounts and materials in lab corroborate these findings.

      2.1.8. Meetings 2006

      2.1.9. Misc. Forms

      2.1.10. OAS Book

      2.1.11. Rachel 2008June2 – Scanned archaeological artifact identification cards

      2.1.12. Rickley 2010

      2.1.13. Walpole 25July06

Appendix F:

Rickley Excavation and Collection:

Timeline of Events

Rickley Timeline of Events

| 1969 – 1973 | Murray Tuck surveying Kent County, Ontario
Surface collecting and aerial photographs indicate Rickley site to be connected to the Liahn village site |
|---|---|
| 1973 | Tuck brings these photographs to Leonard Kroon, professor at the University of Windsor |
| 1974 | University of Windsor leases portion of Rickley's farmland for archaeological field school to be run by Kroon for students in the 213 and 313 courses. The grid is laid out in 10 foot by 10 foot squares from the datum point established by Tuck during his surface collecting.

The class discovers material evidence of Early to Late Woodland occupation

When the season ends, Tuck makes out the cheque for next season. Kroon endorses it and notes that intermittent digging would be of little concern for him. |
| 1975 | Returning students act as supervisors during the excavation. Kroon leads excavation from a different area on the grid. Tuck includes friend, Doug Carey, in excavation.

Several burials discovered during excavation. Students note that in some squares there is evidence of prior excavations.

Tuck and Carey are recorded as looters, they are described as collecting items that may have some value while digging, and making comments that alluded to prior digging.

A circular burial is located in square 50 C. Six bundled remains show evidence of cremation and possible red ochre. Several artifacts are located amongst these remains, including: two vasiform pipes, a large tubular object, and a full-bodied, nubbin-eyed birdstone, made from green slate.

The birdstone caused quite a frenzy since one of its shape, in context with the other artifacts may have indicated an earlier occupation. |

Shortly after it was found, the birdstone vanished. Rickley informed Kroon that Tuck and Carey may have returned after the class had left to further excavate.

Tuck claims authority over the excavation, basing his claim on a connection to a minister in the Ministry of Culture.

Kroon terminates the dig, and square 50C is noted to be reburied.

1975 – 2004	Collection of remains from the Rickley site assembled and used for display/teaching purposes at the University of Windsor.
2004	John Albanese joins the Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Criminology at the University of Windsor.
	The boxes are discovered and their origins guessed.
	Contact made with Russell Nahdee at the Turtle Island Aboriginal Education Centre on campus. Contact with Walpole Island First Nation established through the Heritage Centre, including both David White and Dean Jacobs.
2005	Committee formed with representation from the University and Walpole Island First Nation. Discussions and plans to submit an application for a Social Sciences Humanities Research Council grant for the Aboriginal Research pilot project are begun.
	Application not submitted. Committee disbands.
	Albanese on sick leave, then sabbatical.
2006 – 2012	Students work to catalogue and learn more about the excavation and the collection.
2012	Albanese suggests master's thesis work with the Rickley collection to the author.
2013	Comprehensive inventory of archaeological materials in physical anthropology lab completed by the author.
	Post-doctoral research application made to study the remains further.
	Administration moves remains to a more secure location until a decision is made regarding their fate.

Author meets with representatives of Walpole Island First Nation at the Heritage Centre, Russell Nahdee in attendance and John Albanese present over conference call. Subjects to be discussed were this thesis project, further research with the remains and a final goal of reburial.

Thesis proposal for research approved by Master's Thesis Committee.

2014   Meeting at the University of Windsor between those involved in discussions regarding the return of the Rickley collection. This included University administration, representatives from the Walpole Island Heritage Centre, as well as those who were involved from the University, including the author, John Albanese, and Russell Nahdee. The decision was made to wait for the results of the research application.

This thesis project was approved by the Research Ethics Board at the University of Windsor, and the Heritage Centre Committee of Walpole Island First Nation.

The SSHRC application for the postdoctoral research funding was rejected. Plans for the reburial moved forward. Interviews for this thesis project were conducted. Archival scanning of documents pertaining to the Rickley excavation is begun.

Invitations for attendance to reburial ceremony sent to neighbouring communities in Ontario and Michigan. Participation offered to university representatives from both the University of Windsor and Western University.

Remains were ceremonially bundled and transported to Walpole Island First Nation.

Reburial ceremony takes place at Walpole Island Heritage Centre.

Digitally scanned documents forwarded to Walpole Island Heritage Centre for their records. Transfer agreement signed by both the University of Windsor and Walpole Island political administration.

Thesis defense successful. Report on Rickley excavation and repatriation submitted to Walpole Island First Nation by author.

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