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SAAHLINDA NAAY – SAVING THINGS HOUSE

The Haida Gwaii Museum past, present and future

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Introduction

In this chapter, we want to privilege dialogue. Rather than attempt to synthesise our experiences into a unified voice, our words illustrate how, for Nika, being part of the Kaay'ahl Laanaas Xaaydaga combines with her curatorial career to allow her to see Haida repatriation efforts in distinct and productive ways. Likewise, Cara's professorial career within museum studies combines with her ethnographic approach to repatriation; she studies repatriation as located in a time, place, and set of culture values. Co-existing, our contributions think about the history, practice, influence, and future of Haida repatriation efforts – something that has brought us together for ten years and will continue to do so well into the future.

More specifically, we wanted to experiment with a new way of writing about museums within repatriation discussions: not only as colonial institutions that return collections but equally as community and Indigenous institutions that receive, steward, and help create cultural treasures, whether those cultural treasures are objects, knowledge, or people. We focus on the Haida Gwaii Museum as one such museum. We think about its powerful local influence, shaped by the needs and passions of the Haida Nation, but also its influence, interactions, and counterparts beyond Haida Gwaii.

In each section, we follow the pathways set by Haida history; we begin with the beings and events of Haida Gwaii before moving seaward, toward the continent. The introduction proceeds with context for each of us and our work. Section I considers the settings into which Indigenous museums are born. Nika writes of the establishment of the Haida Gwaii Museum, its growth into its current form, and the more subtle ways repatriation has been part of its history and identity even prior to the creation of the Haida Repatriation Committee. Cara reflects on the broader landscape of Indigenous museums and the ways the values of repatriation open up opportunities for new kinds of museum models. In particular, she pursues a model based on Haida cycles of reincarnation to sit alongside the evolution of western museology. Section II explores the kinds of way-finding necessary for these new museums. Nika's contributions emphasise the humanising work of repatriation. This humanising is necessary for the people whose bodies are being repatriated, for community members taking on repatriation work, and for museum staff engaged in repatriation work. Cara continues this conversation, drawing

attention to the tensions in museum literature that span national and international approaches to repatriation with those accounts that speak to the humanising and localising effects and emotions of repatriation among all parties involved.

Section III opens conversations about reconciliation – an essential aspect of life in Canada at present. Nika's expressions of reconciliation centre on this as an act happening within and among the Haida Nation and as a process that is as dependent on the self as it is on a relationship. Cara pursues the role of museums in reconciliation and offers the idea that the calls to museums to act in ways that will help Canada reconcile better reflect Indigenous museums' conceptualisations of 'repatriation' in its fullest breadth – not limited to the return of Ancestors and objects but inclusive of language, pride, sovereignty, and knowledge. In Section IV, we look to the future. Nika draws on Haida practices of 'putting a string on' someone as an act that is about a promise for the future. Cara considers the ways museums will continually create communities of repatriation.

Introducing Nika: Yahguudang.gang is a way of life[1]

As museum professionals, and as human beings, we carry the responsibility to effect societal change by mainstreaming Canada's dark history with Indigenous peoples while actively working to set things right. In the Haida museum realm, the path towards conciliation has been shaped by Yahguudang.gang – the act of *paying respect*.

The Haida Nation sees this work, which includes repatriation, as 'based upon mutual respect, co-operation and trust' (Haida Nation Repatriation Proclamation 2000). Yahguudang.gang is how hundreds of our Ancestors have been brought home. It is why heirlooms held in global collections are visited by Haida delegations and brought back to life as we use them for their original intentions: dancing a mask, playing a drum, dancing Coppers in to witness and record the business at hand. It is how the Haida Gwaii Museum came into being. It is what our own collection of treasures is built upon.

Yahguudang.gang has brought a new depth to the Haida Nation's healing, and our ability to heal with others. It provides opportunity for western museums to become voluntary agents of change, rather than physical evidence of Canada's biological and cultural genocides. It can result in long-standing, mutually beneficial relationships between nations and institutions and cherished friendships between people on the ground.

Yahguudang.gang challenges us to stick around, even when we think our work is done, because colonisation is still alive and well. *So what are we going to do about it?* Decolonisation is not quick, easy or pretty; it is complicated, powerful and transformative. It is more than repatriation – it is a way of life (see also Shannon et al. 2017: 89–90).

Introducing Cara: repatriation bridges communities and museums

Acts of repatriation directly affect people in at least two places – museums and returning communities. I have long been drawn to explorations of repatriation that move across and between spheres, creating connective tissue rather than surgical cuts. First to mind is always Connie Hart Yellowman's (1995) recollection of repatriation, where she writes of cradling Cheyenne Ancestral Remains at the Smithsonian Institution and holding her family members in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombings. Métis historian and self-proclaimed artist-warrior Sherry Farrell-Racette (2008) grapples with her privilege to visit museum collections in Europe, her responsibility and ability to bring these treasures home through photographs and her art practice but also the dissatisfaction latent in the absence of the objects themselves. The recent edited volume

We Are Coming Home includes chapters from Blackfoot traditionalists who led the repatriation of medicine bundles alongside museum staff from the Glenbow and Royal Alberta Museum (Conaty 2015). Although each author in the book was close to the events, their tellings show meaningfully different understandings of the history and even the value of repatriating medicine bundles. Other edited volumes bring together chapters from museums and communities, demonstrating how museums and repatriating groups actively shape how repatriation requests are made, granted, and fulfilled (Fforde et al. 2002; Turnbull and Pickering 2010). At a 2011 World Archaeological Congress Inter-Congress focused on tensions between museums and Indigenous peoples held in Indianapolis, Indiana, Te Papa Museum's Repatriation manager, Te Herekiekie Herewini, situated repatriation efforts within Māori cycles of war and peace, explaining Māori selling of heads to colonists as a violent act against one's Māori enemies and the repatriation of those heads from museums as part of their duty to restore peace (Herewini 2011). His words powerfully centred Māori experiences of time, history, and family, and imagined a way to talk about museums as subsumed within Māori history rather than the other way round.

My own work with and about the Haida Repatriation Committee's efforts seeks to create a greater understanding of what repatriation feels like within Indigenous communities, how it is experienced, practiced, imagined, and created (Krmpotich 2010, 2014; Krmpotich and Peers 2013). My role has often been to translate these experiences for museum audiences: for museum professionals, museum anthropologists, and for museum studies, anthropology and material culture students. This museum-oriented audience, of course, includes Indigenous professionals, academic peers, and students. Any easy division that wholly separates Indigenous communities and museums denies the complex, lengthy, and evolving relationship between the two. This chapter is an opportunity to encourage a way of writing about repatriation that considers the multiple trajectories that lead people to repatriation and how repatriation shapes the work and lives of Indigenous and non-Indigenous museum staff alike.

My experiences with repatriation come largely from my research and eventual friendship with the Haida Repatriation Committee, but are further shaped by my scholastic and professional backgrounds in museum anthropology and ethnographic museum collections. My academic and professional training began in Canada, under the collaborative principles of the Canadian Museums Association and Assembly of First Nation's 'Task Force Report' (1992) on museum and Indigenous relations. More recently, my appreciation for Haida understandings of repatriation and relationships to material culture has been distinguished even further through current research with Anishinaabeg and Cree seniors living in an urban setting. I am increasingly able to understand Haida repatriation not just in distinction to museum approaches to repatriation but also to other Aboriginal value systems regarding material heritage, family histories, loss, and cultural survivance.

Section I: the birth of Indigenous museums

Nika: Saahlinda Naay, Saving Things House

The Haida Gwaii Museum is one of the earliest museums in Canadian history to be created with the intention of 'making things right' – two worlds coming together for the betterment of all. I have been a curator at Saahlinda Naay since 2000. There is no published 'official' history of the museum; however, there is strong institutional memory among staff, Hereditary Leaders, Elders, and other community members. The museum's history further overlaps with Haida oral history and the significant places, Supernatural beings, and human beings in our nation's story. Telling the story of the Haida Gwaii Museum requires drawing on all of these knowledges.

A vision of both Haida citizens and Canadians residing on Haida Gwaii, the museum opened in 1976 in Kay Llnagaay, *Sea Lion Town*, an ancient village dating back well over 4,000 years (based on archaeological surveys). Through Haida oral histories, we know it spans back to the time of the Supernaturals and that it is the originating town of my lineage, the Kaay'ahl Laanaas. This is where we came out of the ocean.

Since almost all Haida cultural treasures left the Islands during the height of colonisation, we did not have much of a collection to begin with. In support of creating the museum, several families, both Haida and settler, donated some family heirlooms. The Royal British Columbia Museum, under the lead of then curator Peter Macnair, showed their support by returning several monumental poles that were taken from Haida Gwaii in the early 1900s that wound up in their museum. This quiet act of repatriation – one of the earliest in Canada – was not required by law, nor was it influenced by the Canadian Museums Association and Assembly of First Nations' Task Force Report, which came about more than 15 years later. This act was simply one of humanity.

The Haida Gwaii Museum has since grown to include a considerable collection of 'ethnological', 'archaeological', and 'archival' treasures. Most arrived by repatriation or donation, some by purchase, others by long-term loan. We also present new works, as we are a living culture.

In 2007, our museum tripled in size with the creation of the Haida Heritage Centre at Kay Llnagaay. Conceptualised and driven by the community of Skidegate, the Haida Heritage Centre is a 50,000-square-foot complex housing several cultural and educational spaces and organisations in addition to the Haida Gwaii Museum.[2] It took over seven years to create the centre. Throughout the galleries and exhibits, every experience, word, object, and image has been developed with the community, so that we can say what we want to say, how we want to say it.

Mainly comprising several stylised longhouses linked together – reminiscent of an ancient village – the centre sits where land meets beach, looking out over the ocean, situated between ancient and modern Haida society. Amongst it all is Saahling.a Naay, *Mortuary House*, a grave house built to house Ancestral Remains unearthed during construction of the centre. Saahlinda Naay also serves as a holding place for Ancestral Remains awaiting re-interment including those recently repatriated, and those brought in by the Council of the Haida Nation's archaeology department.[3]

In the early 1990s, the repatriation of Ancestral Remains became a primary focus of our people. From this focus, Yahguudang.gang was formalised and the Haida Repatriation Committee was born. Working through the Haida Gwaii Museum in the south and the Haida Heritage and Repatriation Society in the north,[4] our committee is authorised to undertake repatriation on behalf of our Nation. To date, over 500 of our Ancestors have been brought home from museums and private individuals across North America and one from the United Kingdom. Our Ancestors' wellbeing has been our priority and, under the direction of our Elders, we travel to museums to do the work of preparing them for their return trip home. While at museums, we take the time to visit with and learn from our treasures and other containers of knowledge, such as archives. We are also privileged to learn from our Nation's knowledge holders who can speak further to these parts of our lives. We bring the diaspora of our people's lives home through imagery, audio recordings, collection notes, and the recreation of pieces – and through the physical, emotional, and spiritual connections that forever bind us. A few times, the actual pieces have come home. More will, soon.

The Haida Gwaii Museum and the Haida Heritage Centre are not institutions in and of themselves; rather, they are part of the institution that makes up contemporary Haida art and culture, which includes Yahguudang.gang and its ceremonies, protocols, language, and art. At the museum, we provide space, support, and opportunity for (and participate in) repatriation

activities but also ceremony, healing, politics, community celebrations, weddings and funerals, research and education, repatriation clan and national meetings, artistic expression, economy, and capacity building. We are simply part of, and contribute to, our Haida way of life.

Cara: the birth of Saahlinda Naay across North America

The origin of the Haida Gwaii Museum within acts of repatriation is not singular in the broader history of museums. The National Museum of the American Indian Act that founded the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) is the legal tool of repatriation for the Smithsonian Institution. It is also no coincidence that the creation of the NMAI paralleled the creation of the United States' Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). Watching the National Museum of the American Indian's webcast of the repatriation symposium 'Going Home: 25 Years of Repatriation Under the NMAI Act,' it was strikingly clear that many of the people advocating for NAGPRA during the 1980s – and repatriation more generally – were also advocating for the creation of a national museum of and for Native Americans (see also Dobkins 1992: 84; McKeown 2012: 136). Prominent activists and scholars like Susan Shown Harjo and Vine Deloria Jr. advocated for both repatriation and a new kind of museum. Being 'for' repatriation did not require a person to be anti-museum. Being for repatriation seemed to open up new possibilities for museums; the Haida Gwaii Museum and the Haida Repatriation Committee (HRC) live these new possibilities and have done so now for decades.

Within the HRC, people like Nika Collison are passionate about repatriation alongside curation. Whether sitting on boards or working as staff, HRC members have shaped the vision of multiple museums, including the Haida Gwaii Museum and Haida Heritage Centre at K̲ay Llnagaay and the Bill Reid Gallery in Vancouver. Several HRC members have worked in other institutions, such as Lucy Bell from the Haida Heritage and Repatriation Society in Old Massett, who interned in the Royal British Columbia Museum and U'mista Cultural Centre and is now Head, First Nations Repatriation, at the Royal British Columbia Museum. Along with Lucy and Nika, many have also contributed to the creation of exhibitions, publications, and public programming at major institutions, such as the Vancouver Art Gallery; the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C.; the American Museum of Natural History, New York; and the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, UK. In addition to working with museums, HRC members, including Vince Collison and Andy Wilson, contributed to important news media, and film and television documentaries, further communicating the story and values of Haida repatriation into the public sphere.

Repatriation efforts can question the raisons d'être for established museums that, for generations, have trusted in the benevolence of their mission (to educate, inspire, and showcase natural and cultural elements of our planet). Yet at the same time, repatriation efforts provide an alternative set of values upon which to build and trust in cultural institutions. The U'Mista Cultural Centre, like the Haida Gwaii Museum and NMAI, was born out of one of the earliest and most prominent repatriations in Canada.[5] It was a repatriation that required the creation of a community museum: the return of confiscated potlatch regalia from the collections of the Royal Ontario Museum and what is now the Canadian Museum of History to the Kwak'wa̲ka̲'wakw nation. Critiques have been levied fairly against the returning museums for making the re-housing of repatriated items within a museum a stipulation of return; such an insistence on museological values and institutional standards can undermine Aboriginal sovereignty, self-determination, and values regarding material heritage. However, in acts akin to autoethnography (see Pierce Erikson 2004), Kwak'wa̲ka̲'wakw clans created two community museums to satisfy two sets of Kwak'wa̲ka̲'wakw values and needs: the U'Mista Cultural

Centre in Alert Bay, BC, and the Museum at Cape Mudge, BC, now called the Nuyumbalees Cultural Centre. The development of these two centres garnered significant attention from anthropologists and museum anthropology (Clifford 1991; Jacknis 1996; Knight 2017; Mauzé 2003; Saunders 1997), but staff from these institutions were just as vocal and active in their own representation (Olin and U'Mista Cultural Society 1983; Sanborn 2005, 2009; Webster 1992, 1995). Among U'Mista, Nuyumbalees, the Haida Gwaii Museum and Haida Repatriation Committee, 'repatriation' has never been limited to the physical return of objects, just as these museums are not primarily about physical preservation in perpetuity. Volunteers and staff of these organisations are ardent about nurturing and bringing back artefacts, language, ceremonies, governance, knowledge, skills, and family members to their home communities (Knight 2013; Krmpotich 2014).

This holistic sense of 'bringing back' lies under the surface of Fuller and Fabricius' (1992) survey of the establishment of Indigenous cultural centres or 'tribal museums' in North America. While U'Mista is the only one identified in their article as being born out of repatriation (Fuller and Fabricius 1992: 227), the factors that led to the creation of Indigenous cultural centres are not isolated from the story of repatriation. The creation of tribal museums serves as an act of sovereignty and self-determination, as well as a proactive attempt to retain archaeological finds on Aboriginal lands (required by federal, state, and provincial laws to be curated in controlled facilities). Tribal museums respond to an urgency and necessity to self-curate, self-determine, and self-represent cultural histories (compare Doxtator 1996). Even the economics of cultural tourism raised by Fuller and Fabricius have counterparts in the political economy and labour market of NAGPRA written about by Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2012). While repatriation is often defined as the return of Ancestral Remains or artefacts from museums to communities, it is important to recognise the commitment of Indigenous museums and cultural centres to more expansive forms of return within their communities involving cultural knowledge, language, governance, independence, pride, inspiration, and honour.

Museums and cultural centres, such as U'mista, Nuyambelees and the Haida Gwaii Museum are part of the 'indigenization' of Canadian museums (Phillips 2011) and the re-shaping of museum practice more broadly. All three organisations enact models of stewardship or guardianship more so than ownership. At various times in their histories, they have had strong directors, curators and/or boards who vocalised culturally meaningful approaches to 'preservation' and care of collections, and who sought to integrate the buildings and collections into the heart of cultural activities, including potlatching, feasting, politics, art and craft production, land and resource stewardship, language activities, and economic diversification (for examples, see Collison 2014; *Haida Laas* 2008; Ramsay and Jones 2010; Steedman and Collison 2011; U'mista et al. 1998). Museums at every level – municipal, regional, and national – are currently seeking ways of being relevant to their audiences, similar to the ways the Haida Gwaii Museum and its peer institutions have been practicing for years. As a result of its efforts to remain relevant through its collections, narratives, programs, and partnerships, the Haida Gwaii Museum is at once a community, regional, and national (i.e. for the Haida Nation) museum.

There is another possibility for imagining the Haida Gwaii Museum, based not within museological classifications but within the cycles of reincarnation Haidas know to occur among their families. Just as thinking of Māori cycles of war and peace re-positions the centre of repatriation on Aotearoa New Zealand to focus on Māori tribal and familial relations, conceptualising Haida repatriation efforts within cycles of reincarnation helps start the conversation on Haida terms. HRC leaders Lucy Bell and Vince Collison (2006) have framed repatriation as a 'rebirth', and indeed an anticipated outcome of the wellbeing of repatriated Ancestors is the possibility of their reincarnation.

At a metaphorical level, we might also consider the range of contemporary Haida treasures made in response to museum collections as a kind of reincarnation. 'The Great Box Project'[6] organised by the Pitt Rivers Museum, Haida Gwaii Museum, and Haida artists Jaalen Edenshaw and Gwaai Edenshaw grew out of a 'knowledge repatriation' collaboration between the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM), Haida Repatriation Committee and Haida Gwaii Museum (Krmpotich and Peers 2013). During a 2009 visit to PRM, the brothers met a particular and exceptional bentwood box for the first time. In 2014, PRM created exact, scaled images of the box's carved and painted sides, and the artists created an exact cedar bentwood box with which to recreate this masterpiece. The plain box and artists travelled from Haida Gwaii to Oxford, UK, and over the course of a month worked between the old and new box, completing one of four intricate sides. The remainder of the box was finished on Haida Gwaii, is used in community workshops with students, and is meant to be in use rather than encased in a vitrine. Like reincarnated Ancestors, the new box seems to be born with memories yet is its own self, ready to influence the world.

Earlier, Nika described the development of the Haida Heritage Centre complex around the museum as reminiscent of an ancient Haida village. I find the possibility that the site may be more than reminiscent compelling. Can the process of reincarnation help us understand what is happening in Indigenous museums – institutions of memory, knowledge, skill, ceremony, politics, and family that condense and expand time? Marianne Boelscher's (1988) ethnography of Haida political discourse uses the metaphor of the telescope to explain how the use of Haida clan property (such as names, songs, regalia, and crest designs) across moments in time can both collapse and expand history. The distant past is never quite so distant as history becomes attached to the inherited, familial property that is present, participating, and witnessing at important social and political occasions. Clan property accumulates a clan's achievements, condensing individual feats into collectively held treasures. Using the name Saahlinda Naay, the museum becomes connected to other Saahlinda Naay throughout Haida history at the same time it contributes to the understanding and historicisation of Saahlinda Naay by its actions in the present. The museum, as Saahlinda Naay, inherits and accumulates the potential and possibilities of a social institution for saving things of value to Haida clans. The museum is still able to express this role in its individual way – remembering its social responsibilities and choosing how to act upon these.

Section II: Way-finding

Nika: 'Haida' means human being

Around the same time we began to focus on our Ancestors, the Canadian Museums Association and Assembly of First Nations' Task Force Report (1992) spurred Canadian museums to provide Indigenous Nations access to, and increasing determination over, their material and intellectual cultures and their relatives. An important outside influence now existed, but more than forty years of patience and relationship building with museums – by individuals, our museum, and our Nation in general – created the foundation that has enabled the two 'sides' to progress together so well.

NAGPRA plays an important role in the United States, and for us to some degree. The first 'cross-border' repatriation of a Haida Ancestor in 2002 was spurred by NAGPRA. The Oakland Museum of California let us know they had a skull from Haida Gwaii. Legally, they were not required to work with us, as we are not a federally recognised U.S. tribe, but they were actively working on repatriation and just wanted to see our relative come home.[7]

We have since brought home over 200 Ancestors from three more U.S. institutions. When we first contacted them, two required this work be facilitated through our relatives in Alaska, aligning the process with NAGPRA's prescriptions. However, the Ancestors were taken from

Haida Gwaii; we reasoned museums should work directly with the people from whose territory they were taken. The museums agreed.

Yahguudang.gang is why this work is so successful. Yahguudang.gang entails all of us paying respect to our Ancestors and each other, and in doing so, being worthy of respect ourselves. The wisdom of the Hereditary Leaders who named our work, along with our greater community who directs it, has given us the ability to bring our Ancestors home in the ways we need to. Haida and museum staff come together as human beings trying to understand each other, to right some wrongs, to heal a bit, to move forward. We continue a mutually beneficial work relationship and make friends who are still friends, like Cara and me.

We want people to want to give our relatives back. We want people to want to see our treasures back home. We want people to want to make things right and want to find a way forward, together (see also Shannon et al. 2017: 90).

It has been barely 250 years since Europeans first entered our waters and changed the course of our future. The arrival was anticipated, as BAlê'la, a highly regarded Supernatural being, spoke through a sGaaga, shaman, prophesising the coming of the Yaats XaaydaGa, Iron People,[8] and the events – both prosperous and devastating – to follow.

The first accepted documentation of Haida and European contact occurred in 1774 when the Spanish sailing ship Santiago ventured into Haida waters (Fisher 1992: 1–2). Over the next forty years more than 200 ships would visit Haida Gwaii, including Captain George Dixon in 1787, who named Haida Gwaii the Queen Charlotte Islands after his ship and queen. In 2010, we respectfully repatriated the name and reinstated 'Haida Gwaii,' meaning Islands of the People, as the 'gazetted' term for our home.

While interactions were initially economy based, by the late 1800s colonial regimes had taken a huge toll on our people. Epidemics, introduced while the vaccines were withheld, caused over 95 per cent of our people to die. The Church and the settler nations oppressed and eventually outlawed our way of life through the Indian Act and Residential School system. During this time, hundreds of graves were desecrated and our Ancestors' remains stolen, while children as young as four were sent off to school, often not returning until their late teenage years. Most material culture left the Islands through force, theft, or sale. It is important to consider that material culture, created for social function as opposed to the tourist trade, was largely sold under duress. Colonial law and social and economic marginalisation required our people to find ways of surviving in this new world.

Desecration of graves and pot-digging occurred through the 1980s, as did settler-sanctioned museum and amateur 'collecting.' The latter half of the 1900s was a time for a reawakening. The first monumental pole to be ceremoniously raised on Haida Gwaii in the 20th century was carved by Robert Davidson. Telling a version of the Bear Mother story, it was erected in Old Massett in 1969. The Skidegate Dogfish Pole, carved by Bill Reid, was raised in 1978 – the first in our village in almost 100 years. Putting these poles up required the re-enactment of culture by way of potlatching. These two poles were pivotal in the revitalisation of a Haida way of life.

While the Haida Gwaii Museum was built on our own terms in 1976, by the 1980s the museum professionals hired from off-island to run Saahlinda Naay had turned it into a colonial institution. While some great work had been done, controversial archaeological digs had been conducted and there were some questionable practices inside the museum, which was rarely open to the public (Nathalie Macfarlane, e-communication with Collison, 14 December 2016).

A new director, Nathalie Macfarlane, was brought on in 1989. On her first day of work, the last ancient pole to stand in Skidegate – the Staastas Beaver Pole – was being removed by staff from the Museum of Vancouver. It had fallen during a storm (Nathalie Macfarlane, e-communication with Collison, 14 December 2016). Raised in the 1880s, the Beaver Pole

had spent the previous eleven years in the company of Bill Reid's Dogfish Pole. Representatives agreed to let the pole's shattered remains go in return for funds to carve a new one. Prior to this event, the Eagle that once perched atop of this pole had also fallen. My uncle Mike McGuire, a descendent of the pole's lineage, had brought it to our museum. My chinaay *grandfather* Billy Stevens restored the eagle, even carving the lines and cracks of time into the cold-cure he used to glue it back together.

Circumstance prevented completion of the replacement pole. In 2000, Council traced the ancient pole to a private home, fully restored, sans eagle. Council found the funds to bring it home, and all of a sudden our museum housed the last ancient pole to stand in Skidegate, happily reunited with its eagle. Before raising it, we secured the permission of the chief of the pole's lineage. Taking control. Upholding our responsibilities.

Today, it would be rare to find a Haida in support of taking down an ancient pole, but it did not seem too strange to bring down the Dogfish Pole. While still sound in structure, concerns around winter's relentless storms saw the pole brought down in 2014. When it is again raised, this time inside our museum, Skidegate's 'last' and 'first' poles will once more stand side by side, living out their third incarnation in Saahlinda Naay, *Saving Things House*. The poles' incarnations – first as trees, then as a crest poles, and now as memory tools in the museum – all coexist. Each phase is important within Haida society, but all the phases are present at any given moment in the poles.

With the arrival of Nathalie Macfarlane, a director who wanted to hear and support our Islands' needs and vision, locals began visiting the museum again but noticed some objects were missing. This prompted the museum staff and board to seek the help of the Canadian government, who requested an investigation by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) (Nathalie Macfarlane, e-communication with Collison, 14 December 2016). At the same time, Nathalie was working with the Old Massett Village Council to bring home Ancestors taken during another controversial archaeological dig that took place in the late 1970s. In 1993, the RCMP confiscated and returned most of the items missing from our museum, though we will never know what was not found. My cousin Vince Collison was interning at our museum. As he and Nathalie began opening boxes, bones began to tumble out. We had not known our people had been stolen too. A forensic anthropologist put them back together.[9]

Nathalie was concerned, because our Ancestors' bones were back home but lying in museum storage. Aunty GwaaGanad, Diane Brown, told Nathalie not to worry, that the work would begin when the community was ready (Nathalie Macfarlane, e-communication with Collison, 14 December 2016). The Ancestral Remains excavated and taken from the north were re-interred by Old Massett, but it was not until the late 1990s that the people of Skidegate felt ready to take on this work. We were inspired by Old Massett's 1998 repatriation of Ancestors from the Royal British Columbia Museum – the first repatriation of Ancestral Remains from a museum, led by Lucy Bell – and began to ready ourselves. In 1999, the Ancestors' remains were finally re-interred along with other relatives recently brought home from another institution. We buried them – mainly partial skeletons – in our graveyard, because the Elders feared they would be stolen again if returned to their original villages.[10]

Cara: humanising settler and colonial museums

The 1990s were important times of way-finding in North American museums holding Indigenous material heritage. Institutions receiving federal funding in the United States began to live through the operationalisation of NAGPRA. The Task Force Report generated by the Canadian Museums Association and Assembly of First Nations (1992) challenged Canadian museums to engage in repatriation discussions and decisions, to train and hire Indigenous staff, and to involve

Aboriginal peoples as collaborators and stakeholders in the work of museums, including exhibitions, programming, and collections management. The Task Force was prompted by the Lubicon Lake Cree–led boycott of an exhibition at the Glenbow Museum, fuelled by what they saw as incommensurable actions: the production of an exhibition celebrating Indigenous heritage in Canada using sponsorship money from an oil company operating on contested Indigenous lands. Relations among museums and Indigenous communities have always been in flux, evolving and being re-shaped by the actions, dialogue, demands, and protests of each. Nika's account of interactions between the Royal British Columbia Museum and the Haida Gwaii Museum attests to efforts prior to the Task Force to work more collaboratively. The Task Force, however, remains a pivotal moment where national-level conversations produced a set of ethical values about museums' responsibilities to Indigenous peoples.

As a policy rather than a law, the Task Force Report contained no stipulations about how such changes should be accomplished, or what the end result would look like. A recurring component in case studies presented from settler museums is a dual humanising effort: there is a humanising of the Indigenous peoples whose heritage and stories form the content of exhibitions, but there is also a humanising of museum work where mundane, even 'unprofessional' tasks become the extraordinary efforts required for change. Margaret Hanna (1999) provides an early glimpse from the Royal Saskatchewan Museum of the kinds of way-finding happening among museum staff. The anecdote that sticks with my students is her story about driving across the province to share a cup of coffee with a collaborator, similar to the way curator Beth Carter has described her frequent stew-cooking for exhibition meetings with Blackfoot as they created *Nitsitapiisinni* at Glenbow (Carter e-communication with Krmpotich, 17 October 2016; see Conaty and Carter 2005 for further insight into the collaborative process).

These small acts of hosting-turned-friendship seem essential in collaboration. Museum staff often experience repatriation in ways requiring efforts and emotions outside the best practices taught in museum programs. In their own ways, museum staff and community repatriators alike can find that repatriation activities begin outside the sphere of cultural and institutional protocols, but become part of daily routines and practice. Cultural and institutional protocols guide the work of repatriation, but can also be re-shaped, re-appropriating and adapting the hybridity of repatriation into local practices and systems. A generation of Haida children have grown up with repatriation preparations, fundraisers, and feasts as a constant feature of life on Haida Gwaii. When visiting the NMAI's off-site storage in 2013, I saw the Skidegate Repatriation and Cultural Committee's butterfly emblem affixed to the shelving unit holding their treasures. The films *Stolen Spirits of Haida Gwaii* (McMahon 2004) and *Everything Was Carved* (Butler 2010) capture the ways Yahgudangang has affected attitudes and relationships among Field Museum, Chicago, and Pitt Rivers Museum staff to the collections they care for and the communities who cherish them.[11] These visual cues are evidence of the ways Haida values have reached deep inside numerous museums. As staff move and take on new employment, I suspect many more institutions into which the Haida have yet to step foot have been influenced by the values of the HRC.

On Haida Gwaii, the history of repatriation is frequently embedded within a history of family and family wellbeing. This is reminiscent of Brown and Peers's (2006: 149) suggestion that colonisation was and is felt at the level of the family in Blackfoot territory, even as it was and is determined at the level of the state. This is not to say laws like NAGPRA or the NMAI Act, international tools like the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), policies like the Task Force or Australia's *Previous Possessions, New Obligations* (Museums Australia 1993), and the more recent *Continuous Cultures, Ongoing Responsibilities* (Museums Australia 2005) are not felt within communities or within museums, but rather that they are felt within local contexts and enter a history already in place.

Imagining repatriation as an act of familial responsibility and care humanises all its associated processes, with consequences both for Haida and for museum staff. Nika's contributions highlight the ways her nation has felt the burdens, pressures, and joys that come with repatriation, and elsewhere I have offered that Haida successes with repatriation have changed the ways Haida narrate their personal, familial, and national histories (Krmpotich 2014). Here, I want to consider museum personnel in these moments of immense humanity. Field Museum staff in *Stolen Spirits* are visibly moved, responding with intense and evolving emotions during the repatriation of Haida Ancestral Remains. Pitt Rivers Museum and British Museum staff record their tremendous range of emotional and professional responses to hosting the Haida Repatriation Committee in the United Kingdom (Krmpotich and Peers 2013; see especially Doyal's reflections 139, 141–142, 210–216). As the work of decolonisation and the creation of post-colonial museums is humanised, and indeed if museums are indigenising, it behooves museums to consider the kinds of people and practices that can take on Elder-like roles, providing the cultural, intellectual, and spiritual or emotional support that has been essential to Indigenous repatriation efforts. Can settler museums create communities of repatriation responsive to their local contexts that re-shape the ways museum staff can narrate their professional, personal, and institutional histories?

Section III: Reconciliation

Nika: Tll Yahda, making things right

Being both Haida and director-curator of the Haida Gwaii Museum, I have enjoyed some unique opportunities that stem from making my work my life – and my life my work. I am privileged to work alongside my Nation to uphold a Haida way of knowing and being, to work with museums on an international scale, providing Haida perspectives on history, present-day life, and our intent for the future.

Born in 1971, I grew up during a time of great revitalisation: witnessing and participating in pole raisings; paddling massive canoes for hundreds of miles; bringing out Haida law, ceremony, and language; seeing weaving rise again in the ranks of fine art – all the 'firsts'. I did not know these were such pivotal, monumental moments until I began working in Yahguudang.gang and learned our shared history with Canada – a history not taught in schools and rarely discussed at home when I was growing up.

The revitalisation of Haida art strengthened our nation on all fronts. My cousin Clayton Gladstone, an artist and scholar, reflects: 'It brought the rest back out, that's how important the art is' (Collison 2014: 93). Today, our children grow up knowing the raising of poles and travelling in canoes as part of life. They have slept in longhouses and can live off the land. They are adorned with fine regalia as we put our chiefs forward. They begin singing and dancing in the womb; they are conscious of our relationship and responsibility to the Supernaturals, to Haida Gwaii, and to each other. They help fundraise and travel to museums to witness their history and bring their Ancestors home. They carry them, wrapped in the button blankets they have sewn, contained in the boxes they have painted, to the graveyard for final burial.

They visit our ancient treasures. With each piece, we learn 'new' old information. From utilitarian to ceremonial, these works demonstrate the refined understanding our Ancestors had of art and architecture; engineering and science; sociology and philosophy; and of co-existing with the Supernatural, Haida Gwaii, and each other. There is wisdom in that historic knowledge that we apply today to help address and solve modern problems and needs. An example is a t'aaGuu *halibut hook*, part of a major repatriation by the Reif family of Vancouver, in 1999. From the

Elders, I learned why these hooks are made of two types of wood; that early barbs were made from the penis bones of bear or sea lion; how the tackle was rigged and worked; that there are songs sung to call the halibut, things to say to the halibut, to give thanks to the halibut. The Elders told of technologies that allowed us to fish halibut from shore, before there were canoes. These are things that might not have been spoken of otherwise, things that have not been written down, but are possible because the t'aaGuu is with us, and we are with it. Things that exist only in the collective minds and spirit of our people.

With returned treasures come Unveiling ceremonies, where pieces are re-introduced into the community. Many ancient pieces can be traced to their originating village, lineage, or maker. Affiliates ceremoniously present the treasures, speaking to their significance and history. They, and others associated with the returned pieces, are consulted on how these pieces might, or might not, be presented in the museum or used in future ceremony.

In bringing home our Ancestors, we usually send large delegations to do the work. The mix is intentional, to properly address the work to be done and to ensure a broad spectrum of our people experience this work so they can go on to inspire others. Chiefs and Matriarchs, Elders and fluent speakers, singers and ceremonial leaders, artists and cultural workers, youth and a sprinkle of others all play a role.

The *act* of repatriation has been significant in the revival of our culture and in healing. The work is extremely difficult. Relationship-building takes patience, determination, and truth; working through and beyond colonisation, the anger, the fear. We have to find that place where we are not afraid of each other, or what the other might do. The emotional impact of working with our Ancestors and with museums is confusing and not linear: anger, excitement, grief, joy, horror, laughter, awe and sometimes, nothing at all. Emotional numbing.

Retrieving our relatives' bones from boxes and drawers in museums is not 'traditional', yet it has become so in the past twenty years. Elders have drawn on ancient traditions and protocols to guide our work. Some traditions are practiced 'as-is', while others are adapted to function within modern circumstances. As directed by our Elders, we must go retrieve our Ancestors; they cannot travel home alone. There are medicines we need and ceremonies that must take place; this is how we prepare ourselves and our Ancestors. Haida must be spoken, prayers given, and songs sung. Elders have us wrap our relatives in natural cloth, and cushion them in cedar chips for their journey home. We were concerned with what we should do with the babies. We do not believe our Ancestors' spirits are in their bones, but our Ancestors respond to how we treat them. We placed the babies' remains with adult females, as an expression of love and so they would not be alone. The Ancestors must be fed through the fire. We must feast with museum staff to make the work legal. While at museums, we use our treasures in ceremony to honour and respect them, to give them back the life they were made for. When home, our relatives must have burial boxes and a blanket or woven mat to be wrapped in. Someone must sit with them through the night before they are buried. There will be a funeral service and feast and eventually an End of Mourning ceremony. There are more fire ceremonies and feeding of our Ancestors.

The healing of Yahguudang.gang is felt deeply. While it cannot be measured, it is visible in the way we live our lives – the way we talk, interact, and the choices we make. The healing is not only ours. The process also includes staff from the museums we work with. We invite them to share in almost every step, except preparing our Ancestors for their journey home.

When we work closely together, the playing field is levelled. Museum policies and practices no longer override our beliefs and practices. Museum staff begin to understand us on our terms, not just their terms. They also come to appreciate that Haida scholars are on par with Western academics. Many of us have developed lifelong friendships with museum staff, re-connecting at various moments to support each other personally and professionally as life

carries on. Repatriation has changed our history, but it also changes the ways Western museum staff see themselves, their own settler histories, and their museums' histories. When they support our repatriation efforts, it helps museum staff address or heal from the shame of colonialism. The bigger shame, then, becomes *not* working toward repatriation.

Cara: making things right

Can repatriation 'make things right'? Within repatriation discourse, repatriation is frequently posited as having the capacity to 'right historic wrongs'. Russell Thornton (2002) has written evocatively that so long as museums hold human remains and sacred objects against the wishes of related communities, the offence persists. In this way, the wrong is not historic; it is present. 'Healing' is not possible if the injury is still occurring.

The Haida idea of 'making things right' seems attuned with an idea that it is a small world and we live close together, in coexistence. Whether a potlatch or repatriation, these events do not close the past but amend it. By 'making things right', a potlatch or repatriation opens a way of living together now and into the future. One of the powerful moments I witnessed on Haida Gwaii was the first public acknowledgement on Haida Gwaii of the smallpox epidemics. The repatriation of people's Ancestors – 'making things right' through their return – helped make it possible to talk about the devastation of smallpox on Haida families and the Haida Nation. There is a range of stories I believe Haidas can and do talk about because of the way repatriation helped make things right.

Haida Repatriation Committee members frequently speak of the ways the repatriation process has amended their relationships with staff at the returning museums. Likewise, museum staff who have engaged in intensive collaborative projects and repatriation efforts seem to have a 'change of mind and soul', as described by Aldona Jonaitis as a result of working with the U'Mista Cultural Centre, its Director/Curator Gloria Cranmer Webster, and Alert Bay Elders on the exhibition *Chiefly Feasts* (Jonaitis 1991).

Crucially, museums may be places where the public feels a change of mind and soul is possible. Museums have been identified in Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) final report[12] and Call to Action as sites to help the country reconcile following a century of residential schooling that, in its worst forms, led to the destruction of individuals, families, and a cultural genocide against Aboriginal peoples. The report focuses on museums as places of education, capable of ensuring all Canadians know this facet of our national history. Arguably, reconciliation will require a change of mind and soul that comes from education but also empathy. The creation of empathy is increasingly expressed as a priority for museums committed to social change.

Less discussed in the TRC's report is the role of museum collections in supporting residential school attendees, their descendants, and communities. One story of repatriation recognised in the TRC report and gaining national recognition through newspaper coverage and keynote presentations at national conferences is the partnership of residential school survivors, Elders, and Chiefs with University of Victoria professor Andrea Walsh to locate and repatriate drawings and paintings done by children in residential schools to the artists – now adults – or their families (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) 2015: vol. 6, 184–186). My own experience working with women sent to residential schools is that they have little material evidence of their childhoods. They wonder what the staff did with their clothes that they arrived at the school in. There are few photographs, home videos, ribbons or trophies, drawings, favourite toys – or those that do exist are in the archives and collections of institutions, not with their families. Walsh's efforts span the country, looking for traces of people's childhood.

In repatriation ceremonies, the drawings have been carried in lovingly, as individual children (Walsh 2015). In some cases, people have re-placed their drawings in the care of the returning institution, preferring to keep a digital reprint and looking for the drawing to be kept safe by the museum, gallery, or archive.

For settler and Indigenous staff alike at museums, archives, galleries, cultural centres, and Native Friendship centres, and for the broad publics for whom these institutions exist, this is a time to re-think what we have in these collections, where things have come from, and whether those things are in the best home. It is a time to look at the collections and ask: what traces of residential schooling might be there? What traces of Aboriginal childhood and family life might be there? What kinds of stories are made possible, knowable, and tellable through these museum collections?

Museum 'best practices' should help museum staff adapt to unfamiliar terrain, processes, and concepts. Too often, however, museum best practices fail to ask the question, 'best for whom?' Best practices have long implied 'best' for the staff. As museums continue to embrace a publics-focused purpose, participate in processes of reconciliation, and grapple with global issues such as climate change, poverty eradication, and food security, the question of 'best for whom?' becomes critical. Nika has described the ways Haida protocols enabled the Haida Repatriation Committee to solve problems and create new traditions for repatriation that held true to Haida values and honoured Haida society. Protocols helped committee members adapt to unfamiliar places, processes, and concepts. Whether we call them 'protocols' or 'best practices', our collective challenge is to use these as an adaptive, generative, and creative tool rather than as a means of replicating past practice. Reflecting upon Blackfoot influences on museums, Briony Onicul (2013: 85–88) acknowledges the ways curatorial practice is making space for cultural protocols. Her research further acknowledges that while this has nurtured productive partnerships between the museum and Blackfoot, it can equally raise new dilemmas and put value systems into active conflict (Onicul 2013: 88; see also Poirier 2011). A deep understanding and respect for the importance of protocols, however, reduces the risk of tokenistic engagement and enhances the integrity of partnerships (Onicul 2013: 89).

Section IV: The future

Nika: putting a string on it

'I wonder if we're repatriating ourselves?' pondered Haida Repatriation Committee member, Jenny Cross, as we prepared our relatives for their journey home from the Field Museum.

We believe in reincarnation, and we believe that everything is connected to everything else. Over twenty years ago, a young boy was in the Pitt Rivers Museum. He would not leave the Star House pole, taken from Old Massett in the late 1800s. He was so adamant that the top was missing that the staff referenced old records. Photos showed that indeed, a length of pole had been cut off the top before it was installed. I wonder who this boy used to be?

There is a practice in our culture called 'putting a string on' someone. For example, during the times of arranged marriages, the family of one young child might endow a great deal to the family of another, effectively 'putting a string' on them, ensuring the two would one day move forward in life together.

I like to think that our Ancestors put a string on their treasures and on themselves, binding us to something that transcends the preservation of Haida history, culture, and identity. Binding two worlds so that we would come together in the future, when the time was right, to heal and to redefine our relationships with each other and with the world, so we can move forward together.

Cara: creating communities of repatriation

A powerful idea has been developing in South African museology and public history: that communities do not pre-exist in ways that museums can reach out and find them, but rather that through museum activities, communities are constituted (Murray and Witz 2014; Rassool 2006). The Haida Repatriation Committee (HRC) formed because of Haidas' need to interact with museums off-island and the various repatriation protocols and policies practiced therein. As a repatriation community, they were able to influence those museums through their requests, advocacy, cultural education, and interventions, and physical presence in museum spaces. As much as museums needed a community like the HRC to exist, the HRC was able to reach into those museums and influence their collections, spaces, and staff. The Haida Gwaii Museum helped shape the HRC too, nurturing it into existence, providing a platform for it to tell its story, and providing spaces and support for the HRC to conduct its work.

Likewise, the Haida Gwaii Museum contributes to the constitution of a Haida community whose members self-identify through clan, village, and national identities, and the constitution of a Haida Gwaii community with both Haida and settler members vested in a project to 'make things right'.

Western museums have been both protagonists and antagonists in stories of repatriation, but less frequently is their ability to help constitute repatriation communities imagined. In the development of this chapter, Nika and I discussed the ways hybridity can instil fear or trepidation both in communities and in museums. Conscious of how this label has done harm in the past by undermining the value of people, cultural practices, and cultural treasures, we puzzled over what it might take to create greater comfort with hybridity. By acknowledging the ways (positive, negative, and neutral) museums form and constitute communities of repatriation, and the ways communities of repatriation shape and re-define museums, perhaps the threat of hybridity can be reduced.

Concluding thoughts

Writing together furthers our relationship and for both of us is an expression of yahguudang, *respect*. We read and consider closely each other's words. Questions are posed, our ideas grow in response to each other, and we confront the moments we fail to communicate, as well as when we inspire each other.

For both of us, writing together is emotional and intellectual. For Nika, the communication of who she is, her experiences and her motivation, involves a revisiting of a journey from Supernatural times to colonisation to way-finding and reconciliation. For Cara, the journey she revisits is shorter in years but reflects her own desires for way-finding and reconciliation in our immediate lives. *Writing* our journeys and thoughts down presents an opportunity to remember and feel those moments again. *Writing together* presents an opportunity to think about those journeys as historically and culturally located, able to sit in conversation with journeys in other times and other places. We actively seek ways for our knowledges to be in dialogue and to shape each other.

Within this book on return, reconciliation, and renewal, it was important to us to show how Saahlinda Naay, the Haida Gwaii Museum, through its support of Haida repatriation efforts, is integral to these processes. The process of writing together reinforces the importance of conciliation and the potential for new (in addition to renewed) relationships, ideas, protocols, and values to emerge from museums and repatriation.

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Dalang 'waadluux̲an G̲a hll kil 'laa. *Thank you to all for being here with us (all of you I can speak well of).*

Haawa id Kuuniisii. *Thank you Ancestors.*

Notes

1 These introductory comments originally appeared in Collison's contributions to the multi-authored article 'Ritual Processes of Repatriation: A Discussion' (Shannon et al. 2017), which included a special section dedicated to the topic of repatriation and ritual.
2 The Haida Heritage Centre at K̲ay Llnagaay's founding partners are the Skidegate Band Council, Haida Gwaii Museum, and Gwaii Haanas/Parks Canada.
3 While the Haida Nation follows a traditional system of governance that includes Hereditary Leaders, lineage systems, laws and protocols, in 1974 the Haida formed a national, elected government, the Council of the Haida Nation, whose principle mandate is Haida Gwaii and her surrounding waters (Haida Nation: Constitution 2017 A.8.S1) and all that this encompasses, including Haida Rights and Title; self determination; perpetuating Haida art, language, heritage, and culture; and creating and maintaining a sustainable economy. The Council of the Haida Nation's directive for found Ancestral Remains is to re-inter them where discovered. If it is determined this would not be the best course of action (i.e. the area is prone to further erosion or development or susceptible to illegal digging and theft of remains), then they are brought in to Saahling.a Naay for safekeeping. The Haida Gwaii Museum is also our Nation's repository for archaeological findings from any survey conducted on Haida Gwaii.
4 While Haida live in communities across Haida Gwaii and mainland British Columbia, the two main populated 'Haida towns' on the islands of Haida Gwaii are Skidegate in the south and Old Massett in the north.
5 Outside North America, instances of museums being built to support repatriation can also be found. Hamilakis (2011: 626) argues that the origins of the new Acropolis Museum in Athens are 'linked to the cause for restitution of the Parthenon marbles'. Gabriel (2009) also recounts the Greenlandic creation of museums as a demonstration to Denmark that they were capable of receiving and curating repatriated national material heritage. It is important to acknowledge Gabriel's (2009: 34–35) caution that the museum models of Greenland and Denmark were 'identical' and that the repatriation requests from Greenland were grounded in shared museological and educational values with Denmark. Although still an act of decolonisation, the repatriation process did not entail conflicting views about the appropriate uses and disposition of objects and human remains.
6 Information and video about the Great Box Project is available at Pitt Rivers Museum website (www.prm.ox.ac.uk/haidabox.html).
7 Haida territory spans the United States and Canada. In the United States, Alaskan Haida are federally recognised, but this federal recognition stops at the border. In our repatriation journey, a number of American museums extended the moral principle of NAGPRA to the Haida Repatriation Committee, working beyond the minimum legal requirements to help us reunite with our Ancestors. For more information about NAGPRA, see the US government website (www.nps.gov/nagpra/FAQ/INDEX.HTM#Claimants).
8 Europeans were dubbed 'Iron People' because of the great amounts of iron our Ancestors acquired from them in trade. This oral history was shared by Abraham of Those Born-at-Q!ā'dAsgo with John Swanton (1905: 311–314), and was also shared by Chief Git'K̲un, John Williams, with Nika Collison.

9 As director, Macfarlane summarised the conditions she encountered and steps taken to return Haida treasures (including Ancestral Remains and archaeologically recovered artifacts) between 1989–1993. This unpublished report, titled *The Recovery of Haida Artifacts and Human Remains from Culver City, California to the Queen Charlotte Islands* [Haida Gwaii] *Museum in Skidegate, Haida Gwaii* (Macfarlane 1993), is part of the Museum's operational records, along with the forensic report determining how many Ancestors were returned. During her research with the Haida Repatriation Committee, Cara Krmpotich used these reports alongside interviews with HRC and community members, and includes a brief history of the events in *The Force of Family* (Krmpotich 2014: 50–51).

10 Most repatriated Ancestral Remains were stolen from graves; only a minute percentage were turned into institutions by well-meaning people who had found them while out on the land.

11 Curator Jennifer Shannon expressed her view that NAGPRA is felt even after Ancestral Remains were returned from her museum in the way she and her co-workers uphold spiritual protocols when stewarding and handling collections. Shannon expressed these ideas during a panel at the American Anthropological Association meetings in Denver, Colorado, in 2015. The session was hosted at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science, and organised by Learning NAGPRA, a group currently researching the long-term implications of NAGPRA for universities, museums and repositories, and tribal organisations (see www.learningnagpra.indiana.edu/home.php).

12 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) six-volume final report, 'Canada's Residential Schools', is available online (http://nctr.ca/reports.php). For content directly related to museums, archives, and public education, see Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) (2015), volume 6, chapter 4, and on museums particularly, see pages 132–138.

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