

The Micmac and New Brunswick Archaeology: Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Experiences

Helen Kristmanson

Contemporary archaeologists work amid ever changing sociopolitical assumptions and expectations. The purpose of archaeology is now actively challenged by a once passive Native population, and new questions arise as some archaeologists are motivated to reassess the intellectual framework of their profession. As some turn towards a more self-reflexive archaeology, one which is critically self-conscious of its epistemological status, in order to achieve an understanding of the context in which archaeology is practised, others continue to adhere to a science-based methodology.

This paper broadly reviews the status of Native people in the development of archaeological method and theory, presents some of the issues facing contemporary archaeologists, and concludes with an account of my experience with the Fort Folly Band in southeastern New Brunswick.

NATIVE PEOPLE AS OBJECTS OF STUDY: 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY ANTHROPOLOGY IN REVIEW

Euro-Americans have long expressed a keen interest in Native populations. Unfortunately the often racist nature of early Native-European contacts has persisted in various forms into contemporary society. From a non-Native perspective, historical documents help shed light on how the European attitude toward Native people took shape. Among the most colourful of such first-hand accounts are the early stories of Puritans living in New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Vaughan and Clark 1981). Puritans held captive by local Natives frequently recorded what have come to be known as captivity narratives in which the ordeal was described. Interpreting the capture-escape experience as divine punishment and redemption, Puritans seem to have reflected on their encounter with a measure of pride. Ironically in 1583, prior to this period in history, it was European trade merchants who kidnapped Native people and transported them back to France (Pendergast 1991: 48). Presumably many Native people died in transit, from exposure to European disease, or perhaps later succumbed to the ravages of slavery or other maltreatment.

The pervasive view that Natives were inherently inferior had, from first contact, driven Europeans to impose their culture and religion on what they perceived to be culturally stunted "savages." The reluctance of Native people to adopt Christianity had formerly confounded the European population to the extent that Missionaries were contracted to pave the way for colonialism by transforming Natives into Whites through assimilation¹ (Upton 1973: 54).

The image of the Native as a culturally deprived savage extended into the early nineteenth century as anthropology was emerging as a form of systematic research. At this time, Natives were discriminatively analysed in terms of physical and moral attributes (Henry 1972: 153; Upton 1973: 52; Trigger 1983: 14-15). The concept of polygenesis rationalized the persistent use of racial discrimination in anthropological studies as the development of archaeological research was dominated by Biblical concepts (Trigger 1980: 663). While this notion persisted in the United States as a justification for slavery, by the 1820s it was rejected by British anthropologists who nonetheless believed that Native inferiority was culturally based and therefore reformable. At the end of the 1830s, the Native population was destined for one of three potentialities: extermination, assimilation, or isolation on reserves (Upton 1973: 55). At this stage in the progression of anthropology, including archaeology, the Native was reified as a passive object of Euro-

¹ This practice continued in the Native residential school system until recently.

American knowledge.

With time, increased world travel, and progressive research, the anthropology of the nineteenth century was to be dominated by evolutionary or developmental orientations (Kaplan and Manners 1972: 36; Trigger 1983: 19). The Mound Builder controversy in eastern North America exemplifies the then persistent view of Natives as inferior to Europeans, as some excavators felt certain that the mounds could only be of non-Native construction (Trigger 1983: 16; Willey and Sabloff 1980: 35-36). Those who acknowledged Native mound construction however, argued that the Native culture responsible had been no more advanced than any other north of Mexico (Trigger 1980: 666).

At the turn of the century, anthropologists such as Boas in the New World, and Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski in the Old World, dissatisfied with inaccurate and biased evolutionist accounts by earlier missionaries, travellers, and explorers, demanded a more empirical and systematic approach to the study of Native culture. Boas regarded cultural relativism, ethnography, and diffusion as alternatives to evolutionism—and as complementary to functionalism (Hedican 1995: 23; Trigger 1983: 21, 1988: 25). However, despite their attempt to depart from a judgmental form of research, anthropologists of this era continued to define cultures in terms of developmental stages.

The first two decades of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of archaeology as an established profession which subsequently produced a new generation of university trained archaeologists. The principal goal of American archaeology at this time was “cultural-historical synthesis of New World regions and areas.” Heightened concern for chronologically oriented analysis was manifested in a methodological trend towards stratigraphic excavation and seriation, and “speculation and theory were considered more or less synonymous” (Willey and Sabloff 1980: 83).

Unlike their American contemporaries, Canadian archaeologists, at least in Ontario, seem to have proceeded without the Speculative Period defined by Willey and Sabloff (1980). Rather, during the mid to late nineteenth century in Ontario, emphasis was placed on ethnographic and ethnohistoric research, with particular attention to the acquisition and excavation of artifacts for display purposes (Stewart 1993: 2). Unlike the Mound Builder controversy that developed in America, much of the nineteenth century mound excavation in Canada was borne of an attempt to locate Jesuit Mission sites. Following this period, although the functional approach still governed artifact analysis, Ontario archaeologists began to form chronologies from their data (Stewart 1993: 3-5).

American archaeology in the 1930s was perceived as a national endeavour and part of the public consciousness, but lack of Native involvement or consultation at this time imparted an attitude of indifference that would persist unchallenged for several more decades. Following the Depression years and World War II, archaeology prospered in the New World. Increasing interest in contextual analysis, settlement patterns, and cultural ecology was encouraged. Theory was implicit in the forms of culture-historical and evolutionary themes, despite the rapid methodological advances which took place (Willey and Sabloff 1980: 176). The developments that occurred during the post-war decades stimulated research on processes and explanation, themes that would ultimately define the archaeology of the 1960s.

A forceful intellectual shift occurred with the advent of the New Archaeology, which was legitimized by its scientific mandate. Although the basic tenets originated with Taylor's “conjunctive approach” (1948, 1972: 28), the New Archaeology was not fully conceptualized until the 1960s with Binford's (1962) article “Archaeology as Anthropology.” However, the adoption and application of empirical models without due modification resulted in a failure to address significant distinctions between natural versus social phenomena, and pure versus social sciences. As a result, the law-like determinations of the New Archaeologists resulted in a somewhat sociobiological interpretation of culture, with dead and living human beings as the objects of scientific research. Since then, archaeology has developed into a more theory-oriented discipline, possibly in part as a response to the framework proposed by the New Archaeology. The New Archaeology, with its emphasis on internal culture change, served to dispel the once common image of Native people as uncreative and culturally static (Trigger 1980: 664, 1983: 29). However, despite impressive advances in methodology and increasingly complex bodies of theory, Native people continued to be scientifically objectified. Some have gone so far as to describe the New Archaeo-

logy as “fundamentally dehumanizing” (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 60).

Diamond Jenness and Marius Barbeau, remembered by some as early Native advocates, were critical of government practices exclusive of Native consultation (Hedican 1995: 16). In Canada, from Confederation until about 1960, there had been “a general suppression of Aboriginal cultural practices followed by a brief period of Native activism in the 1960s when the Trudeau government issued its White Paper (1969) which proposed “to disband the Indian Affairs and reserve system, with the provinces taking over responsibility for the administration of Aboriginal area of concern” (Hedican 1995: 10). The new policy was received by some Native people as a blueprint for extermination through assimilation, and in response they issued the Red Paper, a condemnation of the government proposal (Hedican 1995: 10).

The sociopolitical climate in which archaeology was practised in the early 1970s resulted in self-evaluation by some archaeologists, while others continued “the conduct of human science which ignores living peoples” (Janes 1994: 149). Ford (1973: 84-86) suggested that nationalistic values had interfered with objectivity in archaeological research and noted that “only recently has this nationalistic archaeology assumed any significance for the native American” through land claims and increasing Native control of archaeological resources. Although extensive use of ethnoarchaeology may have increased the frequency of contact between archaeologists and Native people, relations were not always amicable. As the New Archaeologists strived to define universal generalizations about human behaviour, rather than place the Native in historical context, Native people remained the objects of scientific research (see Deloria 1992: 595). Until the 1970s, ethical concerns regarding anthropological studies of Native cultures had been largely ignored (Janes 1994; Rogers 1977: 34). The development of “ethics committees,” such as the Committee on Ethics of the American Anthropological Association, perhaps offered too little too late (Rogers 1977: 36). In 1973, Native people of northern Ontario expressed opposition to research of benefit only to non-Native interests (Rogers 1977: 34). On the positive side, the establishment of such committees indicates that some anthropologists recognized that they could no longer work independently of Native concerns.

In the late 1970s, the Union of Ontario Indians in Canada launched civil action against archaeologist Walter Kenyon who had violated the Cemeteries Act in the excavation of a Neutral Indian burial site at Grimsby (Kenyon 1977: 9, 1979, 1982: 6; Spurling 1976a). The unexpected Native reaction, and the ill-preparedness of the government forced the closure of the site for two months while Native protesters, archaeologists, and politicians struggled to restore order. Attempts by Canadian members of the American Indian Movement to retrieve some of the Grimsby skeletal remains from the Royal Ontario Museum were thwarted. The Royal Ontario Museum’s chief archaeologist, Dr. Douglas Tushingham, warned Canadian members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) that they would be arrested for trespassing if they returned the bones to Grimsby (Spurling 1976b). Interestingly, the Iroquois Six Nations Reserve, whose members had unofficially granted Kenyon permission to excavate, also objected to reburial of the remains by AIM (Spurling 1976b). Kenyon, maintaining his position as custodian, refused to release the skeletal material and asserted his intentions to rebury the bones. The excavation was eventually completed. This episode may have helped fuel the emerging concern for Native rights demonstrated by Canadian anthropologists.

In the early 1980s, there was renewed interest in structuralism, cognition and ideology, and in Marxist ideas of consciousness (Leone 1982: 742, 750; Trigger 1980). The relevance of a self-reflexive historic approach was acknowledged by some archaeologists as Native involvement in archaeological matters increasingly entered the public forum. In 1984, for example, the World Council of Indigenous Peoples prepared the “Declaration of Principles” which stated that the Native population would “reassume original rights over their material culture” including archaeological resources (McGhee 1989: 15). In 1988, the Canadian Museums Association met with the Assembly of First Nations to produce and implement museum guidelines for the management of Native remains and artifacts (Henton 1989: A14). This co-operative action was the result of the controversial “The Spirit Sings” exhibition at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta during the 1988 Olympics when Native people encouraged a boycott of the exhibition because of the display of a sacred medicine mask, and an unsettled Alberta land claim (Henton 1989: A14). Complementary policy-making aimed at a restructured cultural resource management system may be difficult to achieve, given that “most archaeologists lack the necessary combination of exper-

ience, knowledge, contacts, time, and... interest in public affairs" (Spurling 1988: 67).

By 1989, Canadian and American government officials were responding to the pressing reality of Native involvement in archaeology. Twenty of the United States had drafted legislation to protect Native burial sites or allow Native people to determine the destiny of accidentally exposed skeletal remains. The Smithsonian Institution tentatively agreed to consider the return of prehistoric artifacts to Native people. In Canada, a discussion paper drafted by the federal Department of Communications indicated that new guidelines might be implemented regarding the protection and management of archaeological resources, while the Ontario government claimed to be amending its Cemeteries Act to offer improved protection for osteological remains (Henton 1989: A14).

In 1991, an Aboriginal Archaeological Symposium was held in Ottawa, Ontario, during which jurisdiction regarding Aboriginal archaeological resources was unanimously passed. This reflected the Native response to a long history of a Canadian archaeology essentially exclusive of Native participation. At this time, the government presented the Access to Archaeology Program. Among the stated goals of the program were plans to encourage Native involvement in the management of archaeological resources, and to provide training to interested Native people.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

The Archaeologist As Scientist

After more than a century of impressive methodological and intellectual advances, contemporary archaeology nonetheless represents the long-term outcome of a paternalistic discipline characterized by borrowed and often misapplied scientific paradigms. An interest in the use of applied science, which is frequently credited as the superior methodology in dealing with archaeological problems, appeared early in this century and has perhaps helped shape the current conflict between archaeologists and Native people.

Today some archaeologists continue to strongly identify with rigorous scientific procedure and the maintenance of detached objectivity, perhaps making "it impossible to understand the reasons for there being different versions of the past" (Shanks and Hodder 1995: 20). The archaeologist generally has no use for the scientific method in speculation about past human behaviour. Since there is nothing to test such archaeological hypotheses against, a proposition is unverifiable. Nor does the archaeologist need an intimate understanding of the complex and sophisticated procedures associated with absolute dating and chemical analysis, for example. These services are invaluable to certain aspects of archaeology, but not to the exclusion of social interpretation.

One suggestion is that a critical sociology of archaeological practice is required (Lucas 1995: 44; Shanks and Tilley 1987: 24). The archaeologist has been urged to step back and view the sociopolitical context in which the discipline operates, to "self-position" in order to witness the impact of modern cultural notions on our interpretation and presentation of history (Leone 1982: 753; Leone and Preucel 1992: 132). Historical examples of the suggested relationship between sociopolitical condition and the direction of archaeological research include: the parallel between hyperdiffusionism and fascism of the 1920s, the link between ecologically based modelling with the popular concern for overpopulation, environmental destruction, and depletion of nonrenewable resources in the 1980s, and the leading role of science in problem solving within archaeology and in the larger community today (Bray 1986: 784; Leone 1982: 751). Ironically, however, should the archaeologist retreat into an insular objectivity, and entirely disengage from our value systems, the value-free framework of postmodernism could potentially redirect archaeology to empiricism (Moore 1995: 53).

In 1995, an "interpretive archaeology," drawn partly from relevant hermeneutic principles was offered, not as a new method, but as a basic guideline for archaeologists to reexamine and clarify their understanding of archaeology "via the topic of interpretation" (Shanks and Hodder 1995: 3, 8). An interpretive framework allows that the study of the past is an open-ended effort, never a final story, and recognizes the historic location of interpretation (Shanks and Hodder 1995: 239). In keeping with self-reflection, increased awareness may at least bring about a broader social view.

Stewardship of the Past

"We have a mandate to preserve and protect the past for the future an obligation to past cultures to tell their story and to future generations to preserve the past for their benefit....we, as archaeologists view ourselves as the stewards of the past" (Goldstein 1992: 61; also Goldstein and Kintigh 1990: 587). But problems stem from an "us" and "them" attitude created by this stewardship (Goldstein 1992: 70). Surely archaeologists are only self-appointed stewards of the past, and bear no personal obligation to past cultures as their storytellers. Notions of stewardship are widely accepted but offer perplexing concepts of commodification and ownership of the cultural and material past.

It has also been suggested that the responsibility of recording Native history lies with implicitly non-Native professionals, including anthropologists, while the responsibility of Native people is to maintain their cultural traditions (Adams 1984: 241). As trained professionals in mainstream society, archaeologists have earned privileged access to "the past" and are subsequently obliged to share their findings. But most archaeologists would disagree that Native people are in any way obligated to perpetuate cultural traditions. However, recognition of traditional Native lifeways has become a contentious element of contemporary Canadian politics. The Native struggle for cultural identity has perhaps been misguidedly based on an attempted reversion to a pseudo-historic lifestyle. An empathetic Canadian public has possibly contributed to this dilemma by placing undue value on the relevance of traditional practices to contemporary survival. The Native population, caught between assimilation and traditionalism, is the only one in Canada which finds political strength in a reversion to historic lifeways. Native people are entitled to a heritage-based cultural identity without becoming an anachronism.

Nationalism, Pluralism, and Relativism

Since archaeology is subjective and value-laden, the archaeologist is regularly confronted with ethical issues. The concept of ethics is described as "a cultural construction" in which "no particular system of ethics can be said to be right or wrong" (Goldstein 1992: 60; Goldstein and Kintigh 1990: 585). However, archaeologists are frequently faced with making professional choices based on ethical issues, and must decide if the ethics of archaeology should be compromised when they clash with the ethics of the people under study. Some archaeologists have demonstrated that a flexible approach is rewarded by trusting relationships between archaeologists and Native communities (Ferguson 1984: 224). In fact, archaeologists often hear that honesty, mutual respect, cooperation, and education are the answers. But it is not always clear how such relationships are successfully engendered.

Native people who view themselves as citizens of a First Nation often experience a "nationalistic" response to non-Native archaeologists controlling the study of their heritage. However, there are also those, both Native and non-Native, who maintain that Canadian prehistory is the heritage of all Canadians and the rest of the world, and should not be controlled by one interest group alone (Cybulski et al. 1979: 36). For example, the benefits of medical and forensic research performed on prehistoric skeletal material are sometimes understood to transcend or approximate the significance of Native religious concerns. "From the perspective of science, law, and anthropology, the excavation and curation of human skeletal remains is both appropriate and necessary" (Goldstein and Kintigh 1990: 586). Research of this nature is justified by the position that both Native and non-Native populations stand to gain in terms of developments in medical technology (Buikstra 1981: 27; Cybulski et al. 1979:36). Yet others raise the legitimate question "What has archaeology contributed to the health sciences up to this point?" (Leone and Preucel 1992: 123).

Archaeologists working with Native people may also be confronted with contradictory perceptions of ethnogenesis (Fridriksson 1994: 17). Some Native people contend that their version of prehistory, based on knowledge transmitted through elders and not scientific data, has been ignored (Ames 1986: 43; Anawak 1989; Dorris 1987: 103). Many have complained that the Bering Land Bridge theory of origins degrades their culture history and portrays them as merely another group of immigrants. They have interpreted the theory as an attempt by non-Natives to challenge Native rights to land ownership (McGhee 1989: 14). Others believe that a demonstrated archaeological tie to world history will finally accord Native people full humanity (Deloria 1992: 597). Since it is a political rather than an interpretive issue, the focus is not on which is the truth,

but rather, on how we react to different views, and at which point pluralism verges on relativism (Lucas 1995: 41). Binford accurately maintained that an extreme version of cultural relativism "would deny to archaeology the possibility of becoming an objective, comparative science" (1972: 68).

There is no "monolithic undifferentiated PAST" (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 11). Native people are free to develop their own interpretation of archaeological data. In turn, archaeologists should not dismiss Native theology nor abandon North American prehistory, but accept that there "are several uses of the past, and that several groups have certain rights and responsibilities to various of these uses" (McGhee 1989: 16-17).

Education

While some think it a naive presumption, archaeologists often suggest that public education is the solution to improve relations between Native people and archaeologists. Others point out that we first need to educate ourselves about the ramifications of archaeological research on Native culture before "educating" Native people (Leone and Preucel 1992: 124). It is often recommended that Native people be recruited into archaeology with alluring offers of university scholarships (Ferguson 1984: 233; Goldstein 1992: 67). But these seem unlikely solutions until more basic epistemological issues are addressed, such as what constitutes or determines "true" knowledge of Native history, or if such truths exist at all.

Until the recent communications revolution, inadequate public school curricula and low exposure to archaeological literature contributed to a wide misunderstanding of Native culture history. Although archaeologists have typically produced and exchanged academic papers of only limited interest or availability to Native groups and the larger lay population, an increasing number of Native people are reading archaeological reports, or producing their own, to help reinforce their social and political identity. Canadians have been overexposed to popular movies and television programs that have customarily produced romanticized portrayals of archaeologists and inaccurate representations of Native history. Such stereotypical concepts have perpetuated limited awareness on both sides.

Non-Native archaeologists and Native people view the past from modern perspectives that have been framed by different life experiences. Conflicting opinions on the administration of history and prehistory stem from disparate ideologies that were shaped by respective social, political, and cultural influences. If not dealt with effectively, the differences may continue to constrain communication between the two groups (Trigger 1990: 778; Zimmerman 1989: 213). It is often stated that the solution is to involve Native people in archaeology, but that situation is changing. Such was my experience when the Fort Folly Band invited me to join their archaeological project.

A CONTEMPORARY ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPERIENCE

Native people have populated eastern Canada since the end of the last glaciation. Today there are two indigenous cultural groups in New Brunswick, the Maliseet and Micmac. The Maliseet have traditionally occupied the Saint John River Valley while the Micmac settled a surrounding region to the east. Both speak variants of an Algonquian language that is also characteristic of the Passamaquoddy to the west. The Beaumont archaeological project described here was initiated by the Fort Folly Band, a Micmac community in the village of Dorchester, New Brunswick (Figure 1).

Beaumont, the remote and rugged site of an historic Micmac settlement, is situated towards the end of the west margin of a strip of land between the Petitcodiac and Memramcook Rivers in southeastern New Brunswick. A chapel, one house, and a large historic cemetery are nearly all that remain of Beaumont, which was once home to ancestors of many contemporary members of the Fort Folly Band. The chapel at Beaumont (Figure 2), built in 1842 was the first in New Brunswick to be constructed by and for the Micmac people, and due to its historical significance, the Province of New Brunswick acknowledged Beaumont as a Provincial Historic Site in 1989.

Beaumont had been occupied by Micmac and Acadian people at least since the early mid-nineteenth century. The last Native people left in the mid-twentieth century, many of them moving to the Fort Folly Reservation that had been relocated to Dorchester, New Brunswick where it

has remained. Since then, Beaumont has fallen into disrepair, and repeated vandalism has forced the Band to keep the chapel boarded and locked at all times. Damage has been caused by cars and snowmobiles driven over grave sites, the removal of historic headstones, and illegal campfires. In response to their lasting concerns about the maintenance and protection of Beaumont, the Fort Folly Band initiated an archaeological project with an urgent preliminary goal to find and fence the limits of the historic cemetery (Kristmanson 1993, 1994). This was where my association with the Fort Folly Band began.

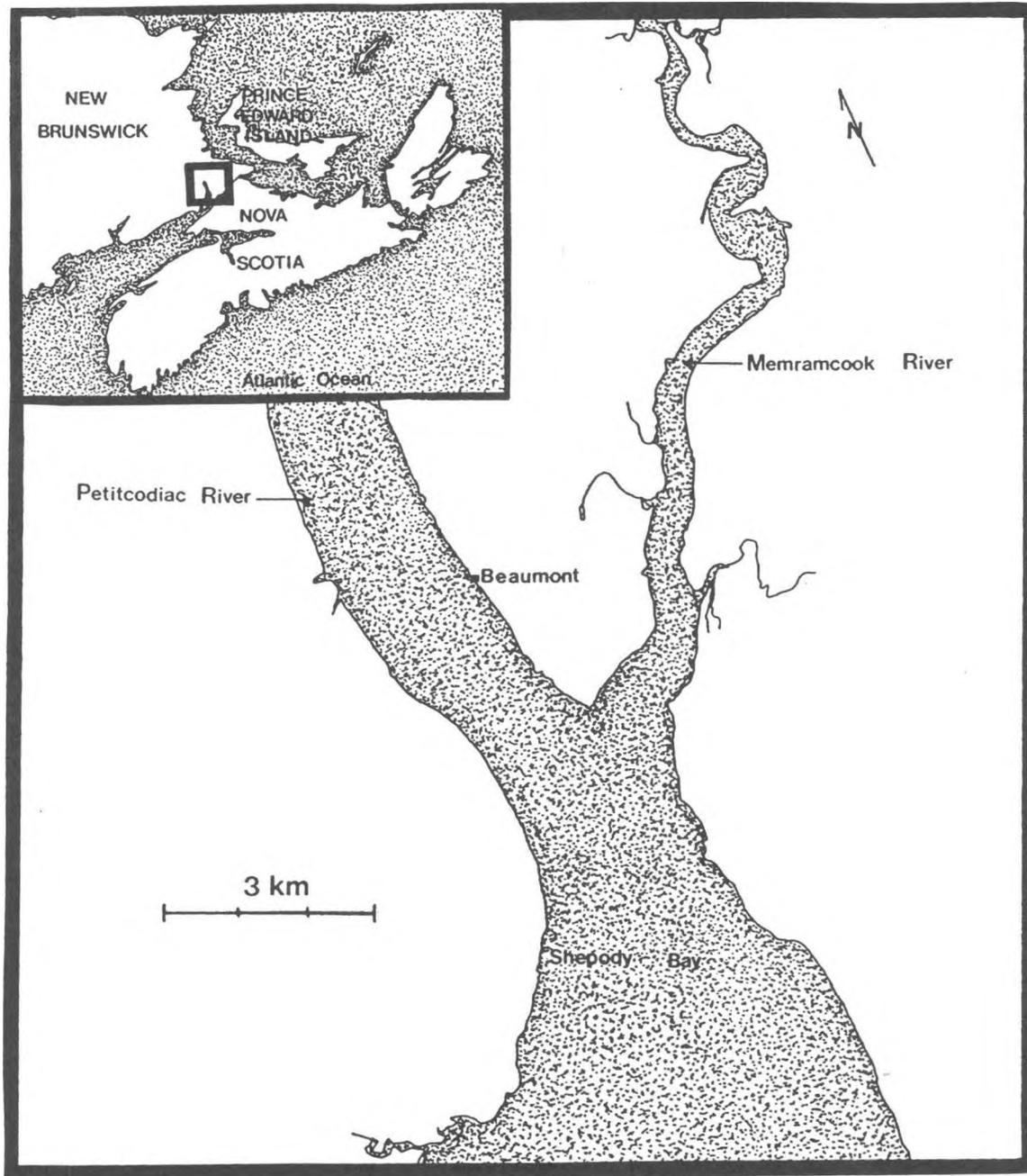


Figure 1. Location of Beaumont, New Brunswick.

Upon arriving at the Fort Folly Band Office in June of 1992, I was greeted by the staff and soon met with the Band Manager, Mr. Michael Nye. The Band historian supplied me with all of the information in his possession, including relevant documents, maps, and photographs, while one Band member, qualified as a civil technologist, produced detailed scale maps depicting the Beaumont site. It was soon clear that he would be the lead surveyor of the 1992 crew, and the only Band member to participate. The Fort Folly Band has a small membership of about 110, approximately one third of whom live on the reserve, with the remainder residing elsewhere in Canada and the United States. Band members available for the archaeological projects were scarce, as those who were eligible to work had already secured seasonal or long-term employment elsewhere.

The project quickly began to take shape, and ran smoothly from start to finish, though naturally there were questionable moments during the season. Although the band administration and most, if not all, Band members were aware that we were not disturbing the cemetery, we were troubled by occasional rumours to the contrary. Most people came to the site with preconceptions about the work in progress. Many non-Natives and a few Band members visitors expressed enthusiastic curiosity about whether we were digging graves and what we might have found. Others were less impressed. For example, during the annual Feast of Sainte Anne celebrations, I was approached by a Micmac elder, Dr. Mildred Millea, from the nearby Big Cove Reservation, who politely implored me not to dig up one of her maternal relatives. Under the circumstances, it was difficult to convey to her that we were using conductivity equipment to test the ground and



Figure 2. The chapel and rectory at Beaumont, New Brunswick. Date unknown. Centre d'Etudes Acadiennes, Photo Collection, PA2-1130. University of Moncton, New Brunswick.

therefore not digging graves but rather trying to locate and protect them. Fortunately, we remained on friendly terms and I welcomed Dr. Millea's extensive knowledge of Micmac language and culture. This situation exemplified the frustrations and difficulty of keeping the public informed.

In addition to the protection and restoration of Beaumont, the Fort Folly Band also had socio-political motives for staking their historical claim to the site. Beaumont is located in a part of New Brunswick that was settled by Acadians as early as the late seventeenth century. From the earliest Acadian appearances the two cultural groups came into contact:

...the French, however, like the English later seem never to have recognized any right of the Indians to the soil, but extended their settlements as they pleased, with the passive acquiescence of the Indians. There was actually some tendency for the smaller French settlements to be formed near the Indian villages, partly for environmental reasons, but also because of the facilities thus offered for trade, and because Indians and French could thus use the same churches and be served by the same priests (Ganong 1904: 38).

Such was the historic setting at Beaumont where Micmac and Acadians lived as neighbours. Not only did the Micmac and French both live on this pre-Confederation "reserve" land, but they also shared the chapel, local post office, and the same schools. Both probably participated to some extent in the local stone quarry industries, and the Native people were able to trade or sell their crafts, and/or utilitarian items to local residents along both rivers (Kristmanson 1994: 13). Today, the Fort Folly Band's stated rights to Beaumont are actively but peaceably challenged by local Acadian descendants. In fact, only in 1992 did the local Catholic priest agree to share the keys to the Beaumont chapel with the Band Council. Until then, Fort Folly's Band Council had been forced to formally request access to the chapel, which they did not always obtain. The relationship between the Band Council and the local Acadian historical society has been edged with friction but remains basically friendly. Both groups have strong proprietary feelings for Beaumont and are proud of their respective historical connections to the site.

In 1994, Fort Folly Band members faced an unexpected cultural intervention regarding the Beaumont site, but this time it began with a group of Native people assembled from outside communities. Unknown to most Fort Folly Band members, the Beaumont cemetery had been chosen by this group as the burial site for skeletal material recovered from an exposed Ceramic Period grave site on Skull Island in Shediac Bay, New Brunswick. The grave site is a road distance of approximately 80 kilometers from Beaumont. It was announced that the remains were to be buried during the annual Feast of Sainte Anne Catholic service at Beaumont. This ceremony has always been open to the public and is followed by a large buffet-style picnic complete with traditional Micmac food and entertainment. Instead on that day a private sunrise ceremony was attended by a selected group of elders and members of other reservations along with the archaeologist who excavated the site. Only a few Fort Folly Band members were permitted to participate. The dawn ceremony was a deliberate deception of the public, media, and Fort Folly Band members. Participants later explained that they considered public interest disrespectful and inappropriate. This view was not necessarily shared by Fort Folly Band members, and some felt excluded by the manner in which the burial had been arranged. Neither was there consensus among Band members regarding the pertinence of burying the Skull Island remains in their ancestral cemetery. Others strongly believed that the multiple burial at Skull Island should never have been excavated but left to erode naturally.

This situation, in which there was difference of opinion within both the archaeological and Native communities, illustrates the fact that the meaning of "us" and "them" is fluid when it comes to Native people and archaeologists. In an effort to avoid a completely one-sided story, an early draft of this paper was shared with Michael Nye who responded by preparing the following summary of his views on archaeology:

...There have been in the past many negative dealings between First Nation peoples and many archaeologists.

First Nations, as well as any other race of people, protect the burying places of their ancestors. Respect to where they are interred must be certainly understood by the Non-

Native population. I do not believe that our body parts or religious materials should be placed on display. At the 1991 Aboriginal Archaeological Symposium a position paper was made and it was titled "I am not an artifact." The title is very self-explanatory.

But there were many positive results from the symposium I think that many modern-day archaeologists have a better understanding of the cultures of First Nations. Mutual respect and understanding are the cornerstones of any undertaking.

I think that the Fort Folly First Nation has a very good relationship with any of the archaeologists that they have worked with. I am a firm believer in protecting our people and their rights, there must be a place for the unborn, the living and the dead.



Figure 3. Mr. Israel Knockwood (Micmac) was a one-time resident at Beaumont, New Brunswick. Photograph was taken either at Beaumont or Dorchester, N.B. Date unknown. New Brunswick Provincial Archives: P13-13; Albert Hickman Collection.

A Micmac Archaeological Project

Having coordinated numerous and varied projects, the Band has become a significant provider of employment for local residents, Native and non-Native. Local job seekers turn up in numbers at the Band Office when it becomes public knowledge that a project is being proposed. With nearly all Band members employed, in school, or in retirement, the Band is in the position to offer contractual employment to many local skilled laborers, many of whom now work on a regular basis for the Band. For the archaeological projects, the Band encouraged me to design independently the research plan and manage the field project, but all decisions were ultimately made by the Band. We communicated daily and they were officially kept informed of my activities through weekly progress reports. I was never asked to modify my research plan in any way, although Band members occasionally offered unexpected information which sometimes added new dimensions to the project. The attitude towards archaeology varied throughout the Band from indifference to polite interest, though everyone was essentially supportive and patient with my endless questions.

The Band has demonstrated an interest in sharing administration of fieldwork and maintenance of archaeological resources with the Province of New Brunswick, and the Band Manager was able to obtain financing through the Access to Archaeology and Pathways programs for projects in 1992 and 1993. The Band has housed the artifact assemblage collected from two seasons of excavation at the Beaumont site, and has by now amassed a basic inventory of archaeological field and laboratory supplies. The Band provided the archaeologists with many necessities, including office space and supplies, secretarial assistance, and transportation.

Aware of the long history of unfavourable dealings between archaeologists and Native people, I was initially slightly apprehensive about taking the job with the Fort Folly Band. However, I also felt optimistic that dealings between archaeologists and Naive people might be improving; thus in a positive mood I intended to use an awareness of the past to help achieve a sensitive exchange in the present. Working with the Fort Folly Band turned out to be less complicated than I had expected; there was mutual respect, trust, and friendship. However, there is neither a methodological nor theoretical key to explain or perfect the relationship between archaeologists and Native people. The broad range of opinion within and between cultural groups, and the unpredictable nature of human interaction were again made evident to me when during my work at Beaumont I participated in a local Aboriginal Heritage Committee policy-making session organized for the Canadian Archaeological Association by Ms. Patricia Allen. These meetings provided a forum for Native people and archaeologists to trade ideas and share opinions on issues ranging from local to international and, most importantly, signalled a new atmosphere of communication between the groups. Although I invited the Band Manager to join me at the session, he saw no need for his presence. Not only had the Fort Folly Band initiated their contact with archaeologists, but they had also set and directed the achievement of their archaeological goals. I could only assume that because of the unique way in which the Fort Folly Band deliberately sought archaeology as an available service, that they ultimately enjoyed an unusual strength and autonomy in the archaeological community.

CONCLUSIONS

Over two decades ago, with the basic outline of world prehistory largely in hand, archaeologists faced an intellectual crisis. As Leone (1972: 21, 27) notes, the academic world was forced to "reach further and further into the ranges of marginalia for unsolved issues as the topics for doctoral theses and kindred exercises." The situation has changed to where archaeologists today are less pressed to find fresh academic challenges than to resolve sociopolitical ones. This trend has motivated some archaeologists to begin to look for solutions by turning to critical self-reflexion that, in turn, then leads to a series of epistemological questions about how knowledge is formed, disseminated, and used. And for whom? Although museums sell the past to a public who blithely accepts that this version of the past is meaningful to them, Native people are increasingly skeptical.

Conventional knowledge systems are under pressure from interdisciplinary studies questioning the knowledge-producing structure. Concepts such as ownership and commodification of his-

tory, and strategies for ownership and control, become central issues for the archaeologist who can no longer assume stewardship of the past. What is the epistemological future for archaeology as Native interest groups are increasingly involved in archaeological research? Nobody can predict the future, but the current sociopolitical situation suggests that significant practical changes in Canadian archaeology have been set in motion.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful that the Fort Folly Band chose me to join them in the study of their heritage, and I acknowledge the goodwill and assistance extended by Band members and support staff. My thanks to Pat Allen for her lasting support in many capacities, and to Frances Stewart for finding time to review an early version of this paper.

REFERENCES CITED

- Adams, E.C.
1984 Archaeology and the Native American: A Case at Hopi. In *Ethics and Values in Archaeology*, edited by E.L. Green, pp. 236-242. Free Press, New York.
- Anawak, J.
1989 Inuit Perceptions of the Past. In *Who Needs the Past? Indigenous Values and Archaeology*, edited by R. Layton, pp. 45-50. Unwin Hyman Ltd, London.
- Ames, M. M.
1986 *Museums, the Public and Anthropology*. University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver.
- Binford, L.
1962 Archaeology as Anthropology. *American Antiquity* 128: 217-225.
1972 Reply to K.C. Chang's "Major Aspects of the Interrelationship of Archaeology and Ethnology." In *An Archaeological Perspective*, edited by L.R. Binford, pp. 68-73. Seminar Press, New York.
- Bray, W.
1986 Fifty Years On. *Nature* 322(28): 784.
- Buikstra, J. E.
1981 A Specialist in Ancient Cemetery Studies Looks at the Reburial Issue. Reprint from *Early Man*, Autumn 1981, pp. 26-27.
- Cybulski, J.S., N.S. Ossenberg and W.D. Wade.
1979 Committee Report: Statement on the Excavation, Treatment, Analysis and Disposition of Human Skeletal Remains From Archaeological Sites in Canada. *Canadian Review of Physical Anthropology* 11(1): 32-36.
- Deloria, V.
1992 Indians, Archaeologists, and the Future. *American Antiquity* 57(4): 595-598.
- Dorris, M.
1987 Indians on the Shelf. In *The American Indian and the Problem of History*, edited by Calvin Martin, pp.98-105. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Ferguson, T.J.
1984 Archaeological Ethics and Values in a Tribal Cultural Resource Management Program at the Pueblo of Zuni. In *Ethics and Values in Archaeology*, edited by E.L. Green, pp. 224-236. Free Press, New York.
- Ford, R. I.
1973 Archaeology Serving Humanity. In *Research and Theory in Current Archaeology*, edited by C.L. Redman, pp. 83-93. J. Wiley and Sons, New York.
- Fridriksson, A.
1994 Sagas and Popular Antiquarianism in Icelandic Archaeology. *Worldwide Archaeology Series* 10. Avebury, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Great Britain.
- Ganong, W.F.
1904 Origins of Settlements in New Brunswick. *Transactions Section II. English History, Literature, Archaeology, Etc. Papers for 1904*. Royal Society of Canada, Ottawa.

- Goldstein, L.
1992 Archaeologists and Native Americans. In *Quandaries and Quests. Visions of Archaeology's Future*, edited by L. Wandsnider, pp.59-71. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Occasional Paper No.20. Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.
- Goldstein, L. and K. Kintigh.
1990 Ethics and the Reburial Controversy. *American Antiquity* 55(3): 585-591.
- Hedican, E.J.
1995 *Applied Anthropology in Canada. Understanding Aboriginal Issues*. University of Toronto Press.
- Henry, J. (editor)
1972 *The American Indian Reader: Book One of A Series in Educational Perspectives*. The Indian Historian Press, Inc., USA.
- Henton, D.
1989 Outrage: Natives Challenge Study of Sacred Bones. *The Toronto Star*, August 26, pp. A1 & A14.
- Janes, R.R.
1992 Personal, Academic and Institutional Perspectives on Museums and First Nations. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 14(1):147-156.
- Kaplan, D. and R. A. Manners.
1972 *Culture Theory*. Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.
- Kenyon, W.
1977 The Neutral Indian Burial Site at Grimsby. *Rotunda* 10(3):4-13.
1979 Geometry of Death. The Neutral Indian Cemetery at Grimsby. *Rotunda* 12(3): 26-32.
1982 *The Grimsby Site. A Historic Neutral Cemetery*. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.
- Kristmanson, H.
1993 The Beaumont Site, B1Dd-12, Westmorland County, New Brunswick. Manuscript on file with Fort Folly Indian Band, Dorchester, NB, and Archaeological Services, Department of Municipalities, Culture and Housing, Fredericton, NB.
1994 Beaumont: The Fort Folly Indian Band in History. Manuscript on file with Fort Folly Indian Band, Dorchester, NB, and in press at Archaeological Services, Department of Municipalities, Culture and Housing, Fredericton, NB.
- Leone, M.P.
1982 Opinions About Recovering Mind. *American Antiquity* 47(4): 742-758.
- Leone, M.P. and Preucel, R.W.
1992 Archaeology in a Democratic Society. In *Quandaries and Quests. Visions of Archaeology's Future*, edited by L. Wandsnider, pp. 115-135. Center for Archaeological Investigations, Occasional Paper No. 20. Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.
- Lucas, G.
1995 Interpretation in Contemporary Archaeology. In *Interpreting Archaeology: Finding Meaning in the Past*, edited by I. Hodder, M. Shanks, A. Alexandri, V. Buchli, J. Carman, J. Last, and G. Lucas, pp. 37-44. Routledge, New York.
- McGhee, R.
1989 Who Owns Prehistory? The Bering Land Bridge Dilemma. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 13: 13-20.
- Moore, H.
1995 *The Problems of Origins. Poststructuralism and Beyond In Interpreting Archaeology. Finding Meaning in the Past*, edited by I. Hodder, M. Shanks, A. Alexandri, V. Buchli, J. Carman, J. Last, and G. Lucas, pp. 51-53. Routledge, New York.
- Pendergast, J.F.
1991 The St. Lawrence Iroquoians: Their Past, Present, and Immediate Future. *New York State Archaeological Bulletin* 102: 47-74.
- Rogers, E.S.
1977 Indians and Anthropologists. Contention or Cooperation? *Rotunda* 10(4): 34-39.

- Shanks, M. and I. Hodder
 1995 Processual, Postprocessual and Interpretive Archaeologies. In *Interpreting Archaeology: Finding Meaning in the Past*, edited by I. Hodder, M. Shanks, A. Alexandri, V. Buchli, J. Carman, J. Last, and G. Lucas, pp. 3-29. Routledge, New York.
- Shanks, M. and C. Tilley.
 1987 *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*. Second Edition. Routledge, New York.
- Spurling, B.
 1976a Indians, Archeologists Reach Agreement on Burial Site. *The Globe and Mail*, November 4, p. 9.
 1976b Indians Fail to Retrieve Brave's Remains. *The Globe and Mail*, December 1, p.5.
 1988 Archaeology and the Policy Sciences. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 12: 65-86.
- Stewart, F.L.
 1993 A History of Zooarchaeology in Ontario. In *Canadian Zooarchaeology* 4: 2-18.
- Taylor, W.W.
 1948 *A Study of Archaeology*. American Anthropological Association Memoir, (1967 reprint) Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale.
 1972 *Old Wine and New Skins In Contemporary Archaeology. A Guide to Theory and Contributions*, edited by M. Leone, pp. 28-33. Southern Illinois University Press.
- Trigger, B.
 1980 Archaeology and the Image of the American Indian. *American Antiquity* 45(4): 662-676.
 1983 The Past as Power. Anthropology and the North American Indian. In *Who Owns the Past?*, edited by I. McBryde, pp.11-40. Oxford University Press.
 1988 The Historians' Indian: Native Americans in Canadian Historical Writing From Charlevoix to the Present. *Canadian Historical Review* 67(3): 315-342.
 1990 The 1990's: North American Archaeology with a Human Face? *Antiquity* 64(245): 778-87.
- Upton, L.F.S.
 1973 The Origins of Canadian Indian Policy. *Journal of Canadian Studies* 8(4): 51-61.
- Vaughan, A.T. and E.W. Clark.
 1981 *Puritans Among the Indians*, edited by A.T. Vaughan and E.W. Clark, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Cambridge, MA. and London, England.
- Willey, G.R. and J.A. Sabloff.
 1980 *A History of American Archaeology*. Second Edition. Kingsport Press, U.S.A., Thames and Hudson Ltd., London.
- Zimmerman, L.J.
 1989 Human Bones as Symbols of Power: Aboriginal American Belief Systems Toward Bones and Grave-Robbing' Archaeologists. In *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions*, edited by R. Layton, pp. 211-216. Unwin Hyman, London.