

FISHING IS NOT EVERYTHING:
THE OCCUPATIONAL FOLKLIFE OF GUIDES AT
PRATT FALLS SALMON LODGE

LEONE HOLLY NIPPARD

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LODGE**

by

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ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken to show that a remote fishing lodge in Labrador holds many elements of occupational folklife. The practice of actual angling was not looked at, but rather the guides' canon of work technique, joking behavior, foodways, pranks, and narratives were explored. This thesis shows that the job of a guide extends beyond angling to include the role of entertainer and tourism operator. The guides are easygoing people who love fun, but they also establish and maintain boundaries that guests must respect. The guides' position in the lodge's hierarchy is reflected in the lodge's division of space as well as in the guides' interactions with guests, as seen in their efforts to influence an anticipated tip. People come to the lodge to enjoy some of the world's best fishing but it is through the lodge's occupational folklife that a sense of community is created and nostalgic memories and lasting friendships formed.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores the occupational folklife of Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge, a fishing lodge located in Eagle River, Labrador. I first came up with the idea of studying Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge during an undergraduate course in Occupational Folklife. As part of the course, I wrote a paper on the experiences of my father, Alvin Nippard, who worked as a guide for Goose Bay Outfitters. My father came immediately to mind for the assignment because not only has he been an inspiration and help to me throughout my university years, I have always been fascinated and curious about his workplace. As a child I remember waiting anxiously for my dad's return in September to hear all the exciting stories he would have to share with me about his summer adventures on the Eagle River in Labrador. Even now that I am older and only get home two or three times a year, I still look forward to my father's tales about his outfitting experiences. I knew from taking Folklore courses that the narratives Dad told me contained many elements of occupational folklife, including narratives, rites of passage, jokes, pranks and foodways. At the completion of the course I realized that my brief occupational study only scratched the surface. Therefore, when the time came to pick a thesis topic, it seemed natural to draw on my father's thirty-nine years of outfitting experience and explore the occupational folklore of his workplace, Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge. I was certain that not only would Dad have many great things to share, but his fellow co-workers, as well as their guests, or clients, would be able to contribute an abundance of folkloric information as well. Apart from my father's narratives I was confident that other guides and staff

members who worked at the lodge over the years would have stories to share. By the time my thesis proposal was due, I knew I wanted to examine the work of guides at the long established fishing lodge in remote Labrador. While I realized interviewing a family member and focusing my study on his workplace would pose challenges, I also felt that there could be real benefits. My instinct proved true; working with a family member did have pros and cons as I explore further below.

In this occupational folklife study of Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge I hope to show the multi-dimensional nature of the guides' work. Fishing guides who transport, advise and otherwise support visiting salmon anglers under their care require many skills; among other things they are expert woodsmen and salmon fishermen, entertaining companions, and knowledgeable tourism operators. They create a casual atmosphere all the while keeping the safety of their guests their number one priority. The multiple aspects of the guides' work life are reflected in their canon of work technique as well as in both the verbal and nonverbal elements of their occupational folklore. The lodge's folklore connects staff members and guests at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge as part of an occupational family. These are the aspects I explore in this study.

Literature

My thesis builds on previous work in the field of occupational folklife. Occupational folklife essentially started "as a movement to bring modern factory, workplace, and industry settings to the attention of folklorists as valid settings in which to find folklore" (Gillett 2008, 1). In the beginning studies focused on specific occupations such as mining, logging, fishing, and mining (Brunvand 1996, 519) as well as specific

types of folklore such as folksong. For example, in 1910, early in the history of occupational folklife studies, John Lomax and Nathan Thorp produced a collection of cowboy songs. Later George Korson helped shift the focus to industrial settings. After he “became aware of the unique forms taken by occupational folklore in an industrialized setting” (1996, 519), Korson collected mining songs and ballads. His awareness that occupations, including those in industrial settings, have songs and stories associated with them, contributed to a deeper “understanding of the complexity and diversity of industrial expression” (Brunvand 1996, 519). In the 1930s, Benjamin A. Botkin, also saw the importance of “publishing the stories and experiences of industrial labor” (Brunvand 1996, 520). His work helped expand the study of occupational folklife beyond the occupations that Lomax, Thorp, and Korson examined to include “engineers, cab drivers, steelworkers, and policemen” (Brunvand 1996, 520).

By the 1970s, folklorists were more closely analyzing the qualities of occupational folklife. For example, Archie Green’s research into coal mining songs stressed the counterhegemonic nature of much occupational lore. Green showed “how folklore both shapes and reflects an occupational worldview that is at once political, linked to work-related concepts of skill and shared knowledge, and in direct opposition to the occupational culture and worldview of owners and managers” (Brunvand 1996, 520). According to Brunvand, it was Wayland D. Hand who most influenced the development of occupational folklore in the 1960s and 1970s. Hand went beyond the folksongs and narratives to study a variety of topics pertaining to the workplace such as beliefs, customs, jokes, pranks and clothing (Brunvand 1996, 520-521). During this time period a growing number of folklorists contributed to the field. For example, the 1978 special

issue of *Western Folklore* on occupational folklife, titled "Working Americans: Contemporary Approaches to Occupational Folklife", includes articles by Roger Abrahams, Robert McCarl, Jack Santino, Robert Byington, Archie Green, and perhaps the best known folklorist of occupational folklife, Robert McCarl. The goal of the issue was to further readers' knowledge of the growing field of occupational folklife and to encourage more people to undertake occupational folklife studies (Byington 1978, 143-44).

In his contribution to the special issue of *Western Folklore*, Archie Green urges folklorists to take a broad approach. They should consider not only the material objects a worker produces but also the work practices that produce them. They should also consider modern industry:

There is an observable blurring and overlap in the terms industrial, occupational, labor, or worker when combined with folklore. Examples of industrial lore are found at one end of the spectrum in manual crafts, usually studied by folklife specialists. At the other end, examples are found in trade unionism and organized political movements which range from social democracy to nihilism. Hence, industrial lore may be an umbrella term broad enough to cover all job processes as well as urban living, unionism, radicalism, social reform, civil disobedience, and political action. However, I have found it useful to restrict the term to modern industry (Green 1978, 216).

This inclusive approach was echoed by folklorists like Tristram Potter Coffin. Coffin, along with colleague Hennig Cohen, believed that "identity formation" (Green 1978, 222) was at the heart of occupational folklife. Green writes, "[These authors understood occupational folklife as] the traditional artistic expression of those who find their identity (at least to a large degree) in the way they earn their living, rather than in where they live or their racial background. Further, they asserted that vocation functions to set life style, to affect worldview, and to permeate other aspects of personal existence" (Green 1978,

216).

Robert McCarl contributed substantially to a more systematic study of occupational folklife and his article, "Occupational Folklife: A Theoretical Hypothesis," also published as part of the 1978 *Western Folklore* special issue, is an important one. Here McCarl introduced key concepts to the study of occupational folklife that underline my study of Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge. For example, McCarl's concept of "canon of work technique" that is required for workers to show others how to do a specific job to produce a desirable outcome (1978, 147-148) has been important to my work. McCarl's notion of canon work technique can be seen at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge when the more senior staff transfer their knowledge of the river, the best fishing pools, the best times to fish, and the best equipment to use in terms of rods, reels and flies, to new guides in order for the guests to have the best possible fishing experience. I explore canon of work technique more fully in Chapter Three.

McCarl raises an important point concerning the use of non-verbal modes of communication among workers (1978, 152-153). McCarl theorizes that the repeated activities workers engage in can be placed into three categories. These include customary action or habits, rules or norms of action, and the enactment of collective will (1978, 156). The workers at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge engage in many of the same actions day after day. Examples include using the same boat all season and sitting in the same chair at the dinner table everyday. In regards to the second category, rules or norms of action, employees follow many informal rules. For instance, after meals each worker clears his or her plate and brings it to the sink for the cook. They also put more coffee on when the pot is emptied (1978, 157). Gestural modes of communication are demonstrated when guides

wave to their co-workers' boats to indicate "hello." Another example of non-verbal communication is the way the cooks indicate it is mealtime. One cook, usually the cook's helper, rings a bell located outside the main entrance of the main lodge to signify mealtime. Forms of nonverbal communication such as pranks and foodways are the subject of Chapter Four.

Several occupational folklife studies have particular relevance for my own. One of these is Jack Santino's article, "Characteristics of Occupational Narratives." The employees of Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge engage in storytelling throughout the day at the lodge by passing on narratives related to the different aspects of their work. Some of the narratives I encountered at Pratt Falls are famous ones that have been around the lodge for many years while others are newly created. As I read Santino's article, I could see similarities between his work and my own fieldwork at the lodge. For example, Santino relates that after he explained his research to his participants, they were eager to talk to him. He also mentions how one man kept telling stories about himself (Santino 1978, 199). This is very similar to how some of my fieldwork research went, especially during my interviews with former guide, William Sheppard. Sheppard shared many stories of mishaps he had and pranks he played on various guides and guests.

Santino's categories of work-related narratives: "cautionary tales," "first day on the job," and "pranks" (1978, 202-204) apply to the narratives I collected as well. All of the staff told stories about pranks they have played on each other, ranging from stealing the cook's freshly baked cookies, to frightening the housekeeper with spiders. Santino focuses on the narratives of the staff when interacting with each other and does not discuss exchanges between employees and customers. Because the guests of Pratt Falls

Salmon Lodge are very involved in narration—as subjects, audience and tellers--I consider their role in storytelling at the lodge. Narratives are the subject of Chapter Five.

Santino stresses that a successful business depends on workers having good relationships with one another (1978, 212). This interpersonal aspect of work at the lodge was expressed repeatedly throughout my interviews with the guides. They all claimed that they get along very well. That some of the guests request the same guide year after year attests to their success in building relationships with customers. My fieldwork suggests that Santino's notion of good working relationships extends beyond interactions among employees to include those between worker and guest.

Robert Byington's article "Strategies for Collecting Occupational Folklife in Contemporary Urban/Industrial Contexts" demonstrates how getting into a workplace to study a certain occupation can be difficult for an outsider (Byington 1978b, 187-188) and points to some of the hardships I might have faced if I did not have an inside connection. Once at the lodge, however, I learned that having an entry into the workplace does not guarantee workers will offer a folklorist full disclosure. For example, even though the guides knew me, and knew my father very well, I noticed that they would sometimes censor themselves and choose words very carefully when I was around.

Again in 2006, *Western Folklore* devoted another issue to occupational folklife called "Lessons of Work: Contemporary Explorations of Work Culture." Articles are by Archie Green, Phyllis Harrison, Thomas Walker, Manuel Peña, Robert E. Walls and Patrick Huber. A contributor to the special edition is Phyllis Harrison. In her article, "Refocusing Old Lenses: Lore in the Longshore Hall," she notes that "despite mechanization and change, traditional culture abounds in this close-knit occupational

community and functions, sometimes symbolically, sometimes directly, to define, maintain, and enhance the distinctive working world of the longshoreman” (Harrison 2006, 52). Although she is focusing on longshoremen, Harrison’s observation applies to the workers of Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge as well. For example, throughout the years the lodge has seen many transformations. While there has been a telephone at the lodge for many years, and a CB radio is still used by the guides to keep them in touch with their friends at other lodges along the river, the newer guest cabins contain wireless internet, satellite television, air conditioning and telephone. Although one might assume that these modern technologies mean the workers and guests now interact less often, this is not the case. There is still a great deal of exchange between guests and guides and, as I explore throughout this thesis, folklore is still prevalent at the lodge. For example, Harrison mentions that nicknames are popular among the longshoremen he worked with and this too can be seen at the Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge. Other types of folklore are important to the running of the lodge and to the employees performing their work as guides.

While Manuel Peña’s article, “Folklore, Machismo and Every Day Practice Writing Mexican Worker Culture,” deals with Mexican workers, it is relevant to my work. I had a similar experience to Peña when he asked for jokes from the workers. Their typical response was to they say they had none, but would refer him to someone else he should talk to (Peña 2006, 143). This is very much like how some workers responded when I asked them to recall stories of the past. Often they said they did not remember any but they would immediately suggest another person to ask. Peña also tells of how the men would talk about other forms of narrative, such as anecdotes about their sexual adventures (Peña 2006, 153) and current news stories and songs, when not asked for it specifically

(Peña 2006, 143) and this happened to me on many occasions while doing my fieldwork at the lodge especially at the dinner table.

Beyond published work on occupational folklife, folkloristic examinations of hunting also inform this thesis. Studies include Mary Ellen Greenwood's article, "Hunting for Meaning," that explores deer hunting in her family (2004); Jay Mechling's article, "Picturing Hunting" (2004), Simon Bronner's explorations of deer hunting (2008, 2010), and John Warren's MA thesis on moose hunting in Trinity Bay, Newfoundland (2009).

Because folkloristic treatments of salmon fishing and guiding in Newfoundland and Labrador are virtually nonexistent, my study draws on some of the popular books devoted to the sport of salmon fishing, guiding, and about anglers' fishing experiences. Within this larger literature, the few works on Labrador sports fishing and outfitting have been particularly helpful. For example, Len Rich has written many books about his experiences as a fly fisherman and what it is like to open and operate a fishing lodge in Labrador. Rich's experiences are useful because they provide a description of how another fishing lodge operates. It is also possible to compare his narratives with those I collected from the guides and guests at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge.

In his book, *River Talk*, Mike Crosby takes a different approach from Len Rich. Crosby's book is about his experiences as an angler all over Canada, but in particular his experiences on Eagle River. Crosby mentions how he used to feel like an outsider when he first became interested in the sport but throughout the years he has earned the respect of the guides (2008, 10-11). He also supplies a good repertoire of narratives about pranks, jokes, and anecdotes based on his adventures. His work helped me in the analysis of the

narratives told by the guides and guests at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge.

Gary L. Saunders's book, *Rattles and Steadies: Memoirs of a Gander River Man* (1986), is an autobiographical account of Saunders's life from his early working years in Toronto to his establishment of a fishing lodge in the Gander Bay area. This is an excellent resource in that it shows what guiding for both anglers and hunters was like back in the late 1940's. Finally, although Wayne Curtis's *River Guides of the Miramichi* (1997), is about guides working on the Miramichi River in New Brunswick, it still provides a valuable basis for comparison with guiding at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge.

Given the scarcity of literature focusing directly on guiding, outfitting, rivers, and angling in Newfoundland and Labrador, my sources included newspaper and magazine articles published on these subjects. I read pamphlets published by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador both promoting fishing and hunting in the province to tourists and outlining the regulations for hunters and the anglers. Many of these were available in the Centre for Newfoundland Studies at the Queen Elizabeth II Library. Finally, I also consulted the collections of the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive.

My Fieldwork

In summer 2010 I spent ten days at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge. During this time, I assumed the role of ethnographer, observing and documenting the interactions among the guides and guests. In addition to many pages of fieldnotes, my research yielded eighteen interviews with both past and present guides, guests, and owners. In a few instances I conducted more than one interview with a guide. I also took approximately two hundred

photographs of the guests, kitchen staff, and guides during daily activities around the lodge and water. Following my 2010 fieldtrip, I conducted two further interviews via Skype and had email correspondence with former owners, guides, and guests.

Since my father was an employee and a well respected guide, I had an easy time getting access to Pratt Fall Salmon Lodge. However, I did face some challenges during my fieldwork. One of the more significant of these obstacles was getting some of the guides to open up to me. The guests during the week I was there loved to talk and shared an abundance of information with me but the guides had much less to say. While they let me interview them, it was clear the experience was unfamiliar and they were very shy. I am uncertain if any part of their hesitation related to their close relationship with my father but it certainly is possible they would have been more forthcoming if interviewed by someone they did not know. That said, these are not men who are used to being in the limelight or who are ever asked to speak extensively about themselves. However, things improved after I began to rely more on group interactions. I found that the guides would open up and share more stories when they were surrounded by their colleagues.

Another substantial drawback I faced was not being able to go out in the boat with the guides and guests. Therefore I could not observe interactions while they were out on the river. Although both guides and guests shared information with me upon their return from a fishing trip, it would be preferable if I could have been present to observe first hand. As a result, my documentation of work life at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge is confined to activities on land, in and around the lodge itself.

A final challenge was the fact that my primary informant was my father. While this had many advantages, I felt at times he did not want to go into great detail regarding

some of the stories. He said I had heard them before and I already knew the details. I had to explain that for the purposes of this study I needed him to tell the narratives to me again and in as full detail as possible.

Notwithstanding the challenges I encountered during my fieldwork, I documented many different types of folklore at the lodge. These include work practices, foodways, pranks and narratives. Many times folklore genres overlapped and came together in one context. An example of this was meal times. During meals there was a great deal of talk exchanged about the day's fishing, the weather, the gorge, and what time the guides would have certain pools. These and other topics were also the subjects of fully developed narratives. Work practices, or canon of work technique, were visible during meals as well. For example, if one of the guides violated the practice of returning on time for meals, I observed how everyone at the lodge would immediately be focused on that guide and worry about his welfare until he arrived back safely. I also observed customary practices pertaining to foodways. During mealtimes at the lodge guides entered the dining room through the back door of main lodge and they would always say thank you to the cook following the meal. The guides were served first while the cooks ate last.

Humour runs across all genres of folklore expression I collected. For example, guides poke fun at each other, play pranks on the housekeeper, and refer to each other by comical nicknames. During my week at the lodge, I heard many jokes. Often they were off-colour and focused on a range of topics from memorable guests to sneaking alcoholic drinks and the size of tips. Sometimes jokes were shared just among guides but joking behaviour also characterized much of the interaction between guests and guides. I was struck by how the guides were always joking with each other and how they relied on

humour to coax one another to do things. Humour played a significant role in most interactions at the lodge, from humour shared by guides during leisure time at the dinner table to the humour they relied on to do their job. I noticed how they took charge of guests in their care in a light hearted way, enforcing rules at the same time they joked with their clients. These folklore forms—canon of work technique, custom, narrative, and humour--emerged as important elements in the folklife of Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge and are the subject of this study.

Chapter Breakdown

It is important to understand the various skills that make up the guides' job. In Chapter Three I explore the skills and knowledge the guides must have in order to do their job correctly. This skill and knowledge comprise what Robert McCarl calls the canon of work technique. I use this concept to examine how the guides operate within the lodge and complete their daily work. Chapter Four explores two non-verbal aspects of the guides' occupational folklife at the lodge: foodways and pranks. Both expressive forms communicate messages about the rules of the lodge and the place of guests and the guides in the workplace. Some of these same themes continue in Chapter Five that explores narratives at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge. Narrative exchange shapes the guide's work experiences and plays a significant role in the functioning of the lodge. In examining the various kinds of narratives present at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge I build on Jack Santino's work on occupational narratives and oral expressions. Finally, Chapter Six brings together my findings from the earlier chapters to argue that the staff and guests of Pratt

Falls Salmon Lodge can be seen as an “occupational family.” Before proceeding further, however, it is important to get the “lay of the land.” Within the context of guiding for sports fishing and hunting in Newfoundland and Labrador, the next chapter lays the foundation for the rest of the study by describing the physical layout of Pratt Fall Lodge and introducing its employees and guests.

CHAPTER TWO
PRATT FALLS SALMON LODGE:
THE PLACE AND THE PEOPLE

Guiding for fishing and hunting parties is a long standing, if little documented, occupation in Newfoundland and Labrador. One reference to early guiding can be found in *The North Bay Narrative* by Walter Staples:

There were few sports to guide during the early years. Other than the natives who fished and hunted for their own food, the first to come to North Bay to hunt caribou or to cast flies for salmon may have been men who grew up there but moved away at a young age...and they may have included the buyers who came to take possession of the boats built at the village. They stayed with Andrew or Frank and were taken on day trips up the valley to hunt or to the lower river pools to fish. Once exposed to the thrills and excitement of catching salmon on rod and reel...they were sure to come back for more. And they brought friends ...some of them became paying customers for board and room and hunting or fishing guiding (Staples 1998, 65-66).

The province has a long history of marketing itself as the perfect destination for outdoor enthusiasts, including anglers. In his article, "Tourists, Health Seekers and Sportsmen: Luring Americans to Newfoundland in the Early Twentieth Century," Gerald Pocius notes the importance of hunting and fishing to the development of tourism in Newfoundland and Labrador: "Tourism itself takes many forms. Broadly speaking, tourism is centred either on the natural landscape, or on the activities of a particular people" (Pocius 1994, 48). A focus of Newfoundland and Labrador's tourism efforts from its earliest days, therefore, has been the promotion of its natural landscape and resources.

As James Overton observes, the development of outdoors tourism is linked to

economic and social developments:

With an economy heavily reliant on fishing industry which was periodically in crisis (export prices for cod fell drastically in the 1870's, 1880's and 1890's), a section of the local bourgeoisie sought alternative spheres of investment. They saw their future interests as being served by state-initiated economic development of mining, forestry, agriculture and tourism. The key elements in the 'new economy' were to be the construction of the railway to open up the country, using foreign capital and expertise (1980, 116).

When the cod fishery declined in the late 1800s, hunting and fishing emerged as a way to attract visitors into the province and supply some work for locals. From the early 1900's ads depicted Newfoundland as a province that appeals "to the tourist, health seeker, and sportsman" (Pocius 1994, 47). The construction of a railway across Newfoundland made the central portion of the island more accessible to visiting hunters and anglers. The Reid Newfoundland Company played an important role in the promotion of fishing and hunting, reporting that "travellers, explorers, health seekers, anglers and hunters carry back glowing reports of the of the wonderful attractions of Newfoundland and Labrador, and all have pronounced them the gems of the western world and a sportsman's paradise" (Pocius 1994, 47). This promotion was instrumental in attracting many rich American tourists to the island (1994, 47-48). Overton notes that although the number of tourists who came to Newfoundland in the early years to hunt and fish was small, they contributed a great deal to the economy of Newfoundland and Labrador nonetheless:

Although transport improvements made Newfoundland more accessible than it had been, especially from the cities of the Eastern United States and to a lesser extent Europe, the number of visitors to the colony was relatively small being generally restricted to a wealthy elite who did spend large sums of money out-fitting hunting and fishing expeditions (Overton 1980, 117).

Today Newfoundland and Labrador is a popular destination for salmon fishers in

part because the province boasts some of the best rivers in the world for angling. Rivers, such as the Flowers River, Exploits River, and the Eagle River, attract sports fishermen, women, and children from all over North America, Europe, and Mexico. It is part of the growing tourism industry that has emerged as a key player in the economy of Newfoundland and Labrador in recent years. In the past, many Newfoundlanders and Labradoreans made a living from the inshore fishery, but since the cod moratorium in 1992 the numbers employed in this sector have decreased (Everett 2009, 29). While the moratorium resulted in the loss of employment for many Newfoundlanders and Labradoreans, the increasing growth in the tourist market has helped offset the negative effects to the province and its people (Everett 2009, 29). For example, 2010 saw an increase of 7.3% from 2009 in visitors to the province (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation 2011, 1). Income generated by tourism was estimated at \$410.6M, a 9.6% increase over 2009 levels. The Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation indicated that there about 518,500 non-resident tourists visited the province in 2010 (Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation 2011, 1). The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador advertises the province and all it has to offer online, as well as through television commercials, and brochures. Its website devoted to hunting and sports fishing advertises many of the lodges that cater to different types of fishing. For example, in 2010 a person interested in salmon fishing in Labrador had a choice of twenty-six outfitting lodges that cater specifically to salmon fishing.

As Pocius argues, “a tourist destination is socially constructed; the needs of a certain tourist group require certain landscapes” (1994, 49) and today the angler

interested in visiting Labrador is promised an opportunity to enjoy the untouched Labrador wilderness while fishing under the supervision of qualified guides. In the interviews I conducted, guides talked about how the expectations of guests have increased over the years so that there is now a demand for a high standard of food and lodging. This has meant changes to guiding as an occupation as well. Reflecting on his experiences as a guide decades ago, Walter Staples describes doing everything for his clients: "The guides cooked the meals, washed the dishes, and showed the sports where and how to catch the salmon" (1998, 66). Today the Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge runs a multifaceted operation that offers anglers not only the assistance of experienced guides but first class accommodations and the latest technology, including internet connection. There is occupational diversification so that trained cooks, rather than guides, prepare meals. It is clear that guiding has undergone some major transformations throughout the years.

People enjoy sports fishing for many reasons. For some, "the object of fishing is to catch the fish. For some it is the satisfaction of trying to catch a fish while testing new salmon flies or techniques on a river they never fished before. For others it is an opportunity to connect with nature" (Hustins 2010, xiii). However, today a tourist cannot just go to a river and fish for salmon; there are many rules and regulations to follow. Both Newfoundland residents and non-residents are required by law to obtain a salmon license that costs \$17 for residents and \$53 for non-residents (Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2010/2011, 2). Because the Eagle River is classified as being in Zone 2, it is only open for salmon fishing from June 15th to September 15th (Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2010/2011, 3). Additional regulations apply specifically to non-residents. For example, "a

non-resident shall not angle scheduled salmon waters unless accompanied by a licensed guide or by a direct relative who is a resident. A non-resident may angle unaccompanied on non-scheduled waters only within 800 metres of a provincial highway; beyond that point an angler must be accompanied by a licensed guide or direct relative who is a resident.” Further, the law stipulates that a guide cannot chaperon more than two non-residents at a time (Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2008, 6).

The Place: Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge



View of Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge. Photo by L.Nippard, Summer 2010.

Len Rich comments “The province of Newfoundland and Labrador is blessed with a multitude of pristine lakes and rivers, vast wooded areas, breathtaking mountains, and

resources of game fish and wildlife which are the envy of the sporting world” (Rich 1991, iii). Within the province, Labrador has emerged as one of the most attractive destinations for fishing and hunting. According to Len Rich, “One area of North America had remained virtually isolated and untouched for decades. It lay on the northeast coast of Canada in the “Big Land” called Labrador. A small population and very limited access had protected much of the Labrador interior from human encroachment” (Rich 2005, 12). Today Labrador, or the “Big Land” as it is known, is popular with sports fishing enthusiasts.

Within this “untouched land of beauty,” the lodge is located on the lower part of Eagle River. The lodge’s website provides guests with directions:

Cartwright is located on the edge of Sandwich Bay and is geographically closer to the Lodge than Goose Bay. If you choose to drive, rather than fly from major cities then Cartwright is an option. A network of ferries and driving to and from the Island of Newfoundland will get you to Blanc Sablon, PQ. Highway 510 (Labrador Coastal Drive) runs from Blanc Sablon, PQ to Cartwright Junction (turn onto highway 516). A total of 5 hours driving from Blanc Sablon to Cartwright. You can also drive the Bai [*sic*] Comeau highway in Quebec up to Labrador City, Goose Bay, and on to Cartwright. This drive connects Cartwright to the rest of North America without using ferries. It would take approximately three to four days to drive from the Eastern US, to Cartwright. Once in Cartwright the lodge is a one and a half hour boat ride with one of our experienced guides. The ride takes you through the beautiful scenery of Sandwich Bay, up the Eagle River and through the infamous ‘Gorge’, right to the steps of the lodge (Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge-Guide to Success 2011c, 2-3).



The gorge. Photo by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

Travel to the lodge is quite a journey as the directions suggest, but it is a trip that many salmon anglers are prepared to make in order to experience what the mighty Eagle River as to offer. As the lodge website indicates,

The incomparable Eagle River is born in the wilderness highland lakes of Labrador's Mealy Mountains. A large and brawling river, the Eagle flows through rugged canyons and seemingly impassable falls for 120 rough and tumble miles before emptying into Sandwich Bay on the Labrador Sea. The laws of natural selection have lead to the evolution of a strain of exceptionally strong salmon capable of mounting this difficult journey to the Highland spawning grounds. Many well-traveled anglers consider the Eagle fish the hardest fighting Atlantic salmon in the world (Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge Ltd., 2011).

Many of the guests at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge are return customers; they come back to fish on the Eagle River year after year.

Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge, originally named Goose Bay Outfitters, was opened in 1968. The first owners, a young couple named Peter and Alma Paor, recognized the

benefits the lower Eagle River had to offer as a location for an outfitting camp and decided to build a fishing lodge there (Gourlay 2001, 51). Peter was a native of Montreal an avid angler and a helicopter pilot; Alma was a native of Glovertown, Newfoundland. The lodge was not their only tourism venture; they also owned and operated Splash and Putt, a water park in Glovertown.

In 1998, Alma and Peter retired and sold the lodge to Jelle and Millie Terpstra who are from Goose Bay, Labrador. Jelle Terpstra moved to Labrador, “in 1969 as a young Dutch engineer and passionate angler in search of opportunities to enhance both his engineering and sport fishing careers” (Gourlay 2001, 51). Jelle married Millie in 1976 and they have four children. Jelle and Millie also own an engineering company in Goose Bay, Labrador (Gourlay 2001, 51).

The Terpstras operated the lodge up until 2008 when they decided to put it up for sale. In 2009 two young entrepreneurs, Dwight Lethbridge and Mitch Fong, decided to buy the lodge. Dwight Lethbridge presently lives in Cartwright where he also owns and manages the Cartwright Motel, a gas bar, and a nightclub. Mitch Fong is from St. John’s. Here Dwight talks about getting into business:

I've been fishing Eagle River since I was old enough to fish. It was always a family dream to own a camp and I became involved in our family business in Cartwright and the opportunity arose in 2009 to get involved in the Goose Bay Outfitter camp and [I] made a phone call to a business partner of mine and we made it happen and got on Eagle River. My family and four other families owned a private camp down the lower Eagle River, below the gorge, but now we are finally into commercial operation (Lethbridge 2010).

While 2009 brought in new owners to Goose Bay Outfitters, another major change occurred when Dwight and Mitch decided to rename the lodge, the Pratt Falls Salmon

Lodge. When I asked Dwight about the name change, he responded:

[We changed the name because of] the confusion that was around searching on the internet for the camp. Nobody really knows what Pratt Falls is. What I found out when I first took over the camp there was a lot of people expecting to go to Goose Bay and fish out of this lodge. It was quite misleading, even though we use Goose Bay as a transportation hub to get to the lodge. I had a lot of inquires come [from] people who were going to be in Goose Bay for a week and wanted to fish Goose Bay Outfitters. So really Goose Bay Outfitters was just a company name at first. When Peter Poar owned Goose Bay Outfitters it ran several lodges and this lodge was known as Goose Bay Outfitters Lower Eagle River Camp or Lower Eagle River Lodge. But as time went on his other camps closed up and this [lodge] just became known as Goose Bay Outfitters. The camp didn't really have much of a name. So when we took it over we wanted to change the look of the marketing. We wanted to build a new website. We wanted something that was fresh. And there is a bit of a debate of Pratts, which is a pool and part of the falls. But I grew up knowing the big falls on Eagle River as Pratt Falls. When I look at the falls and somebody asks me what the name of the falls is, I will say Pratt Falls. And that is just what I grew up knowing. Some people disagree. Some people will say it's Eagle Big Falls. Some people will say Eagle Falls and that Pratts is only a pool. I won't say they're wrong, but to me Pratt Falls is the entire falls. And we are in full view of the falls so that's why we decided to go with that name (Lethbridge 2010).

After much thought and deliberation, the new owners gave the forty-one-year-old business, Goose Bay Outfitters, the new name, Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge. Logistics and wanting to start fresh prompted the owners to make the decision, but not everyone took well to the name change. Dwight notes:

Some people on the river didn't take it well. I even had one guy who wouldn't use the new name on call on VHF [very high frequency radio]. Another guy on the river for the first few months would still call it Goose Bay Outfitters. He would not call it Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge. I think most people understood why we did it. Goose Bay Outfitters was once a company name. This lodge just got wrapped into it and the lodge really never had a name. Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge is the lodge name and our company name but Goose Bay Outfitters was a company name that really didn't fit a lodge, really didn't fit the location...It was a tough decision because Goose Bay Outfitters has been around since the 60's so that carries a lot of power with it and carries a lot of advertising potential. What we did was we kept all the old emails, kept addresses, kept the old website active and just had it all link through our new stuff, with our new Pratt Falls site. Any email enquiries that go to Goose Bay Outfitters still come to me and I plan on keeping

that for a couple of years just to make sure that advertising potential isn't lost. But yeah Goose Bay Outfitters just didn't fit the bill anymore (Lethbridge 2010).



Pratt Falls. Photo by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

Over the years, the lodge has experienced many changes including owners, name, and physical renovations. Throughout my research interviewees noted the numerous changes, including the installation of air conditioners, satellite phone, internet, bathrooms, and running water.

The Main Lodge

The main lodge is the primary building of the lodge that houses the kitchen, three bedrooms, two bathrooms, guides' dining area, guests' dining area, and general sitting area. When looking at the main lodge from down on the river bank one first notices the

large windows on the front of the lodge. Also, around the front area there is a large wooden deck where staff and guests sit to enjoy some fresh air and scenery. On the side of the deck a wheelchair accessible ramp is located.



Main lodge. Photo by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

Once inside the main entrance of the main lodge, the front room has an open concept. It houses the general sitting area, coffee and beverage counter, and the guests' dining area. The sitting area consists of ten blue wing back chairs, a coffee table, four end tables, a fireplace and a small fly box showcase.



Inside the main lodge. Photo by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

Next to the sitting area towards the left hand wall, is a small counter with cabinets. On the counter there is usually a coffee maker and the guests' hard liquor and wine. Next to the counter is a refrigerator with the guests' alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages.



Bar area. Photo by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

Close to the back wall of the main room in the main lodge there is the dining room table where the guests eat their meals.



Guest dining room located in main room of the main lodge. Photo by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

On the right there is a small hallway where the cook, cook's helper and housekeeper sleep. The laundry room which the housekeeping supplies are stored is also here. On the left wall there is another hallway where a washroom is located and another bedroom which the owner of the lodge usually occupies when he is onsite. The wall of the main entrance is filled with lovely artwork of various wildlife and Newfoundland and Labrador nature scenes. There is also a dedication plaque to a long-term guest, some fishing rods, and snowshoes. A bulletin board is located on the right wall. It is filled with thank you cards, a few miscellaneous photographs, and some lodge rules and regulations.



Bulletin board in the main lodge. Photo by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

As you make your way past the dining table in the main lodge you enter the kitchen. The kitchen at the lodge is very spacious consisting of two big commercial stoves, lots of preparation counter space, two large fridges, a deep freeze and a storage closet towards the back. Beyond the kitchen, at the furthest back of the lodge, is what is referred to the guides' general dining area. There is a large table where the guides, along with the cook, cook's helper and housekeeper, eat their meals.



Guides' dining area. Photo by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

During the ten days I spent at the lodge it was quite evident that there were different uses of space in the main lodge. The main entrance was only used by the guides, housekeeper, cook and cook's helper during the daytime when there were no guests present. Also, the sitting area would freely be used by the staff when the guides and guests were out on the river. During meal times and for about an hour after each meal only the guests would enter from the front of the lodge. Also, during the night time when the guests were finished fishing, they would be the only people entering through the front entrance, unless the guests invited the guides in to socialize. At meal times guides would always enter the main lodge through the back entrance. The back entrance door leads directly into the guides' dining room. That said, the guides and guests do eat together on special occasions, usually when the guests ask. The meal is held at the guests' dining

room table. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, eating together usually occurs the evening before one group leaves and another arrives. I asked one informant, Mick Emmens, about guides eating in different sections. He responded:

By law at one time back years ago, technically guests and staff had to eat in separate areas. It's not in the guiding regulations anymore or camp laws, but initially it was something that you were supposed to have a separate area for them. And there were two trains of thought on that one. If you are looking after someone and working with somebody everyday and all day, you may not get along with those guests. You may put a brave face on, but it's just, sometimes when you are working you want to sit and eat your meal alone without the guest badgering you. Mine was, I had the guests and staff eating separately. But quite often they would join together. Like when they came off the water in the evening they would sit down and have a coffee or a cup of tea and the cook would leave out bread, cookies, muffins, and home baked goods. And that would be left out in the evening and they would get together then for maybe an half hour, talk about the day and the next day. But again it's like everything. Each camp has different things (Emmens 2011).

The Guests' Cabins

In order to accommodate anglers, Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge revamped the lodge's accommodations to develop state of the art cabins for their guests to enjoy and make their stay memorable. The Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge website describes the guest's accommodations:

Guests stay in one of 4 duplex style cabins. Each cabin features 2 double rooms, each room with its own wood stove, 2 twin beds, dressers, closet, and washroom with sink, toilet, and shower. Each cabin also features a screened in porch to seek refuge from mosquitoes and black flies while enjoying the fresh air (Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge Ltd, 2011b).



One of the guest cabins. Photo by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.



Inside a guest cabin. Photo by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

The cabins are very impressive and not what one might expect situated in the Labrador wildness (Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge Ltd, 2011b). From my time at the lodge I observed

that the guests tend to spend most of their time on the river fishing or at the main lodge. Their cabins were used mostly for sleeping although I did see a couple of guests sit on their porch reading a novel in the afternoon during break time.

The Guides' Cabin

The guides' cabin is the building located the farthest from the main lodge. While appearing identical to the guests' cabins from the outside, on the inside it is quite different. It should be noted that the guides often refer to their cabin as the "guides' shack." The guides' cabin consists of four bedrooms, one bathroom, a kitchen/sitting area, CB radio, satellite television, a wood stove and a porch.



The outside of the guides' cabin. Photo by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

The kitchen has a fridge, stove top (no oven), microwave, a kettle, some basic cooking utensils, and cupboards. The guides tend to make their morning coffee in the kitchen of

their cabin instead of going over to the main lodge.



The kitchen area inside the guides' cabin. Photo by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

While no major cooking takes place in the guides' cabin, they sometimes fry up some moose or boil some salt meat for a treat. The kitchen is the only sitting area in the

cabin where the guides can gather as a group. During downtime, such as after lunch, their afternoon break, and before bed, the guides often sit around the table in the kitchen talking about their day's events and joking around. The guides' cabin is the only place at the lodge that has a television and the guides usually watch the 6 o'clock evening news. A few of them had particular shows they like watching at night time such as Big Brother, CSI, and America's Got Talent. Another feature in the kitchen is the CB radio that is always kept on. Although not used as a telephone in present day, it still acts as a great communication device and as a means for the guides to interact with guides at other lodges. The guides told me that they sometimes just like listening to the radio to hear what other people are saying. They said sometimes they have a great chuckle over some of the things people say on it. For example, my father told me about how another guide, Beatle, would call home to his wife on the CB radio. They would argue a lot and at the end of the call Beatle would say, "I love you" and his wife would come back and say, "I love you more." This prompted a joke among a couple of the guides; every time they saw Beatle out on the river they would say, "I love you more" to Beatle to just "torment him" (Nippard 2010).

The kitchen is also a place where the guides will wait and keep an eye out to see if their guests are ready to go out fishing. Because there are four bedrooms in the guides' cabin, only the two most recently hired guides shared a room. A couple of guides said since they are the newest additions to the lodge they have to earn seniority in order to get their own room, while the other guides said they do not want to share with certain individuals because of their snoring. The guides' cabin remains off limits to guests,

unless specifically invited in by a guide. My father mentioned that there are exceptions to this rule. Certain guests who have been coming for many years are welcome to come into the guides' cabin (Nippard 2013).

The River

While the cabins are an important part of the lodge, it is the Eagle River the guests come to fish and where they spend a vast majority of their time. As discussed previously, the Eagle River is nationally and internationally known for having some of the best salmon fishing in North America. The Eagle River is full of special places, called salmon pools, where the guides take the guests fishing. A salmon pool is defined as:

A section of the river where salmon will stop in their long journey from the Atlantic Ocean before continuing up the river to spawn. They may stop because of a natural obstacle in the river, such as a rocky bar with very little water flowing over it. This will cause the salmon to stop in the deeper water below the obstacle before proceeding on up the stream. They will also stop in the deep water at the mouth of a stream or brook because of the colder water flowing from the tributary (Miramichi River Resources 2007).

Therefore, the depth of the water and the absence of obstacles in the water are factors to consider when looking for a particular spot to fish. As Marriner mentions:

Salmon (often in small groups) select a comfortable spot out of the main current that supplies enough oxygen and cover. Rocks, depressions, ledges, edges (created where currents of different speed meet or where streams enter or merge), logs and eddies can qualify. Salmon have strong preferences at different water levels and a pool will usually be filled in a certain order (Marriner 1992, 5).

Marriner's statement is correct. For example my father mentioned how when there is no rain the water level will decrease drastically and make fishing unfavourable. On the other hand, when the river is high the salmon are abundant and conditions are favourable (Nippard 2010).

The Eagle River has many pools. Some of the pools known to the guests and guides at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge include: Governor's Rock, Gravel Bar, Copper Mine, Sand Bar, Mcabitty's, Shoe Cove, High Rive Spot, Ladder Head, Lower Tidal Pool, Outside Governor's, Broken Rubber, Secret Hole, Orr's Vee, and Garbage Rock (Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge 2011c, 7). Many of the pools are shown on a map I obtained from the lodge [See Appendix A for maps of the pools]. The many pools can be confusing to newcomers. As Pocius writes of Calvert, Newfoundland:

To those unfamiliar with the place, the landscape seems confused; the order of experience often looks like chaos to an outsider. The order of ownership appears to have given way to the disorder of use: a stable in the front yard of a house, houses close to one another with space to spare. No clear lines exist, no clear beginning or ends, just meadows, gardens, lawns, paths; cattle here, sheep there (Pocius 2000, 5).

Like the landscape Pocius describes, the pools and their locations can be perplexing to a newly arrived staff member or guest. It is with the help of insiders that newcomers learn how to distinguish among the pools by looking at the landscape.

While the Eagle River is filled with many pools, two of the most sought after are the Pratts and the Governor's. There are many other spots along the river that throughout the years have developed names and are now considered pools by some people. These named pools may only be known to a particular lodge or angler. It is also common for some of the pools to go by a couple of different names. Mick Emmens explains how these pools make great stories:

They have named all the pools and streams and everything, rocks, for certain reasons and they're always good for a story, they're named for a particular reason... and each pool would be named for someone and each somebody would have had a character or a reason behind it and why. So especially I can tell you one of the pools was called Halls and Intel and that was named after one of the

very first guests that were there. There's another one called Jaws Cove, people claim they have seen the biggest fish they ever seen in there. And all these are stories that are blown out of proportion (Emmens 2011).

The fishing pools on the Eagle River take on characteristics similar to the landscape described in *A Place to Belong*:

The spaces in Calvert are made usable by connecting specific names to recognizable features, designating them as important enough to locate. Place names transform a myriad of spaces into easy reference points in people's minds. These are not arbitrary names, however, coordinates of a topographic grid. Names are placed on the land by people, and thus carry with them information about earlier residents and their actions. Actors known and unknown, from both the distant and the recent past, exist in names that people remember when they pass a familiar cove or hill. Although most of Calvert's names deal with the past, knowledge of the specific origins of these names is minimal. Residents in Calvert discuss and speculate about landscape names, but the specifics of origin are rarely known fully-nor are they important (Pocius 1991, 80).

Like the land in Calvert, the pools convey meanings since they are named by either the guides or the guests. Many embody narratives. The pools are referenced when talking about a good or bad fishing pool. When asked, my father could not explain the names of all the pools on the Eagle River but he was able to share insight into some;

LN: How did the pools get their names?

Al: Up by the falls there, the Bath Tub, I don't know who put that name on it, Pratt Falls, my pool, Al's pool.

LN: Why's that called your pool?

Al: Me and two fellows used to go there. There was a lot of fish. He said, 'What's the name of this pool?' I said, 'No name.' He said, 'I'm going to call this your pool, Al's pool.' The other side there is what we call 'Broken Rubber' [laughs].

LN: Why's that called Broken Rubber?

Al: I can't tell ya.

LN: It's bad is it?

Al: One of the guests I had, when he was in Goose Bay, he and this girl put the safe [condom] on and broke it. So [I] went over there one day and I said I'm going to call this 'Broken Rubber.'...The other camps down there they got different names on the pools.

LN: So every camp doesn't have the same name?

Al: Nope.

LN: So Norm's camp might have a totally different name?

Al: They don't leave nowhere anyway, only up Pratts there, walk out the beach.

LN: So Beatle's camp might have a different name than Pratts?

Al: Oh yes, but that's called Pratts anyways.

LN: What are some more names there?

Al: Lower Boat Ground.

LN: Why's that called that?

Al: One time everybody used to go there. The guests from the lower camp there, they used to walk across the trail. So we called it the Lower Boat Ground.

LN: Because you could walk?

Al: Yes.

LN: How about the Governor's?

Al: There must have been a general or something there from the air force.

LN: Has the pool names changed since you been there?

Al: Like I said we have our own names on the pools.

LN: So you are the only guide with your name?

Al: Yep, oh no, no another one over by Pratts, Gene Saunders a feller from Glenwood.

LN: What's that called?

Al: Gene's pool (Nippard 2010).

As this brief conversation indicates, pools get their names from a variety of sources and are not shared among the different fishing lodges. As Pocius explains about Calvert, “Some landscape names are connected with specific individuals; others recall particular activities or events. An oral explanation may link a past activity to a place” (Pocius 1991, 81). Several pools are associated with particular people and my father explained how a pool was named after him. Fishing there with a particular guest and getting him some salmon led to the pool being called “Al's pool.”

Favourite Pools

In the interviews I conducted, many guides and guests talked about their favourite pool and told me stories related to certain pools. Each guide identified a different pool as their favourite. Beale commented:

I had Ben Mcree fishing off there off Al's pool. We were there fishing, he hooked there a little grilse. I say the grilse was only 3-3.5 pound and he never has no strength on this hold and the fish was going on down the river. ‘I got a big one! I got a big one!’ ‘Go on, I seen him jump. He was only around 3-3.5 pounds,’ [I said]. ‘Oh no, god, that's a big one,’ he said, ‘Haul anchor.’ I said, ‘No b'y put some drag on your reel and reel it in.’ He was some pissed off at me and when we came ashore, he got his fish, but [he] just wanted everybody to think he had a big one on (Sheppard 2010)

Robert's favourite pool is named “Broken Rubber”:

Robert: Broken Rubber usually more fish hangs up there right. The Slick is pretty good too. But I say Broken Rubber is the best one.

LN: Most people say Pratts?

Robert: Yes usually more fish up there but I don't like it up there.

LN: Why not?

Robert: You're usually stuck there. When you are on the river you can go different places with working it out, but once you're there you're there. No getting out of it until your time is up, right. And all the guests if they go up there they see the fish jumping then they know there's fish there. Other places you don't see them jump so they think there's none there. Right that's how it works. Then they all want to be up there all the one time (Kennedy 2010).

Hedley had another response:

The Slick. It's down in the middle of the river.

LN: Why do you enjoy that one?

Hedley: Usually the fish holes there are pretty good.

LN: Why is the Pratt Falls the most popular?

Hedley: Well when the fish go up there, they kind of hang around there before they go up to the falls. Depends on the river, if the river is high they will go up the back river, but if the river is low they will go over the falls and the fish pack in there. The fish are usually there all the time, but now the river up like this they are moving through the back of the river (Angell 2010).

Ray and Albert preferred Pratt Falls. Ray responded, "Pratt Falls, we are there pretty much most of the time (Smallwood 2010) and Albert said, "Pratt Falls [grinning] or the Back River. Two favorite pools, but almost one in the same but they are separate" (Sampson 2010). From these responses, it is clear that both guides and guests have different preferences regarding the pools and different opinions as to why they enjoy a particular pool. The guests and guides reveal how much they enjoy one pool over another as they grin, smile, and use a light tone of voice when speaking of their favorite. These characteristics help show their excitement and enthusiasm at fishing in one pool over

another.

The use of space in Calvert, Newfoundland is also similar to that at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge in that it creates a sense of place. Pocius explains that:

This Newfoundland community of slightly fewer than five hundred people is lived as a series of spaces, each filled with sights and sounds, objects placed appropriately. Calvert residents do not speak of living there; rather, each individual belongs to the community. In Newfoundland generally, you do not live in a town, you belong to a place; you are not asked where you live, but rather, where you belong to. Belonging, then, is directly tied both linguistically and experientially to place, and in a community like Calvert this means sharing the knowledge of a series of common spaces (Pocius 2000, 3).

Like the residents of Calvert, the guests and staff at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge have a sense of belonging while working and visiting the lodge. The guests come to the lodge to participate in an activity they enjoy; indeed, they are not forced into going there but go on their own accord and free will. The guests and guides at the lodge are eager to share their wealth of knowledge of the river with others who are not very familiar with the area. They often exchange information about where the best salmon pools are and the best time for fishing.

Pocius describes how gender divisions shape the residents knowledge of Calvert's spaces:

Men essentially know the landscape spaces beyond the confines of the house and yard. They work the woods, the country, the coast, and the water and thus learn the specifics of naming that enable sure activities... Women are required to demonstrate a more focused, more compact spatial knowledge; they are responsible not merely for knowledge of a particular space, but for its constant re-creation. Whereas males know the details of broad expanses of space, females know minute details of extremely focused areas (2000, 91-94).

His observation applies to staff members at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge as well. The guides,

all male, are the only ones who are out on the water. They understand and have knowledge of where certain pools are and where the good fishing places are located. Other staff members, such as the housekeeper and cook, are usually women. They are confined to one space, such as the kitchen. With no access to the river, their knowledge of it is learned from the guides. Because they spend most of their time in a specific area, their knowledge of the kitchen—from where things are kept to how to best work in the space—is extensive.

The People: Owners, Fishing Guides, Housekeeper, Kitchen Staff, and Guests

The Owners

As mentioned previously, Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge has seen three different sets of owners: Peter & Alma Paor, Jelle & Millie Terpstra, and present day owners, Dwight Lethbridge and Mitch Fong. A Labradorian, Dwight, is in his early thirties. He is married and his wife is expecting twins this winter [2013]. Although Dwight also helps run the family business in Cartwright, it is he rather than his partner Mitch, who does most of the work when it comes to the lodge. Mitch Fong owns a small share in the business and is an avid sportsman, fly tier, and carpenter. However, he is based in St John's and was not present during my stay in 2010.

The Fishing Guides

During the 2010 season, Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge had five full-time guides. Four were native Newfoundlanders: my father, Alvin Nippard from Main Point; Hedley Angell

from Carmanville; Nelson Guy from Grand Falls-Windsor; and Robert Kennedy from Bird Cove. The fifth, and youngest of the guides, is Desmond Holwell from Cartwright, Labrador.



The guides. Front row: Desmond, Alvin, Terry. Back: Nelson, Hedley, Robert.
Photo by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

The most senior guide is my father, **Alvin Nippard**. Born on March 27, 1950 in Main Point, Newfoundland to Norman and Jessie Nippard, he is the second oldest of seven brothers and three sisters. Main Point is located in Central Newfoundland, and is forty-five minutes east of Gander. Main Point's population is approximately 120 people, which consists of many seasonal workers, retired, and unemployed people. Main Point

“owes its existence largely to Harry French who moved from Change Islands in the 1870s and set up a business. He was the first merchant in the area and operated the largest sawmill in the region... provided employment for residents of the community and neighbouring Davidsville” (Walsh and Burrows 1983, 8).

Referred to as Al by everyone at Pratt Falls, my father has been a guide at the lodge since 1972. He described how he got the job with Goose Bay Outfitters:

I went down to the Valley, [an area of town in Goose Bay where there are a few stores] one day to do some shopping for some clothes. I was talking to the lady and asked her what her husband was doing and she said he was an outfitter. Her husband came in at the time and I said, ‘If you ever needs a guide, let me know.’ He asked me where I’m from and I said Gander Bay and he said, ‘We have guides from Gander Bay now.’ So I came out of the woods the first of July 1973 and there was a note on my desk saying if you want a job guiding report down to the Valley in the morning....I went out that day to Eagle Lake trout camp (Nippard 2010).

For the remainder of the year that Al is not guiding, he collects Employment Insurance.

Al is known for his extensive knowledge of the river and his passion for guiding. Alvin, divorced, has a son, my brother, Mark. In his free time he enjoys hunting, playing checkers, and listening to music.

The second guide at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge is **Hedley Angell**. Hedley was born in Noggin Cove, Newfoundland, and now resides in Carmanville, Newfoundland with his wife, Gina and two daughters and one son (Angell, 2012). He started guiding on the Eagle River in 2002. While he has only been working on the Eagle River for nine years, his guiding experience extends beyond that. He has worked for a total of twenty years as a professional guide in terms of both fishing and hunting. In the fall of the year Hedley is a wild game guide [moose, caribou, and bear] on the west coast of Newfoundland. In his

spare time he enjoys doing renovations around his house and is a volunteer firefighter with the Carmanville Volunteer Fire Department (Angell 2012).

The third guide is **Nelson Guy** from Grand Falls-Winsor, Newfoundland. Like Hedley, he has been a guide for twenty years and has been guiding on the Eagle River for nine years. While Nelson did provide me with some information, he was the most reserved of the guides and the hardest to get to know. He kept to himself the most and was the most serious guide out of the group. He did, however, tell me a few stories about his young granddaughter who he said keeps him quite busy when he is at home (Guy 2010).

Robert Kennedy is from Bird Cove, Newfoundland, located on the Northern Peninsula of the island. He is one of the two newest guides at the lodge. Robert began guiding on the Eagle River two years before in 2008, but has been a guide for over seventeen years, both fishing and hunting wild game. In the fall of the year Robert is a wild game guide. Robert is newly married and has one son. Robert loves to spend time with his favorite buddy, his chocolate Labrador retriever (Kennedy 2010).

Desmond Holwell, from Cartwright, Labrador, is the newest and youngest member of the guiding team. His first year guiding on the Eagle River was 2010. Desmond told me he came to the Eagle because he “grew up duck hunting. Now I’m into the fishing. I enjoy the fishing and watching other people catch fish” (Holwell 2010). Throughout the rest of the year Desmond helps out around town on various carpentry projects. When not working, Desmond enjoys spending time with his two-year-old daughter and playing sports (Holwell 2010).

I also had the opportunity to interview a former guide of Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge, **William Sheppard**, who is from Rigolet, Labrador. William guided at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge for five years and then took a job at a private members lodge this summer. William is always referred to as “Beatle.” Beatle is married and has a son and daughter. Beatle only guides in the summer time and collects employment insurance the rest of the year. In his free time he likes to go birding around Labrador and cutting wood for the winter months.

Throughout my interviews, informants spoke of different categories of guides such as the “true guide” and the “rookie.” An individual cannot learn how to become a true guide simply by taking the guiding course that is now required by law to become a guide. Rather it is through interactions, commitment, determination, and experience that one becomes this type of guide. What constitutes a good guide will be explored later in the next chapter. Veteran or rookie, the fishing guides at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge are instrumental to the experience of the guests who stay there. Without the guides anglers would not benefit from the full experience of salmon fishing. While talking to the guests at the lodge, a theme that was repeated over and over again was how much they appreciated the experienced guides that Pratt Falls has to offer.

Newfoundland and Labrador’s history of high unemployment--in 2009 Newfoundland and Labrador was seen to have the highest unemployment rate at 15.5% (Human Resources and Skills Development 2011)--has resulted in a huge out-migration of Newfoundlander and Labradorians. Many are forced to go away to Ontario and Alberta to secure work. For some individuals who hold a valid guiding license, the

occupation of guiding provides an opportunity to stay within their home province.

Throughout its years of operation the Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge has provided many Newfoundlanders and Labradorians with seasonal employment. There is no set number of working weeks per year; although the lodge is open from June until August the number of guests present determines how many guides will be needed that summer. The guides at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge generally work there from June to August. While the job can be difficult, most guides at Pratt Falls said they enjoyed it. For example when I asked Desmond what he enjoys most about working at the lodge, he replied, "The scenery I guess is nice. Nice spot to work and I enjoy people, catching salmon, big salmon especially. The biggest one I have seen hooked was probably sixteen pounds. That was pretty exciting." When I next asked him what his least favourite aspect was, he responded, "Being away from my family. [L.N: Especially since you have a daughter.] Yes, she's so small. [It would] be different if she was grown up right? Yep, that's the worst thing other than that I don't mind it here at all" (Holwell 2010).

While there are the positives of the jobs, being away from family, like Desmond mentions, is difficult. Robert reported how the early mornings is the most difficult part of the job for him:

LN: What do you enjoy most about working here?

Robert: When you're finished [laughing]. No, it's nice here. When there's lots of Salmon, it's exciting here. You get to meet a lot of new people.

LN: What's your least favorite thing?

Robert: Getting up six in the morning (Kennedy 2010).

Housekeeper

A delightful woman from Cartwright named Marjorie Clark, always referred to as Marge, is the sole housekeeper of the lodge. She has been working at the lodge for thirteen years although she has also worked at other lodges on the Eagle River. During an interview with Marjorie she gave some insight into her life:

I was born February 20, 1953 at my parents' house here in Cartwright by a midwife, [a local lady] by the name of Rhoda Pardy. I wasn't weighed until two days later at which time I weighed in at twelve pounds. I grew up here in Cartwright. Got married at eighteen when my daughter was five months old. Then moved to Goose Bay Labrador where I had two boys. I went to work in 1984 cleaning barracks for Burden Janitorial Services. We came back to Cartwright in 1993. I then went back to Goose Bay working six months out of the year for three years. Had enough of being away so then I went to work on the Eagle River at Rifflin Hitch Lodge for three years. Then went to work at Goose Bay Outfitters with the Terpstras until they sold the business to Dwight Lethbridge (Clark 2012). Marjorie has a total of twenty-four years of experience as a housekeeper. She is responsible for cleaning all guest cabins, making sure the main lodge is tidy, and doing the laundry. The guides have to clean their own headquarters, as do the cook and cook's helper. Marge did tell me she will go down to the guides' cabin once a week to tidy and clean the bathroom. She says, "Men aren't the greatest cleaners, so I like giving it a woman's touch" (Clark 2010).

The Kitchen Staff: The Cook and Cook's Helper

The 2010 season at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge brought in Janet Kearley, fifty-seven, and her husband, Arch Kearley, sixty-one, as the new kitchen staff at the lodge. Janet and Arch are from Isle aux Morts, Newfoundland, which is on the West Coast of Newfoundland. Janet graduated from the Culinary Arts program at the College of the North Atlantic back in 2008 but has many years of cooking experience under her belt

with cooking in various restaurants and in the camps in Alberta. Arch is a retired school teacher. Janet and Arch have two sons and three grandsons. When they are not working they enjoy spending time with their grandchildren and traveling to exotic places like Qatar.

In contrast to guides, such as my father who has worked at the lodge for nearly thirty years, cooks tend to change often. There have been some long-term cooks, but I was not able to locate any to interview. When I mentioned to Mick Emmens that I was trying to track down some cooks and chefs, he informed me:

See the cooks and the chefs to be honest are a dying breed. The ones of that era you are looking for are probably to be honest passed away by now. I can't think of anybody who has been doing it for long time. It's different these days. Len's wife cooked in the cabins for a number of years as well (Emmens 2011).

Just as Mick recalls, the cooking staff at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge has changed frequently throughout the last thirty-nine years.

The Camp Commander

Terry Gullage, born and raised in Cartwright, is the camp commander at the lodge. Terry began working at the lodge in 2009. He has one prior year experience as a fishing guide with another lodge in the area. He is responsible for overseeing the staff, ordering supplies, and maintaining the lodge's website and blog.



Marge, Janet, and Arch. Photo by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

The Guests

Many guests, including men, women, and children from various demographics, have fished at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge throughout the years. The guests come from all over the world; most are from various parts of Canada and the United States but they come from as far away as Belgium. While some customers remain loyal and come back year after year, new ones arrive each year. Throughout my thesis research I phoned, emailed, and had face-to-face interviews with four guests. While at the lodge in the summer of 2010, I interviewed all four guests who were present during my ten-day stay: Ray, John, Len, and Albert. Ray and John are brothers-in-law and avid salmon anglers who were visiting Pratt Falls for the first time. Albert, a regular guest at the lodge, has been coming to the lodge for many years. Len was also a first time visitor to the lodge, and a newbie in terms of salmon fishing. While talking to the employees of the lodge, I

obtained many names of past guests who had left lasting impressions at the lodge. I recorded these names, so I could make contact with these individuals later. In most instances I was successful in finding the individuals and sent them either an email or Facebook message. Some of the individuals I contacted wrote me back, while others did not. The owner, Dwight, advertises the lodge in various sports fishing magazines and on various places online to obtain new clientele. Dwight also mentioned how important word of mouth is to attracting new visitors. It is quite clear that the relationship between the guest and guide is dynamic in nature and so too are the memories the guides hold of memorable guests, a subject which will be explored later in this thesis. While the guests shared their memories of their experiences fishing on the Eagle River, they also mentioned many other areas of folklore from foodways, narrative, rituals, and customs. Besides fishing, the guests and guides partake in other activities around the lodge such as screech-ins, poker, darks, crib, drinking, tying flies, and swimming.

Having sketched out the history and physical layout of the lodge, and introduced the workers and some of the guests, I now focus more specifically on the lodge as a workplace and guiding as an occupation. The next chapter explores the guides' canon of work technique.

CHAPTER THREE
CANON OF WORK TECHNIQUE AMONG THE GUIDES
AT PRATT FALLS SALMON LODGE

This chapter draws on Robert McCarl's concept of canon of work technique to show the how, what, why, and where the guides at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge do their job. How did they become guides, what makes up their job, and how do they make the stay memorable for the guests? In employing McCarl's concept of the canon of work technique, I consider how the lodge operates and how the guides complete their daily work.

Canon of work technique is not the standard set of rules set forth by an employer but the rules the employees themselves create. It is an important aspect to examine when looking at any workplace in order to learn how the workers perform their daily work.

McCarl describes the canon of work technique as:

[The] body of informal knowledge used to get the job done; at the same time, it establishes a hierarchy of skilled workers based on their individual abilities to exhibit that knowledge. The canon of work technique is not a law or a written set of rules but a standard that workers themselves create and control. It lies at the heart of any work culture because it forms the technical base out of which workers must derive their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a particular job (McCarl 1986, 71-72).

While the lodge does have written rules that provide a set of standards that must be followed, the informal rules shared by the guides reveal important insights about both their work and their experience of it. As McCarl indicates, canon of work technique influences how workers measure the quality of their work and influences their sense of

accomplishment.

In the case of Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge guides, an influential but informal aspect of their work is the tip. Many guests leave a gratuity for their guide when they check out at the end of a week-long visit and that tip is a very anticipated moment of the week for the guides; it is second only to their pay check. The possibility of increasing the size of a tip can influence how a guide does his job and sometimes guides go to extra lengths to ensure a guest catches a fish in hopes this will earn them a generous tip. McCarl relates canon of work technique to the notion of hierarchy and the tip provides the guides with one means to judge each other and to rank guests.

In some ways the guides' control over the guests' success, as expressed in aspects of their canon of work technique like the tip, conflict with the impression that lodge creates. For example, a clear hierarchy is reflected in how spaces at the lodge are used. As mentioned in the last chapter, the dining areas for guests and guides differ greatly. The guests are treated to a lovely dining area with a nice table and beautiful artwork. On the other hand, the guides are pushed in the back of the lodge in a room that is not decorated and has piles of miscellaneous items stored in the corner. The same goes for the guests' cabins and the guides' cabin. The guests are treated to air-conditioned rooms, whereas the guides live with no air conditioner and in less appealing surroundings. The spaces at the lodge communicate a hierarchy where guests occupy a higher position than guides. The weekly tips the guests bestow further cement their status. On the other hand, the guides' canon of work technique reflects they are far from powerless. Their skill, as well as their manipulation of skill, directly influences the quality of a guest's experience. In her analysis of brick makers, Heather Gillett argues that McCarl's canon of work technique

includes “Techniques in the workplace [that] are manipulations of process to reflect or develop skill” (2008, 79). Through canon of work technique (how they go about doing their work), the guides exert their own position in the workplace hierarchy, both in terms of other guides and in their interactions with guests.

Description of Guides’ Work

The guides work very hard all season, from approximately June until early September. All these long days require different types of preparation. Before even going to the lodge, the guides need to make sure they have obtained their guide’s license. In Newfoundland and Labrador, both hunting and fishing guides must be eighteen years or older and hold a valid guide’s license. Since 2004 this licensing has required guides to successfully complete several courses. In 2004 the then Minister of Environment and Conservation, Tom Osborne, announced that:

Anyone wishing to become a licenced guide in Newfoundland and Labrador will now have to meet minimum provincial standards...The new criteria will include proof of successful completion of a recognized firearm safety/hunter education course, a recognized boat safety course or equivalent and a valid emergency first aid certificate (Environment and Conservation 2004).

Osborne indicated that these regulations were only applicable to new applicants and guides who have previously held a guide license “will be grandfathered into the new licensing program” (Environment and Conservation 2004). In addition, or as an alternative to, the firearm safety, boat safety, and first aid courses mentioned by the Minister in his announcement, new guides are encouraged to complete a recognized guide training program offered through a private or public college (Department of Environment

&Conservation, Wildlife Division 2010). Various campuses of the College of the North Atlantic in Newfoundland and Labrador offer the Firearm Safety/Hunter Education course that is required while the College of the North Atlantic, St. Anthony campus, currently offers the guide training program. Once certified, guides must renew their license every year at the annual cost of \$10 (Department of Environment &Conservation, Wildlife Division 2010). Alvin gets his renewal form in the mail usually by early spring. He then needs to complete the form, attached the appropriate payment, and mail it back into the Wildlife Division. It should be also noted that the cost of the renewal as went up to \$11.30 as of 2012 [See Appendix B for an example of the guides license renewal form] (Nippard 2013). Long time guides such as my father do not have to complete the course, because as mentioned above, they were grandfathered into the new licensing program. But this does not exclude them from having to take the firearm safety and hunter education course, boat safety course, and obtaining a first aid certificate.

In addition to renewing their license every year, many of the guides examine their fishing rod and reel before the season begins to make sure they are working properly. Guides often check in with each other by phone in March or April to see if anyone has heard from the lodge owner Dwight Lethbridge regarding when they will be opening up camp this year and how many weeks are booked. Dwight usually calls about two weeks before he is planning to drive to Newfoundland to pick up the guides. Another important thing the guides do before packing is to check over their rain gear, as they call it, meaning their rain boots and rain jacket. Any holes in the rain gear get mended, worn out items are replaced, and details such as hemming of pants are attended to. Before leaving home, each guide makes a trip to a store, like Wal-Mart, to load up on personal hygiene supplies

(Nippard, Angell, Kennedy, and Howell 2010).

Getting from Newfoundland to Eagle River, Labrador is a long process. My father explained to me how before the new owners took over the lodge in 2009, the Newfoundland guides would always fly by airplane to Goose Bay and then go on to Cartwright. In 2009, the first year the lodge was under new ownership, the guides took the Sir Robert Bond ferry from Lewisport to Cartwright, an approximately twenty-three hour ride. In 2010 and 2011, Dwight drove to Newfoundland and picked up the Newfoundland guides. They drove to St. Barbe, slept in a motel, and caught the early morning ferry to Blanc Sablon. From Blanc Sablon, they drove another nine to ten hours to Cartwright. Once they arrived in Cartwright, they took a river boat the last twenty miles to the lodge on Eagle River (Nippard 2010).

The second stage in the guides' work each year is to open up the lodge for the season. Before getting into the river boat to make the track to the lodge, supplies such as gasoline are purchased. After they arrive at the lodge, the guides fill the generators and test them to make sure they work properly, turn on the water pumps, clean water lines, bring the boats down to the water, fill engines, and mow grass. Sometimes they do painting. After everything is in good repair, the lodge is ready for customers. The guides are then able to begin the work they are hired to do: bring guests out on the river to salmon fish.

The Guides' Daily Routine

The guides at the lodge have many duties to take care of both when guests are present and not present. My father describes what a typical day is like when he has guests

to guide:

[I] gets up 5:00 o'clock in the morning, goes out fishing. Comes in 8:00 for breakfast. Goes out again around 9:30- 10:00 o'clock till 12:00. Comes in for lunch. Goes out again around 3:00. Comes in around 5:45-6:00. Goes out again 7:00. Comes in again at dark (Nippard 2010).

Alvin's short depiction of an average day guiding may seem simple to the outsider, but this is not so. During my stay at the lodge I observed just how long and busy the day is for the guides. Additionally, all guides have different schedules, making the day different for each employee. Some guides get up early, like Al, while others sleep in until about 7:30; it all depends on the preferences of the guests. The anglers decide the times they go out fishing, except in the case of scheduled pools. Owner, Dwight Lethbridge, gives some insight as to how the scheduling of pools works:

We schedule Pratts between the three camps that are on the Lower Eagle and you got to have a boat to fish what is called the Bathtub Pool, Williams Rock, and Back River. You can fish some of the back river by shore but what we do, we have four boats up there between the three camps and we can use two at a time, rotate it on a five hour schedule so every day we have five schedule hours of fishing at Pratts. Not only is it the best pool in the river, but we can guarantee our guests time in those pools every single day. It's pretty much exclusive access to the camp because our boats are there (Lethbridge 2010).

On the bulletin board in the main lodge there is a schedule that shows which pool is scheduled to which guide and the times. Arrangements for the next day are usually confirmed with the guests by the guide the night before so the guide knows the time he should get up in the morning. The agreed upon times for meeting each other sometimes go astray especially, as I observed, if the guests had too much to drink the night before. For example, while I was there Al guided two brothers. One brother Ray, who is a great storyteller, was up very late socializing one night and could not get out of bed at the agreed-upon time to meet, so his brother John went without him in the early morning.

After breakfast Ray joined Al and John, but not without consequence since the entire day Al and John were teasing and joking with Ray. The guides did not seem to get angry if a guest did not show up on time. Instead they just dealt with it humorously.

In Al's case, he likes to get up early and tries to encourage his guests to get up as well since fishing is better early in the morning. Al notes "the fish are more active in the early hours, in the afternoon it is too bright. On raining days it is good. [The salmon] are more active during dusk and dawn and when it's raining compared to bright sunny days" (Nippard 2013). Even when Al's guests do not get up at 5:00 o'clock, he usually still gets up. He explained that he has an internal alarm clock and wakes up at 5:00 o'clock, whether he is at the lodge or home in the winter (Nippard 2010). The first thing Al does when he wakes up is to put on the kettle in the kitchen of the guides' cabin. He makes himself a cup of coffee and keeps checking outside for his guests. The guides' cabin overlooks the boardwalk where the guests have to walk in order to go down to the boats.

If the agreed upon time to go out was 6:00 am, the guides and their parties went out fishing until they heard the breakfast bell at about 7:50. Breakfast was usually a very heavy meal. I never saw vegetable or fruits served with breakfast while I was there. It usually consisted of ham, bacon, bologna, or sausage, eggs and toast; sometimes pancakes are served.

As soon as breakfast was done, usually before 9:00 am, Alvin went to see if his guests were ready to go out on the water again. He took the guests out fishing until lunchtime, which is at noon. Lunch was usually very light, consisting of soup and sandwiches most days. It should be noted that if the guests were successful in catching a salmon, they usually came ashore ten minutes early in order to give the guide time to

package the salmon up for the guest. This involves the guide placing the salmon in a black garbage bag, wrapping tape around the ends of the bag and placing it in the back



Arch, the cook's helper, ringing the meal bell. Photo taken by L.Nippard, Summer 2010.

freezer which is located in the guides' dining area. Attaching the salmon tag and cleaning the salmon takes place earlier, out on the river. All salmon must contain a salmon tag as Alvin explained:

You place the tag up through their gills. The tag is to show what day and month it was caught. You cut the day out of the tag. They are also different colours. There are two green tags are for July. There are two yellow tags for August. You have to catch and release once tags are used (Nippard 2013).

The tag system was not always in effect. Alvin explained how the system worked years ago:

A long time ago we didn't use tags. We would buy a license but no tags and you would have to show your license when a warden came and we could keep eight

salmon then. If you get caught with more than the allowed limit you get a fine and go to court. Some guests want to keep more but we are strict and say no. If my guests keeps more then four and gets caught I would lose my guide's license for five years and me and the camp would get a fine. The guest gets no fine since I am the one responsible (Nippard 2013).

While the guides like having fun, there are serious rules to be followed so no one loses their job. In addition to tags, another rule is evident as the guides continue on with their day. After lunch Al usually took a two to three hour break when he caught up on laundry, chores, or got some rest. Here again the length of the break depended on the guest. The guides do demand some time off in the afternoon, but how long the break lasts is up to the guest. If an angler wants to go back out at 2:00 in the afternoon, then Al follows those wishes. That said, Al did tell me that there was a time when a guest wanted to go out right after lunch but he politely refused because the guides need a break as well (Nippard 2010). If they went out after lunch, guides stayed until about 5:45 or when they heard the supper bell. Once supper was eaten they went back out on the river until about 9:00 o'clock when they returned to the lodge for the night. The guides are very strict about being back into the lodge by nightfall because of how dangerous being out on a dark river can be.

Alvin explains how guides spend their time with guests on the water:

Take them out on the water. Show them what flies to tie on. There are different kinds of flies for, we try one if it don't work, we put on another one. If it is sunny you use bright coloured flies. If it is overcast you use dark coloured flies. You have better luck with those colours because the salmon can't see it that well. Show them how to cast, shows how to reel the salmon in, how to play it, and how to get it out of the water. If I see there's a thunder and lightning storm coming, I go ashore because the lightning can hit the rod and you can get electrocuted. We drink coffee and have a little talk. We go where other people are fishing and chat to them. Sometimes I take them out the bay and go troutng. Sometimes take them to Cartwright to buy crab legs. Sometimes the cook will pack us a lunch and we will go out the bay and go to the shore and have a boil-up. Sometimes the guests

will want to go sightseeing in Cartwright so I will take them to Cartwright and we will explore the town and go for lunch at the Cartwright hotel. If it's windy we won't go, but if it's calm we will. The guests bring their cameras to take pictures (Nippard 2013).

As this description indicates, the guide's job is not all about the fishing. Alvin demonstrates that guides often do whatever they can to make sure the guest is having an enjoyable trip.

Mick Emmens described a similar routine for the guides at his lodge:

It's a very long day and the other thing you have to be very conscious of as an employer is not to exhaust your guides. Guests have come fishing and they are spending a lot of money and they want to fish from dawn to dusk and you got to set some rules from day one for how long they can fish for and what they can do otherwise they will run around the guides. You know, by the third week of the season you will have guides calling you up needing to come out for a break because they are exhausted. A normal day [for] my staff was they would get up about 6:30, start up the generators and go in and have a cup of coffee. The staff breakfast was from 7:00-8:00. The guest breakfast was from 8:00 to 9:00. And then the guest went out on the water at 9:00 and they fished either till 12:00 or 12:30 and then come back in for a light lunch between 12:30-2:00. And then they would fish again 2:00 to 5:00 and then they would come in again at 5:00 and the staff would eat from 5:00 to 6:00 and then the guest from 5:30 to 6:30. And then the guest would go back out on the water 7:00 to 9:00 or 9:15, I used to say. But that was the guide's call. They could not come home in the dark. So that was sort of a schedule in a day. And the guides, by the time they came off the water at 9:30, the guides would come in and have a cup of tea and a sandwich, something like that. And by 10:30 they were in bed. Very long day (Emmens 2011).

Mick's description of a typical day is very similar to Alvin's. Both reflect that guides work very long days that are structured around when guests choose to go fishing, the meal schedule, and the rhythms of sunrise and sunset. However, guides also exercise a great deal of decision-making, determining, for example, when guests must return to the lodge at nightfall.

From my observations at the cabin, the guides all had different schedules,

depending on their guests. In contrast to the timetable my father described, some guests liked to sleep in the morning and go out after breakfast. While the guest had the say when they wanted to go out angling, the guides also had power. As mentioned, the guides were very strict about being in before sunset and insisted there be no angling without proper salmon tags. The guides also took their break in the afternoon very seriously; they all took a little break for three hours to catch a nap, especially if they had gone out before breakfast and again after breakfast. But Alvin told me this is not always the case, “Sometimes if I have a nice guest and he wants to go out right after lunch I will take him, but if he’s rowdy I won’t take him out. If he treats me good, I’ll treat him good. I wants at least a \$400 tip so I treat them good” (Nippard 2010).

One long time guest, Albert, described what a typical day is like for him at Pratt Falls:

Well for me I’m a little more fierce than the rest. I usually get up around quarter after 5:00 and try to be on the river by 5:30 and quarter to 6:00. I don’t bother with breakfast much that early but we come back and we get two or three hours into fishing if there’s fish and the sun comes up. There’s a big breakfast on and you’re starving and you go home and have breakfast for forty-five minutes and talk and have a yarn with the people that are here. And go back out to the fishing again probably, from 9:00 until quarter to 12:00, something like that. Come out of it and have lunch and have a little sleep, usually not a sleep but a rest, for an hour or two hours. By 2:30, 3:00 you’re back at it close to 6:00. You come in and have supper and after supper you go out. And I try to stay out late as I can keep the guide out. I try to keep going how long as I can keep the guide out anytime. But they’re pretty awesome but you don’t over do it. That’s the average day. Come in, have a shower and a few drinks and tell stories about fishing and live the high life I guess (Sampson 2010).

The average guest stays at the lodge for seven days, Friday to Friday. There are

many things the guides do before the guests leave the lodge. The day the guests depart is referred to “change over day.” The morning starts early since the plane leaves at 6:00 am. If the guests are taking any salmon home, the guides get up early on change over day, before the guests’ departure, to place the salmon in large Styrofoam containers with dry ice. They address the box and seal it with tape. They then have to help all the guests bring down their luggage to the boats. The selection of what guide or guides will take the guests to the waiting otter plane just past the gorge is discussed the night before. It is usually decided on by who volunteers; no one is required to do it. Here Alvin explains the selection process of carrying the guests out on change over day, “Some of us, like me, don’t volunteer because we don’t like the gorge. Hedley, Robert and Dwight do it the most, because they are good at running the gorge. It’s not a fun job, because of the gorge” (Nippard 2013). From my observations all guides are more than happy to help lend a hand, but having to navigate the dangerous gorge discourages some of the guides from taking on this certain tasks. Later in the afternoon, around 3:00 or 4:00 pm, the same guide who went out in the morning will go and fetch a new group of guests who are coming to the lodge. Preparing for the next group on change over day keeps the staff quite busy with laundry, replenishing the wood piles in the guests’ cabins, and doing some cleaning around the yard which includes mowing the grass. If time permits some of the guides will go out on the river to do a bit of fishing (Nippard 2013).

The average season at the lodge goes for eight to twelve weeks, July being the peak season and August being the slowest month. Dwight talks about the number of guests they have each season, why August is the slowest month, and his hopes for changing increasing business:

Last year [when] we took over we had sixteen. We managed to get another five or six in on really discounted rates. Like friends of friends came in for dirt cheap rates just to help us along. Help cover some of our charter costs. Help cover some of our food costs. This year we have had, by the time we are done will be forty-two, so that's a pretty good year. My goal is to see it up around sixty to seventy for a season. If we could start from the first week in July and finish the second week of August that would be a pretty good year. The fishing here is sustainable that is no problem at all. The last people I had in last year was in the very last week of August. The weather was terrible and everybody caught a salmon and everybody caught trout because trout was running back into the river. I need to convince people July isn't the only time to fish and we have good rates on for August, so if I can do that, get those two weeks of August filled out, then we're in business...It's not the best time [August], you can't lie about that. The best time to fish is the middle of July. [It] is the most guaranteed time to catch some big fish... but I do almost all of my fishing in August and never have any problem catching fish. Sometimes catch rates is high as fifteen to twenty fish a day in August and it's mostly dependent on river conditions. The river can be tough in August and this year I expect the river will be good in August because we had high levels all July. And our biggest problem in August is usually a low river. So right now that's my biggest goal for the camp is to fill it out and get fifty to sixty rods a year and keep the staff that I got now and we will be a successful camp if we can achieve that (Lethbridge 2010).

When there are no guests present the guides' daily routine changes. The guides do not have to wake up at an appointed time because there are no anglers to take out on the water. As Dwight noted above, the number of guests dwindles in August. Therefore he usually has a list of chores to be completed during these slower times. For example, this is when landscaping is done. When I was at the lodge the guides who did not have guests were painting the eaves of the main lodge and cutting the grass. Even if a particular guide has no guests that week, they do not usually leave and take a break away from the cabin. I asked Desmond, who is from Cartwright, if he would go home during the down time and he responded, "Nope, when you have guests here you have to be here all the time. Cause it's change over on Friday so some go out on Friday and some more is going in the same time, so you don't have time" (Holwell 2010). The guides do go out fishing themselves,

however. For example, when I was there Robert took the cook and cook's helper out after supper to do some fishing. During slow weeks it is also a time family members can come to stay at the lodge. As Hedley mentioned, "This is the first time my wife is coming here next week. My son was here three years ago, so this will be his second time" (Angell 2010). Slow times may also be when the guides start preparations for the closing for the lodge.

Closing the lodge for the season is very similar to opening it up in the spring. The process takes approximately four days. Alvin describes the tasks involved in closing up the lodge:

We, [the guides] bring up their boats from the water, turn off the generators, turn off the water pipes, close up the windows with plywood, cover up the air conditioners with garbage bags to protect them from the snow, remove all the food from the cupboards and refrigerators and bring it to Cartwright. We put plastic over the chimneys to protect it from the snow. We put the linens and sleeping bags into big Rubbermaid containers to keep it from going mouldy and when Marjorie comes in next year she washes them all. The five boats get filled up and we bring stuff to Cartwright, usually two trips each. When the water is low I don't mind going through the gorge, and bring it to the hotel. Locks every door and unplugs all the appliances and washes it out. Places the fire pit, patio furniture, and BBQ into the main lodge and burn the garbage in the small dump we have (Nippard 2013).



Alvin, Heldey, and Terry bringing the boat up from the shore for the season close up.
Photo by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

With teamwork the lodge gets winterized and closed up after a successful season. The guides then leave the lodge and begin their journey back up. As mentioned previously, during the fall and winter months some guides work as hunting guides in other parts of the province while others collect employment insurance. Although the lodge is closed for the winter months, work continues. Alvin mentioned that Dwight pays someone to cut wood in the wintertime and to bring it the lodge in the winter months. Also, during the fall and winter months, Dwight is busy promoting the lodge:

[We promoted the lodge] mainly through the website starting off. We do advertise online with a few travel agencies or fishing agencies, Angler Adventures is one and World Wide Fishing Guide in the United States. They haven't been tremendously successful but we do get the odd inquiry and this day and age the most powerful way to advertise is email...But the most powerful advertising so far as been word of mouth without a doubt. I mean guys that come here and fish, they got circles of friends, don't have enough money to do the same thing, but are looking to do a same kind of thing, just make a recommendation and that's how we do business. The website has got a lot of appeal for people who are already coming here. We got an Eagle River update. They can come in and look at the water conditions, look at how the fishing has been going. It's updated almost

everyday, so it's great that way. It's a great advertising tool as well. If somebody calls me, the first thing I will say is, 'Have you looked at our website?' because almost every bit of information they could imagine, everything they need to know about coming here, is on our website. So I use it as a tool that way to follow up on phone calls... So yeah word of mouth number one and website number two (Lethbridge 2010).

Guiding Skills

The guides' canon of work technique includes many informally learned skills. As mentioned earlier, new guides are required to take formal training; they complete boat safety and hunter safety courses and some are graduates of the CONA guiding program. However, there are skills pertaining to guiding at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge that one cannot learn in a classroom setting. From my observations and talking to the guides, many of the skills they have learned throughout their lives were not transmitted formally, but shared through informal modes of communication. This knowledge was passed on from their fathers and grandfathers, as well as from other guides and guests. They also learned from their own experience in other work settings. One guide, Nelson, mentioned how he and his brother spent many summer days as young men fishing on the Exploits River. From observing and talking to other anglers on the river they learned a great deal of useful knowledge that Nelson now uses while guiding (Guy 2010).

Guides also acquire skills through direct personal experience of the river. To learn the ins and outs of the river, the pools, and the paths, a guide has to be present on the river. Guide Desmond talked about his experience of first learning the river,

"I remember Al showing me the [locations of the different] pools when I came. It was way over my head. No clue what he was talking about. As I spent more time on the river I quickly started to pick up things about the river myself" (Holwell 2010).

If Desmond just tried to discover the pools by looking at a map of the river, he would not have learned so easily. It is through a hands on approach, by watching other guides and getting their tips, that the rookie guides gain valuable knowledge.

Desmond is describing part of the guides' vernacular knowledge. Anschuetz explains the concept:

Knowledge is distributed differentially within a community...access to certain vernacular knowledge can be exclusive to a community's carriers of tradition. Because traditional knowledge allows people to understand and describe their experience with certain worldly phenomena, the validity of such belief is beyond question. On one level, vernacular knowledge 'is just the way humans are constitutionally disposed to think of things'...Vernacular knowledge therefore may be understood as a community's conventional wisdom. Cultural meaning, such as that embedded in a group's body of conventional wisdom, however, is dynamic and subject to notable change (Anschuetz 2007, 264-265).

Vernacular knowledge at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge is thus traditional in nature but also dynamic since it changes. For example, Alvin describes what life was like at the lodge when he first went guiding:

Back then the lodge could only have four guests at a time. The lights were propane. For hot and cold water, we had a big tank up the woods; we would have a water pump to pump the water in the tank and every night we would fill up the tank. The linens would get sent to Goose Bay and the guides would wash theirs by hand. The guides had to sleep in tents and the guests slept in the main lodge. We put plywood on the ground and placed the tent on top of it. The guests had a bathroom in the main lodge. We had an outhouse. We were allowed one shower a week because had to save on the water so we would go swimming in the river (Nippard 2013).

In terms of the guides' canon of work technique, it is important to bring the guests into the equation. The guests are the ones paying for the ultimate Labrador angling adventure but while the guides are there to teach and show the guests new tricks, the guests also share their knowledge of angling with the guides. Guest, John McDonald, explained to me that he has been salmon angling for many years and has visited some of

the best rivers in the world, including Alaska, the Miramichi in New Brunswick, and the United States. He described how every guide uses a different technique to reel in the salmon. He told me he enjoys learning from the guides but also likes sharing his knowledge with the guides that he has picked up over the years (McDonald 2010). McDonald's comment reflects the exchange that takes place between the guides and guests. Guides not only transfer knowledge to each and to other workers at the lodge, they also pass on knowledge to guests. In turn the guides are very open to learning new information from guests. Thus, there is a continuous circle of the informal transfer of knowledge amongst the workers and the patrons of the lodge. For example, Alvin mentioned how he would ask some of his guests what rivers they have fished on before and what flies they like using, thus giving the him information on rivers and techniques that he would otherwise not have known (Nippard 2013).

The guides are recognized by fellow anglers for their unique knowledge of the Eagle River. Mike Crosby talked to me about Alvin:

I've been coming here, for twenty-four, twenty-five years and I know Al has been here longer than that. He's like the Eagle River without any question at all. And I know just the other day I was telling somebody, and they were saying where do you go out on the river? I said I tell you what to do. You see the fellow in that blue boat? I said you go and get your binoculars and you watch exactly where he goes and where he anchors. Watch him for the next three or four days cause that man knows every speck of this river, every rock, every fish, every hole, every place for them to go way more than I every would hope to that's for sure. And I tell ya this whole idea of guiding is not an easy racket to do for thirty-eight years because you are dealing with so many different types of personalities and stuff like that. It's the luck of the draw. You get the good, bad and the ugly when you do that and certainly he has been a star at it for a long time. I would only like to have his knowledge of the Eagle River that's for sure. But I'll tell you this. In every area in Atlantic Canada, and I say Atlantic Canada because it's all that I know, in every area of Atlantic Canada there are guides for Atlantic Salmon fishing. Whether it's on the Miramichi River in New Brunswick, or on the Gaspé coast of Quebec, believe me when I tell you this from experience, because I have fished on most of

them and there are guides and then there are 'true guides.' There are people who have their guide's license to take you to the river and say, 'Well there's the river and a way you go.' And there are people who take a true interest in your trip and what you are doing and stuff and with that. Your dad [Alvin] falls into the category of the ones who really care. So that's a good thing (Crosby 2010).

Mike, a knowledgeable angler, reflects his appreciation of Alvin's skill with his designation, "true guide." True guides earn respect in the angling business.

Survival skills represent another set of skills that guides at the lodge need in order to do their job well. Because of the lodge's location in the remote Labrador wilderness, it is important that the guides know how to be safe around the many different forms of wildlife that are present. For example, one must watch out for and be aware of bears. Bears do sometimes come around close to the cabins, but guests are warned not to go near them especially if there are cubs around. Alvin said, "If the bears are around we usually go out with some pots and bang them to scare them away but the guests want to take pictures of them first before we scare them" (Nippard 2010). Mick Emmens shared a story of how a cook and a bear came in very close proximity to each other:

Of course Ruby was in the kitchen, busy cooking...but she was sitting there and all of a sudden there's this noise at the back door and she thought it was a bit odd and she goes back to the door and there's this great big bear leaning against the door. It sort of wanders off and she then heads for the shot gun. And the second time he comes to the door, that's the second time too many. So she took it down. I actually have a picture of her standing over the bear (Emmens 2011).

Although bears are the most dangerous animal at the lodge, Alvin also told me of porcupines coming around the cabin. They can be a nuisance but they usually stay up in the trees where the guests love to take pictures of them. Less dangerous wildlife include rabbits and squirrels. In terms of wildlife, again compromise emerges. When the guests want to take pictures of the wild animals, the guides allow it but make sure that the

guests' safety is never in danger.

The guides also must be aware of rocks and rough areas in the river in order to keep their guests and themselves safe. Alvin mentioned that, "The Bathtub is very rocky, so you must use a trail to walk there. The Airforce side is rough. You can slip because the fish jump high there. The gorge and the Bathtub are also rough. [Particularly the gorge] because it's the top of the falls. If it comes on tide we can go with the rapids and go over the falls" (Nippard 2010).

A final occupational hazard the guides mentioned was mosquito repellent. Alvin said, "Fly dope ruins the collars on your clothes [shirts] because it burns through" (Nippard 2010). On the issue of mosquitos, or black flies as they are referenced at the lodge, it should be noted they are abundant around the lodge and on the river. Some guides, such as Hedley, identified black flies as their least favourite thing about life at the lodge (Angell 2010) and guest Ray mentioned how one year he and his buddy almost got eaten alive by the black flies (Smallwood 2010). These comments reflect the fact that black flies can make the beautiful surroundings uncomfortable for both the guides and guests. In order to combat the black fly situation Alvin mentioned how lots of bug spray is kept on hand, both in the cabins and in the boat (Nippard 2013). He also described how every guest cabin, both in the room and out on the porch, has fly coils that are lit to help get rid of the flies (Nippard 2013). Alvin said that mesh head nets, long sleeve shirts and pants are also worn to help protect the body from fly bites (Nippard 2013). Besides the fly bites, it is easy to swallow a fly when you are talking. Some people are allergic to them so if it is a particularly bad day the person will stay inside (Nippard 2013).

The final skills required by guides are interpersonal. This relates to the guides'

role as tourism operator. As noted earlier, Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge is a part of the growing tourist industry in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador with the ultimate goal of providing guests with the best angling experience possible and prompting them to come back each year. As mentioned in the last chapter, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador promotes the excellent fishing available in the province in their tourism literature and media. The Department of Tourism website proclaims:

There are few angling destinations in the world that rival Newfoundland and Labrador. Whether you're fishing for wild Atlantic salmon, record-breaking landlocked salmon, trophy brook trout, northern pike, whitefish or large Arctic char, you've come to the right place. Here you'll find pristine rivers set against a rugged landscape, plenty of breathing room, and an abundance of trophy-sized fish. Come stand in our cool, clear waters – some that have never felt the cast of a line – and wait for the big one to test your skills against a real fighter. Here you'll find rivers, ponds and lakes that are both novice and pro-friendly. Our outfitters offer all types of adventures and a variety of fish, including everything from tent camps to deluxe lodges. We also provide exclusive fly-ins to remote, untouched areas, which are some of the best in North America. Rest assured, you'll find the right accommodations to suit your needs and expectations. And you can fish for a variety of trophy fish during your stay. Bottom line? Angling in Newfoundland and Labrador is absolute heaven (Newfoundland & Labrador Tourism 2012, Angling).

Ads like this one may entice people to travel to the province for the first time to experience some outstanding angling, but the guides are the ones who can take credit for getting repeat consumers the next year. Although the guides did not describe themselves as tourist operators, they spoke of how they guide some of the same anglers each year. It is partly due to the guides and their skill at managing guests that customers come back. During my interviews with my father, he often stated that the success of the lodge is due in part to the work of the guides: “Me and Hedley is making more business for Dwight... Dwight, [said], ‘You fellows are making bookings.’ I said, “We're like a magnet. We keeps drawing back.’ What a laugh he had” (Nippard 2011). Although clothed in humour,

this statement reflects that the guides do know they are one of the drawing features of the lodge and key to its success in attracting return customers.

There are many salmon rivers and different outfitters in Newfoundland and Labrador, as the Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Department promotes:

Newfoundland and Labrador has over 60% of North America's best Atlantic salmon rivers, with some having annual runs of up to 30,000 fish. There are nearly 200 known wild Atlantic salmon rivers here – some fed by the cold Labrador current – including some of the world's greatest, like the Humber, Exploits, Gander and Eagle...Outfitters act as your main point of contact before and during your trip, so be prepared to make long-lasting memories - and friends. Their experienced, knowledgeable guides know all the secret spots and best flies to use, which means you're in for the angling vacation of a lifetime. And, chances are, you'll come away with the big one and even bigger memories (Newfoundland & Labrador Tourism 2012, Wild Atlantic Salmon).

The guides have large shoes to fill in order to fulfill the promises offered to visitors in these tourism advertisements. Competition means that it is important that they give guests the best experience possible in terms of angling, but it is not just fishing that encourages guests to book to come back the next year. The guides do more than take the guests out on the river to get salmon and bring them back, they act as entertainers. They amuse guests on the river by telling stories as well as by answering questions about the province and about salmon angling. Desmond describes his relationship with his guests:

We get along well. The first two or three days is quite interesting because you meet new people you never met before especially to me because some the others know each other. Get to know them, see what they are like and most everybody is nice, carrying on and laughing that kind of stuff. I'm very lucky and fortune for the people I've had. Can talk to them the same way we are talking now and have a joke. I find that's the best way to be right. It's been good I must say (Holwell 2010).

However, it is their humour joking with the guests and with each other that emerges as a key factor in promoting the lodge. In one interview Al told me about some new guests

from Norway with whom he had quite the few laughs:

The first time they were ever to Eagle River, they said they liked the place and two of them are coming back next year. The silly fellow I was guiding he said, 'Al you're a hard case.' [Because] a squirrel got into his knapsack one day [and ate his] Snicker bar. He offered me a can of Diet Coke. He said, 'Al you want a can of Diet Coke?' I said, 'You got one for yourself?' He said, 'Oh no I can't drink it, out dated two days' (Nippard 2011).

As this example shows, the joking behaviour is never one sided, but always a mutual matter. Al's guest, who had a good sense of humour and enjoyed joking around, was easy to get along with. His recollections reflect that the guides' joking with the guests does not take place only out on the river, but also extends to the lodge. Al describes the same Norwegian guest teasing him during a supper hour:

The [guests were] having supper, [and the Norwegian guest] invited me out, 'Come, come out Al, come out.' When I looked out through the door in the kitchen where they were all out there [in the main lodge dining room] eating. They all got up from the table. [The Norwegian guest said] 'Is that you?' He said, 'Al, you look like you're seventy years old.' He said, 'Was that painted? Did you paint it?' I said, 'No, I never painted it.' But he said, 'You're old' (Nippard 2011).



Painting by Donald Burry. Photo taken by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

If a guest jokes too much, and the guide feels like he is losing control of the

situation, he will use humour to reassert his authority. Al mentioned an incident he had with the same Norwegian angler. This one involved his daughter:

[I was guiding his daughter, nineteen years old and I said] 'If you don't stop that I'll smack ya fingers'. She was holding the rod wrong. She would get a salmon on and she wouldn't let him run. She would just hold onto the line. The salmon would break her line. Then we would have to replace the line all the time. So I said, 'The last day you're here, me and you are going to have a water fight.' She was throwing water at me in the boat and that. But we never did have the water fight (Nippard 2011 and 2013).

Al's reference to smacking the fingers of a guest's daughter was in good humour; it was an effort to stop the girl from misbehaving rather than a real threat. He would not actually do such a thing. When I asked him why he never had the water fight, he said he was just teasing her. He would never instigate a water fight in case something happened and she got hurt (Nippard 2011).

From the interviews with Al it is clear that many aspects of fishing can be turned into great fun especially when you have a guest who welcomes it like the Norwegian angler my father described. In this case any simple task can be turned into a joking situation:

I had my short boots on, walking over the Pratts there. Going over by the falls. [And the guest] got in with his waders and messed up the water. Mud everywhere. I couldn't see where I was going to. Splash, the splash, he was just like a duck he was. I said, 'You stop that' (Nippard 2011).

Here the simple task of walking to a pool turned into the guest having a bit of fun with his guide.

The guides' jocular behaviour and warm personalities make the fishing experience worth repeating. The amount of joking that takes place depends on the guests in the fishing party and I observed a constant negotiation between the guides and the guests.

From some of the jokes above, one can sense how far the guest sometimes goes to see if the guides will actually participate in their idea, such as going over the falls. Even though the guides are always willing to joke, they set boundaries. They know when to put an end to a joke and never give in to the demands of dangerous situations. The guides never seem to mind the joking behaviour of guests because they themselves joke around just as much. In fact, humour characterizes most communication at the lodge and it is this constant joking behaviour that helps develop lasting memories and friendships between guides and guests.

Conclusion

McCarl's notion of work technique is evidenced at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge through the guides' daily activities, their knowledge of angling and survival skills, and their ability to act as tourism operators. They create a jovial atmosphere while maintaining control of their guests. More senior staff pass on their knowledge of the river, the best fishing pools, the best times to fish, and the best equipment to use in terms of rods, reels and flies, to the new guides by word of mouth and example. All guides learn from their own experience. The guides' primary goal is to offer guests the best fishing experience possible so that they will return. Recognition of a job well done takes the form of praise and tips from guests. As my father commented, "If another guide comes in with a guest and he caught a big salmon we pat them on the back and shake their hand. Usually we take a picture" (Nippard 2013).

The examination of the Pratt Falls guides' canon of work technique gives the outsider a look into the informal rules of the lodge. Just as Patrick Mullen found in his

study of bay fishermen and sea fishermen that “The folklore of both groups reflects the values, strengths, and anxieties of the people and their culture” (Mullen 1988, xxvii), the canon of work technique shared by the guides shows the value they place on knowing where to fish, how to navigate the river, and managing their guests while maintaining a jovial atmosphere. They share the lodge’s goal of showing the guest a great time.

Although the lodge has a very laid back atmosphere, the guides know what must be done when opening the camp for the season, guiding guests, completing change over day, and closing the camp for the season. There are few formal rules and the guides love to joke around, issues of safety are always number one. While there is a constant negotiation between the guides and guests about matters such as the times they go fishing or the rules for the boat, there is no room for compromise when it comes to safety. Rules, such as needing to be back to the lodge before sunset, are strictly enforced. The guides embrace the lodge’s objective of showing the guests a great time in part because they hope to earn repeat business. For many, the lodge’s success means that they will be able to work enough hours during the season to earn employment insurance for the rest of the year. They also look forward to getting a good tip from their guests at the end of the week.

As can be seen in this chapter, canon of work technique is central to how the guides do their job and how they think of themselves. They also rely on other forms of folklore to mark time, reinforce structure and create community. The next chapter considers two aspects of folklife at the lodge: foodways and pranks.

CHAPTER FOUR

LIFE AT THE LODGE: ORDER AND DISORDER

The last chapter described the daily and seasonal routines of the lodge and the worked. It also explored the importance of the canon of work technique to the guides at the lodge and what it means to do their job. This chapter turns to two specific aspects of life at the lodge: foodways and pranks pulled by the guides. The first help create a sense of order for everyone at the lodge while the second offers a vacation from routine. Each of these expressive forms contributes to a sense of community.

Foodways

Foodways represents an important area of the occupational folklife at Pratt Falls

Salmon Lodge. Mick Emmens explains:

Fishing is not everything, you know. It's the enjoyment of being out and finding out some of the different things and the different foods. That's another thing. People, most of the stories that are out there, centre around food. I mean Labrador food, toutons, fish and brewis...I've seen guests come out of the camps and talk more about how good the cook was and the food they had than the fishing. And the muggy [mug up], I've seen guests, especially young guests, you know guests who are in their twenties, for example and thirties, who go to camp who have never had fresh bread before. I've see guests come out with loaves of bread under their arm. I'm serious. You ask any of the cooks. The cooks make bread every day or every other day. The guests will literally go in and ask for it. They don't really care what is for supper as long as they can have some fresh bread and some molasses. They think that this is great (Emmens 2011).

While fishing is the main reason guests come to the Eagle River, it is the food that makes up for any lack of salmon caught.

Emmens emphasizes the importance of good food for the guests but this is not the

only group the cooks must please. Guides must be satisfied as well. They clearly have expectations regarding the quality of food served and it is one of the subjects of their conversation. My father shared an example with me of an incident during the 2011 season when the guides were critical of a cook. They tired of the soups served everyday for lunch and one day decided to take matters into their own hands. They organized a plan that involved each of them sneaking an onion out of the kitchen. On that particular day the guides did not eat their soup but politely told the cook they were not hungry. Instead they gathered in the guides' cabin where they cooked up some moose Heldey had brought with him at the beginning of the season. Rather than suffer through another bowl of soup, they enjoyed a big pan of moose and onions. They invited some of the guests at the lodge down to sample the moose and Alvin said they enjoyed it as well. The cook learned of their moose meal and apparently understood its critique because the next day at lunch there was no soup (Nippard 2011). Interestingly, the guides did not say anything negative directly to the cook but instead expressed their dissatisfaction with the never-sending soup indirectly. Their move to take over the cook's responsibility for meal-making themselves created a memorable meal and resulted in the improvement the guides were looking for.

From my observations at the lodge, the guides were pretty easy to please and seemed to enjoy the food the cook placed in front of them. However, I also noticed that the cooks had learned the guides' individual taste preferences. They knew what each guide did and did not like. For instance, Alvin does not like pasta so whenever it was served the cook would give him bologna instead.

The cooks work long hours in the kitchen preparing meals for the guides and

guests to enjoy. As the example of the soup suggests, meals must be familiar yet provide variety in order to be successful. The cooks meets these demands by creating a bi-weekly plan for meals. Below is the tentative menu for the summer of 2010 that cook Janet Kearley mapped out:

Tentative Bi-Weekly Menu

Breakfast:

<u>Mon</u>	<u>Tue</u>	<u>Wed</u>	<u>Thru</u>	<u>Fri</u>	<u>Sat</u>	<u>Sun</u>
Pancakes	Bacon	Omelet	Pancakes	Breakfast	Bologna	Ham
Sausage/bacon	Eggs		bacon	sandwich	Bacon	Eggs
					Eggs	

Lunch

<u>Mon</u>	<u>Tue</u>	<u>Wed</u>	<u>Thru</u>	<u>Fri</u>	<u>Sat</u>	<u>Sun</u>
Baked	Tomato	Shipwreck	Hot Dogs	Ham	Bean Soup	Tuna Melts
Spaghetti	Soup	or	&	&	or	or
	&	Casserole	Hamburger	O'Briens	Pea Soup	Wraps
	Grilled			Potatoes		
	Cheese					

Supper: All suppers served with Appetizer and Dessert

<u>Mon</u>	<u>Tue</u>	<u>Wed</u>	<u>Thru</u>	<u>Fri</u>	<u>Sat</u>	<u>Sun</u>
Sweet	Jiggs	Fish	Steak	Roast	Italian	Turkey
&	Dinner	Potato	Potato	or	Spaghetti	or
Sour		Veg	Veg	Pepper	or	Roast
Chicken			Onions	Steak	Sheppard's	Pork
Rice			Mushrooms	Rice/	Pie	Dinner
Veg				Potato		
				Veg		

The menu is not set in stone and changes periodically especially when there is a shortage of supplies. I asked the cook what the biggest challenge was to cooking in an isolated

place and she said the lack of fresh produce. Being in a remote setting, the produce that does come in does not last long. She explained that she uses mostly frozen vegetables and fruits (Kearley 2010).

Both guests and guides expect that some of the meals will be rooted in the foodways of Newfoundland and Labrador. Mick Emmens explained how the guests enjoy Newfoundland and Labrador food and when I asked Alvin if the guests enjoy this kind of food, he replied, “ Oh yeah. We tell the cook to put some salt meat on, nope she didn't do it. Everybody likes that” (Nippard 2011). This is the kind of food that brings guests coming back year after year. Regular guest Albert explains, “Well there’s Bob Brown’s down below, but this lodge here is probably, like I said the guides and the people are one thing. There are a lot of comforts they have here that they don’t have down below, the food is great, hot showers, the rooms are finished in pine” (Sampson 2010). Dwight reinforces Albert’s claim that food encourages people to return to the lodge, “People that tend to come back are people who have experienced our staff, experienced our guides, experienced our food, experienced the river, and want to keep coming back for the rest of their lives” (Lethbridge 2010). Apart from the famous Eagle River, good hearty home cooked meals keep these guests happy and wanting more of the Labrador angling adventure.

While guides and guests are in general agreement on the importance, and even nature of what makes up “good food” at the lodge, aspects of the foodways reflect the separation of the guides from the guests. While both guides and guests share the same menu, the guides are not served an appetizer with their supper. This extra course is only meant for the guests and it is a tangible reflection of their higher status. As well, the

guides and guests usually eat separately. The guests are served at the dining table in the main lodge, while the guides eat in a back room that doubles as a storage area. It should be noted that in most cases this physical separation usually breaks down on the last night of the guests' stay. Often guest invite the guides to share a special meal on the Thursday evening before they leave. I was lucky enough to be present during one of these meals. On this particular evening the guides, housekeeper, cooks, the owner and I were invited to join the guests, Albert, the two John's, and Ray for salmon and scallops. What was special about this supper was that Albert, the guest, did most of the cooking. He brought the scallops from Nova Scotia and the salmon is what he caught earlier in the week. After he cooked and plated the meal, he and Janet served all of us out in the main dining room.



Albert plating supper. Photo by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.



All the crew enjoying the meal. Photo taken by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

During the meal there was lots of laughter, joking, and toasts to the guides and cooks for an outstanding weekend. After a week together, the meal symbolized that the guests and staff members shared a sense of community. That cooks also understand the power of food to create community and will use it to bring people together was reflected in their celebration of people's birthdays. The cook will make a birthday cake and sing happy birthday to the guide or guest. Then everyone shares the cake and celebrates together. While I was there I observed this on Robert's birthday. The cook made cake that was shared by everyone at the lodge.

A final area of foodways that has significance for workers at the lodge is the instruction they offer guests on the preparation of salmon. Guests are interested in the many ways to prepare the salmon they have caught once they go home, from frying, BBQ, and steaming to the more time consuming processes of smoking and planking. One informant I had email correspondence with mentioned a special way to cure salmon, known as "Gravlax," that he claims is characteristic of the Eagle River area:

'Gravlax' is a Swedish recipe for curing (not cooking, not smoking) salmon. Many fishermen on the Eagle enjoy this delicacy each summer while fishing on the river. Most also think that 'they' were the one(s) that brought the recipe to the river, and are proud that their recipe is the 'the best.' No one can argue which recipe is 'the best,' and no doubt many have brought their own modifications of the original one, but I am fairly certain that my father, Jan Pick, brought the original Gravlax recipe to the river in the 1980's. Jan Pick was an avid angler on the Eagle for a number of years. More importantly, he loved smoked salmon, but he learned to love Gravlax even better, due to the fact it is moist and takes a shorter time to produce, and therefore can be enjoyed within a day or two after the fish has been killed. He obtained the recipe from my sister-in-law....my late brother's wife...who is half Swedish. And she introduced him to this better way of eating salmon when, once, he was about to send his salmon out for "smoking" in Montreal, and she showed him the recipe in the Time/Life cookbook on Swedish cooking (Pick 2011).

Alvin mentioned that the guides used to smoke salmon at the lodge until approximately five years ago. Smoking salmon is a long process and they discontinued it when the lodge became busier and their workload increased (Nippard 2013). Alvin described how the guides would have to come in off the water every two hours to check on the salmon in the smoker house. Therefore a lot of time was lost out on the river. In the 2012 season there was talk of getting a portable smoker but nothing concrete has been put in place as of yet (Nippard 2013). Today guides no longer smoke salmon at the lodge but they continue to advise guests on the process as well as other ways to prepare the catch. Advice on proper storage and preparation of salmon, especially in a more specialized and time-consuming process like smoking, reinforces the distinctiveness of the guest's experience and heightens the prestige associated with the salmon.

These aspects of foodways illustrate some of food's many meanings for guides and guests. Food and food events help create order and routine at the lodge. Meals are held at appointed times and are rotated according to a schedule. The food served must offer a little variety so that it helps break up the repetitiveness of the daily routine. That some of the food, such as home baked bread or Jigg's dinner, are part of regional food traditions creates a sense of home. Meals served to guests and guides in separate areas of the lodge underline divisions between the two groups while occasions where food is shared create a sense of commonality and community. Finally, the exchange of information about specialized modes of preparing salmon reinforces a shared appreciation among guides and guests for the distinctive nature of the salmon fishing experience in this remote Labrador location. Together these elements of the lodge's foodways contribute to

the ordering of life at the lodge. In the next section, I turn to another aspect of folklife at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge that introduces an element of disorder and breaks the routine: the playing of pranks.

Pranks

In her work on the occupational folklife of mill workers in Corner Brook, Newfoundland, Contessa Small highlighted the role of humour and play. She wrote, “there exists a variety of humorous behaviours in an occupational environment, such as kidding, verbal jokes, teasing and put-ons” (Small 1999, 52). Small noted the importance of pranks which she defined according to Richard S. Tallman’s description of the practical joke:

According to Tallman, the practical joke can be considered traditional folklore both as an event and as a story of the event. The practical joke, as a folklore form, is first an event, a competitive play activity in which only one of two opposing sides is consciously aware of the fact that a state of play exists; for the joke to be successful, one must remain unaware of the fact that a play activity is occurring until it is too late, that is until the unknowing side is made to seem foolish or is caused some physical and/or mental discomfort. The practical joke as a folklore form is also an oral narrative, traditional to the community and/or to the teller, which recounts the event and thus is a local or localized anecdote (Small 1999, 53).

I also draw on Tallman’s definition in this chapter because just as in the paper mill that Small documented, pranks are significant at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge both as events at the time they are played and later on as humorous accounts.

The following are a series of pranks that were shared with me by the guides at the lodge, in particular by Alvin and Beatle. I interviewed Beatle and Alvin together one evening when they were having a grand time reminiscing. Alvin recalled the humour

associated with a guide striking a rock in the river:

AL: The guest [would] say, 'I got a fish on.' I'm not worried about that. I want to see this fellow strike a rock.

Beatle: Oh guaranteed someone hit a rock somewhere.

AL: Wave to someone. They are not paying attention to where they are going to, scallop [into a rock] (Nippard and Sheppard 2010).

The striking of a rock was not seen as funny by the people in the boat, but to the people in the next boat it was considered a great form of entertainment. The guides pride themselves on their skill in navigating the river and seeing someone make a misjudgement because of inattention is a source of great entertainment. The guides reported setting up their co-workers in this kind of way and enjoying any minor mishap that resulted.

New guides were a particular target when the guides acted as pranksters.

Experienced guides both tested their new colleagues and marked their acceptance as a guide at the lodge through the use of pranks that represented a kind of rite of passage:

Beatle: We would always [trick] the new guides, eh Al? When they were going to get home we would get rocks and put them in their bags.

Al: The bag is some heavy.

Beatle: They get to the airport or they get home, they open up their bag and take their stuff out, [and find out] they had to pay overweight for the rocks they had [Big laughs from Beatle and Al].

LN: Oh Bad!

Al: Oh we used to do everything.

Beatle: We were always at that. Or nailing someone's shoes to the floor or slippers to the floor. They go to put their slippers on to go and walk and flop.

LN: Just to the new people?

Beatle: Well even to each other, but not to your good boots or anything, just what you're wearing in the cabin.

Al: Ben, [a former guide from Cartwright], the bugger, I believe you were in on it too. My jack-shirt, I couldn't get it off the hook. Two or three great big nails drove thru him. Stuck to the wall (Nippard and Sheppard 2010).

As the men indicate, newcomers were not the only targets of practical jokes.

Long-term guides did not escape. Some of the practical jokes Alvin and Beatle recalled involved other guides taking property from their boats:

Al: [It was] nothing at all [to] go down [to the boats and find the] gas line gone.

Beatle: The gas line unhooked, the plug caps took off. So you'd be trying to hurry up to bet them [the other guide and his party] out to the pool.

Al: What pool you going to. Everybody going to have a race. [You're trying to] get the boat going [and you then you find out the] plug cap's gone.

Beatle: Pulling, pulling, no go. Lift up the cab on your motor [and discover that the] plug cap's off.

Al: The safety one on there, you wouldn't notice that. I went out to the beach, full tank of gas that night. Got so far as the [unclear], I believe you towed me in? Broke down. Gas can gone. Somebody had it took. No gas line, no tank, nothing at all. 'Beatle come and get me!' I believe that was change-over day. Somebody took my full can and never gassed up that night to meet the plane (Nippard and Sheppard 2010).

As will be explored further in the next chapter in terms of the narratives guides told of earlier seasons, many accounts of pranks give a sense that the past was a much freer time. There were not so many strict rules at the lodge as today. For example, Alvin told me about some pranks that the guides would play on people in the earlier years at the lodge. These pranks occurred in the early 1980's before Beatle's time at the lodge:

Once [I] put a rock in Gill's pillow when he got off the river. He said, 'Watch this.' He jumped in his bunk and scallop on the rock... [We would] tail traps and put them in the sleeping bags and when they get in there, snick, hit them on the

toes... When Brent Hodder was there he used to go down [to] get the generator. Gill [would] be down there in the alder bed. Soon as Brent got over the bank, Gill would go shut it off and run in the woods again... Go outdoors for a leak. One fellow, a hard case, would have a can of beer there. Take his dart and put a hole by the lip. I'd be drinking and everything going down over my shirt and I started laughing too, 'What is going on?' [laughing]. Then I caught on to them... When Gills fell down and broke his ribs and that, that's who took him out. But that was mine and Hub's fault. We were digging the garbage pit. Gill was down there. Me and Hub got his hands hold and was going to haul him up [and we said] 'Think we should let him go, scallop, [into a] hole about six feet?'... And Lar, we would do everything to [him]. He would stay in the top bunk, mattress on some two by four. We would take the two by four out and just the mattress there. When he get up there scallop right on the floor. We were a hard crowd (Nippard 2011).

Alvin indicated that the guides knew they were pushing boundaries with some of the pranks; they were a "hard crowd." Some practical jokes even caused minor accidents as Alvin described.

Many of the pranks I heard about happened in the past. For example, Alvin remembers a prank two guests played on him and another guide: "Years ago, I had two fellows from Montreal. We were staying in tents then. Me and Terry Ryan was in the main lodge with them. Terry said we got to go out to the tent I suppose, where's our bed to? They took everything and threw it outside" (Nippard 2010). I found it hard to imagine pranks like this went on because when I was at the lodge I never saw any extreme practical jokes like the ones described above. I asked Alvin about this:

LN: You guys aren't that hard now are you?

Al: Oh no, everything is different now. I got my own room. Back then everyone was staying together. Now we have everything partitioned off.

LN: Do you guys joke around now?

Al: Oh yes.

LN: What do you guys do this season [that was] bad?

Al: I took Heldey's gas tank out once. He got out in the boat going to, gas line on her and never noticed the tank was gone. Got out in the river and she cut off. Had to go out and tow him in.

LN: Did he have somebody with him?

Al: Oh his two guests.

LN: Did he get mad at ya?

Al: Oh yeah [laughing].

LN: What did he say? He called on the radio did he?

Al: 'Bring me out some gas.' 'What you got no gas?' He said, 'No, my tank is gone.' I said, 'I'll bring it out to you then.' 'You bugger,' he said.

LN: Did he get you back?

Al: Yes, we're always playing jokes on people (Nippard 2011).

As will be explored more fully in the next chapter examining narratives at the lodge, many accounts of pranks have an air of nostalgia. When Alvin and Beatle were reminiscing, the phrase "those were the good old days" came up quite often. Recalling pranks brings to mind people and events of the past. The guides emphasize the past as positive and fun times at the lodge.

While it seems as if the guides could more easily violate rules with less fear of consequences in the earlier years of the lodge, sometimes pranks were not appreciated and individuals felt a joke went too far. Housekeeper Marge tells of one such time:

[I] went down to rooms seven and eight. When I walked into the screen porch there was a greenish yellowish stuff. It was all over the two rooms, all over the doors. I said, 'I don't know what that is.' So I came and got Felix, the camp manager. He took a look at it. He said, 'I don't know.' So anyway, I cleaned up the screen porch. Went into the first room and the room was covered with this powered stuff. So anyway I took the sleeping bag and shook it out and cleaned up that room. Had to go up and get clean bed clothes and clean towels and went to the next room and I had to do the same thing in that one. It was everywhere and

when I cleaned the second one I started to clean one side of the door, cleaned the bathroom, and when I got to the door again I seen this fire extinguisher, and this is the stuff they had done in both rooms and the screen porch. The fire extinguisher. What a mess, what a mess. And that was only my fourth room. I still had another six more rooms to go yet. I spent so much time on those two rooms; the other rooms only got a fast cleaning...What happened was those two guys were partying and carrying on with one another and got into fights with the fire extinguisher. What a mess. What they were doing was they were carrying on and tormenting one another...one of them comes into the kitchen and asks the kitchen staff if they would burn up a steak. He wanted a steak burned up for his buddy. So anyway they found a piece of meat and they burned it black and this guy comes out and takes the plate with the burned meat on it and brings it in here and gives it to his roommate. I guess it was his roommate and has a joke eh. I guess the other fellow must have been getting him back that night down at the cabins. Got the fire extinguisher out. Every time they would come up to the cabin Felix would say, 'Marge are you going to tell them off?' He said, 'you should tell them off.' I wouldn't dare say a word, eh? But they never even apologized for making a mess (Clark 2010).

This prank, pulled by guests and not by guides it should be noted, goes beyond acceptable limits in its disrespect for the housekeeper. She is forced to take on extra work because of someone else's play. Marge was left to clean up a very messy cabin. While Beatle and Alvin chuckled when they talked about the pranks they had pulled over the years, Marge did not laugh when telling about this incident. Nothing about the event was humorous to her. Her labour was disregarded by the guests and she felt pressure from fellow employees to address the situation directly with them, something she preferred not to do in case it sparked a confrontation. One could see that she was still little upset talking about the incident today.

Another incident occurred that was not funny to others. Alvin explains:

[A guide] from St. John's wrote his name, sprayed it on a big cliff and he got fired. [The cliff was] just below the Governor's. What we call the Governor's. You go down the channel there. There's a high cliff there. [Me and Beatle] had two days there with a grinder and never got it off. Nobody likes it. You're not allowed to do stuff like that see b'y in a place like that. People marking up rocks and that [is wrong] (Nippard 2011).

The guides, no matter how silly they are, know there are limits to certain jokes and pranks. While some people like the guide who was fired for defacing a rock, do things that have dire consequences, most abide by the rules in place to respect the lodge's property and the landscape.

Although most pranks involve guides and/or the guests, the owners can also be the subject of pranks. Alvin explained:

When Pete and Alma used to own it, Tom [a former guide] he done everything in the world [to Alma]. He would go in her room, get her pair of drawers [underwear] and put them on the flag pool and hang them up. Here they were blowing in the wind. Oh, she used to get some mad with him ...Pete would say, 'I don't know what I'm going to do with you fellows' (Nippard 2011).

It is possible that as one of the only women on the property, Alma was not able to exert her authority in the male-dominated space of the lodge. However, gender is not the only explanation because another prank was played by the camp commander, Terry, on Dwight, the new owner:

Terry is a prankster. We were trying to install an air conditioner in the kitchen only a couple of weeks... Here we were, we had it installed and we had a option of two receptacles to plug it into. One was where Janet did most of her cooking on the electric grill so we didn't want to plug it in there cause she used those receptacles. The other was on the receptacles on with the microwave. So we said we will try that one. We were all like we don't know if it will handle it, so we plugged it in and first thing it went off and plugged it in again and went off and there was a reset on the plug-in itself, a electrical cord, so I reset it. We went over to the other side and it worked fine. I said this doesn't make sense because I'm pretty well sure this is all the same circuit. Arch and me was trying to figure out. Why it would trip out on one and not the other. Put it back in the other one and went out again. And after frigging around with it for about half hour I come to realize Mr. Man, Terry, got a remote control in his pocket and keeps turning it off on us. So [laughs] what my plan is when we go out for the season, I'm going to have him be the driver of the boat through the gorge. You always have the power of where and how your guest sits, so you tell them you sit on this seat and sit forward just for weight balance, stuff like that. So my plan is to have a bucket of water sitting on the back of the boat and as Mr. Gullage sits on his seat and

steering forward when we are going through the gorge, I'm planning on picking up the bucket, slouching him over the head with it and say, 'Holy shit, Terry, did you see that wave going over the back of the boat?' That's my revenge plan and it will happen (Lethbridge 2010).

Pranks help people at the lodge negotiate authority and position and it is possible that Terry exerted his position in lodge hierarchy as camp commander through a joke directed at the new boss. Guides may play pranks on their employer but any reversal is temporary. Bosses can come up with ways to get the guide back for their prank pulling, including termination as in the case of the guide who spray painted rocks.

As mentioned previously pranks have changed drastically since Alvin first started at the lodge. Today pranks are not as extreme as in previous times. The current guides explain:

LN: Do you play pranks on the guides or the guests?

Desmond: Not really. A little [hesitant to say]. Torment Uncle Al a little bit every now and then. When I knows he's asleep I will come in bawling or something like that. [I call out], 'Honey, I'm home,' or something like that. Or every now and then if everyone is lying down and I see a guest coming, I'll say, 'Boys your guest is coming.' Everyone is asleep [and has to jump up out of bed. I'm] just tormenting eh. But other than that, just having fun that's all. Carrying on joking, laughing.

LN: Can you tell me some more pranks you do?

Desmond: I know the cook and the cleaning lady are frightened to death of spiders and flies and that kind of stuff so carrying on with them a little bit. Every now and then me and Robert we will come up with a plan. [We] take the cook's supper or something like that and hide it away. She had a big bunch of cookies made there about three weeks ago. Robert and me went out and took two full containers and walked out and started waving to her. We got quite a kick out of that. Just stuff comes off the top of your head to carry on and have a good time.

LN: Do you want to describe the dragon fly incident that happened a few nights ago?

Desmond: Just something that came off the top of my head. Yeah just seen it

there. [The dragonfly] looked like someone accidentally ran him over. So [I] seen Marge and said this seems like an interesting situation. [So I] pick it up eh and just brought it over and I wasn't 100% sure she was scared of it so I must show her eh. Then she turned around and I showed her. She was scared for sure. That was fun (Holwell 2010).

The next chapter explores narratives that guides tell as an important source of entertainment and one could argue that these pranks are also done for a sense of entertainment. In her thesis, "Occupational Narratives of Pulp and Paper Mill Workers in Corner Brook, Newfoundland," Contessa Small drew on studies that emphasize the importance of humour in relieving workplace boredom:

Joseph Alan Ullian also adds that prior studies on joking behaviour in organizations have found that joking is employed 'to reduce boredom among workers' (30). As well, David J. Abrams, in his article 'Play in Work,' notes that 'under conditions such as boredom, when activation is below normal play may act to increase activation to normal' (357). Creating entertainment in order to pass the time and reduce boredom on the job are obvious functions of these pranks and their storytelling (Small 1999, 75).

Pranks at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge create a little disorder in the routine and brighten the sometimes monotonous life of the guides. While the pranksters may see nothing wrong at the actual moment they are carrying out the practical joke, their laughter might suggest they know it violates rules or comes at the expense of another worker. As the examples in this chapter indicate, however, the disorder of the prank is contained. The guides observe boundaries and even though their jokes challenge the normal way of doing things, they are careful not to take things too far or to seriously jeopardize an individual's safety, for example. The humour of the prank and then the humour of the story told about the prank helps guides to entertain themselves; both make time go faster while at the lodge. These expressions can also convey meanings. Pranks may reinforce the proper way of doing things, such as the necessity of being attentive to hazards in the river when

driving a boat, or confirm the hierarchy of workers at the lodge as in the case of pranks pulled on new guides or on a new owner. Finally, some of the stories told about practical jokes played in the earlier summers glorify the past. This last theme is also an important one underlining the other narratives shared by guides at the lodge as will be explored in the next chapter.

Conclusion

Foodways and practical jokes at the lodge help guides negotiate oppositions such as hierarchy versus commonality, separation versus community, and order versus disorder. These expressive forms contribute to the guides' experience of routine, their sense of the lodge as their home, and their appreciation of co-workers as a community. Values conveyed in the guides' narratives are explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

STORYTELLING AT THE LODGE

During my stay at the Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge, storytelling was prevalent in many different forms. Both the guides and guests engaged in storytelling, whether it was in the form of telling stories of earlier events occurred that day on the river or stories of past occurrences. As will be discussed, most narratives that were told to me by various members of staff, previous staff members, family and the guests of the lodge through face-to-face interviews. My goal for the chapter is to illustrate that storytelling at the lodge provides an important outlet for laughter, a way to break up monotonous days, and to fight boredom.

Folklore scholar, Jack Santino, notes that different occupations produce different categories of work-related narratives. Santino writes:

Every industry and every job will have its own set of challenges, duties, skills, working conditions, and its own social milieu, and all of these will affect the narratives of that job. For that reason it is difficult to isolate the folklore of one industry to serve as a model for occupational narrative in general (Santino 1978, 205).

Narratives of the outfitting industry told during down times can be divided into four categories: narratives told by staff pertaining to each other; narratives told by staff members about the guests; narratives about the day's catch, the river and the weather shared by both guides and guests; and stories told by guests about guides. The stories are an outlet for various forms of expression which together fulfill what William Bascom defined as the four functions of folklore in his foundational article: entertainment, education, validation of culture and promotion of social conformity (Bascom 1954). The

sharing of stories at the Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge fulfills all four functions identified by Bascom; narratives are essential to the creation of the lodge's workplace culture and help create lasting memories for the guides and guests.

The importance of occupational narratives

Why would narratives at an isolated lodge hold so much importance for the workers? Before the different meanings these narratives convey are discussed, it is important to establish why it is valuable to look at workplace narratives. As Santino states, "Narratives which are...about the work and the job, are usually told during non-work periods. When workers come together for more or less purely social reasons...they engage in the more expressive verbal aspects of their work culture" (1978, 201-202). Santino raises the interesting point that narratives are usually told during off times. This is the case for the Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge guides even though their narratives are shared within the confinements of the lodge. They cannot go to the local bar to gossip about work but have to do it within the work environment. For example, during my stay at the lodge, I observed that certain stories were shared depending who was present and the time of day. During breakfast there was mainly talk about the day's plans and hardly any laughter. During lunch there was a bit more chatter but the majority of storytelling and reminiscing took place after the guides came in off the water at night. In part who was present determined what subjects were brought up. For example, one evening while I was interviewing Alvin and Beatle, Marjorie the housekeeper came into the room and heard the men talking about their old boss. This prompted her to remember a story that she shared. From my observations, timing and individuals were the biggest factors in

determining what stories were told.

Santino explains the value of occupational narratives:

Occupational narratives provide insight into and an index of the specific challenges and problems that arise in a job. Two kinds of problems are indicated: (1) the kind of physical challenges requiring the skills a worker in that job would be expected to have, and (2) the sociological problems of responsibility, status, and authority. The volume of stories in which hostility is demonstrated toward one's superiors, outsiders, or the general populace indicates that these problems are quite real and extensive. The network of relationships a worker has is complex: he must relate to and work with subordinates, peers, bosses, management, outside agencies, and the general public. Narratives arise along each of these relationships, and allow aggressive feelings fictive release. People working with each other will conflict. Nevertheless, in order for an overall operation to be productive, the individual workers must function well together. They are each moving parts of a larger machine, and they must avoid friction with each other or the machine will break down. Occupational narrative, by allowing the fictive expression of negative emotions, is a kind of lubricant that reduces the friction between the parts and allows the operation to function more smoothly (Santino 1978, 212).

Through with the use of occupational narratives at the Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge, the workers create an environment that is non-hostile, enjoyable, and fun to work in. The narratives provide an outlet for the workers to share the memories that they have built over time with each other. This shared communication encourages workers to laugh about a situation that was not funny at the time it happened. The narratives may allow the guides and staff to vent about things that bother them about a certain guest. There were also stories I heard while we were socializing in the guides' cabin about other staff members they did not particularly like. The occupational narratives allow for pent-up frustrations to be released.

Staff narratives pertaining to each other

Many of the guides at lodge love telling stories, however sometimes it was a

challenge to get a particular guide to tell me stories when I was interviewing them alone. I soon discovered that if the guides were in a group setting the stories would flow more easily. I found that small group interviews were better for capturing the narratives.

Rosemary Levy-Zumwalt and Isaac Jack Levy report encountering the same experience in their article, "Memories of Time Past: Fieldwork Among the Sephardim":

Depending on the relationship between them, and their attitudes toward the topic of conversation, this [interviewing] could be a productive, rich experience, or a limiting, frustrating one. In some interviews such as this, one friend would serve as a catalyst for the memories of the other. Ideas and recollections would bounce from one to the other. At the outset, the women sometimes would claim quite convincingly that they knew of no customary beliefs: they could not remember, or they were not raised to follow such beliefs. However, when they sat with their friend and began reminiscing about the past with us, the memories returned. And with the recollections came an electric excitement. It was a special moment when the talk of two friends with the periodic questioning of us revived memories long dormant (Levy-Zumwalt and Levy 2001, 46).

This illustrates how the group setting for interviews can work better than one-on-one meetings. When other people are present, they can help elicit stories that the teller cannot quite remember on his own; the others supply missing details. Also, interviewing in group settings brings up other narratives that maybe otherwise have been lost if just interviewing one on one since the guides jogged each others' memories. My interviews with former guide William Sheppard, or Beatle as he is known, worked like this. When I interviewed him alone his memory for stories was vague but in the presence of his old co-workers he had an abundance of stories to share. When around his old-co-workers he often got off track by talking to other people who were near him. Nonetheless, it prompted some other interesting narratives as well. For example, while he was telling me stories about the previous owner he shifted the conversation to animals; his stories about animals invariably involved one of the guides, Al. He tells the story with the help of

Terry, the camp commander, and Alice, the owner's mother who was visiting the lodge that night:

Beatle: So what's all the news up this way? See any more bears?

Terry: No, squirrels. You like squirrels?

Beatle: No.

Marge: Nuisance that's it.

Beatle: Especially if you start feeding them, that's it. ...They are always feeding the animals.

Alice: Did you feed Teddy?

Beatle: Oh they got names on them and everything now.

Terry: I saw Jake out there the other day.

Marge: Ralph.

Terry: Oh, I thought it was Jake?

Marge: Al's rabbit. Al said that's his friend...Al's passing along and he says, 'Oh, my squirrel is here.' He said, 'That's Junior.'

Marge continues:

[I] heard Al talking to the squirrel one day. He stopped for five seconds and said, 'I don't have time to talk to you today.' I guess that's all you have to talk to when you are here by yourself. The jays, he used to feed the jays. It was only him and me here. Yesterday I was saying if I was late showing up sometime, if I don't show up for supper, if I don't get here by 5:00 o'clock for something, come look for me 'cause I am down [in one of the guest cabins] there afraid. There's probably a bear or something around.

Alice: See I'm not afraid of bears like that as long as I know I can see him, but I wouldn't want to be face to face with him.

Marge: He said, 'Yep, I'll come up for ya, if you're not back when you should be.' I said, 'Yep. If I seen a bear around the cabin I would be afraid to go out' (Clark 2010).

In spite of Beatle's attempt to talk about bear sightings around the lodge the conversation quickly shifted to talk about the animals that had taken over the lodge that week, squirrels. Again, the conversation moves to Al who is an animal lover and names various wildlife around the lodge.

This conversation illustrates Bascom's first function of folklore. Bascom states:

Amusement is, obviously, one of the functions of folklore, and an important one; but even this statement cannot be accepted today as a complete answer, for it is apparent that beneath a great deal of humour lies a deeper meaning. The same is true for the concepts of fantasy and creative imagination. The fact that the story teller in some societies is expected to modify a familiar tale by introducing new elements or giving a novel twist to the plot is in itself of basic importance to the study of dynamics and the aesthetics of folklore, but one may ask why the teller chooses to introduce specific elements and twists (1954, 343).

A simple conversation that begins with Beatle asking a question about bear sightings made for an interesting dialogue regarding a guide's pet names for wildlife and an understanding of Marge's fear of bears. During this conversation about pet names some chuckles arose from those present. The humour of naming the animals, however, may hide deeper meanings. Perhaps Al is fighting the boredom of isolation in the wildness by creating names for and friendships with the animals that stop by. As Marge notes there was no one else for him to talk to. Thus as Bascom argues, "folklore also reveals man's attempts to escape in fantasy from the conditions of his geographical environment" (Bascom 1954, 343).

The animals and stories about them provide Al and his co-workers with an important source of entertainment given that they share tight quarters all summer. In some cases, an individual's story can evolve into the group's story. According to Philip Hiscock, "Personal lore can become communal lore, but only when it succeeds in being

passed on, either through the social success of its original carrier, or through some inherent aspect (humour, drama, rousing tune and so on) which called attention to it” (Hiscock 1987, 195). Naming wildlife began as Alvin’s narrative and grew into a story others tell about him.

Archie Green writes, “Essentially, McCarl asserts that the communicative process, which he studied, includes physical as well as oral components...the workers' horror stories used to externalize anxiety about dangerous conditions are all joined together as communicative aspects of culture” (Green 1978, 222). This is shown in the stories at the lodge pertaining to the gorge. While many of the stories about the gorge are referred to throughout this thesis, they show how some members of the staff fear this small piece of the river. They also imply how important it is to be careful when navigating the particular section. In one particular conversation Beatle told me about the time he took out the previous owner, Millie, in the boat:

Millie asked me to take her down the gorge. It was the first year I was working here. She didn't know it was my first year and I just learned the gorge about a week before that and she needed to go down the river. We were going down through, and then as soon as we got to the top on the gorge she said, 'I'm going to close my eyes.' And I said, 'Me too.' And her eyes popped open. First time she went down with her eyes open (Sheppard, 2010).

For the outsider this narrative may not mean much or even seem funny, but the gorge with its white water rapids is the most dreaded part of the river for many people associated with the lodge. For example, the housekeeper explained that her least favourite thing about working at the lodge is getting there: “You have to go by boat through the gorge. I have been coming up here to work for the past ten years and I have yet to come through with my eyes open. It never gets any easier. I close my eyes and hold on for dear

life” (Clark 2010).

There are no barriers when it comes to who narratives are told about; their focus can be anyone, even the owners. As long as the story makes people laugh, it is kept in circulation. Guide Hedley shares a story regarding the previous owner, Jelle: “[He] came over the falls one day. He went over the lift too far there and his motor got caught on a rock, pulled the motor up and he shot down over the falls and they almost flipped the boat. It wasn't funny at the time, but it was funny after” (Angell 2010). The story pokes fun at a former owner by showing that he was not in control of all situations.

Other narratives describe times when guides did not handle the boat well and almost caused a mishap. This type of narrative can be categorized as what Santino labels a cautionary tale:

Although major disasters are of course always talked about... There is a kind of accident story, however, that is persistent over time and consistent across occupations. I call these kinds of stories cautionary tales. These stories are found in every occupation that I have worked with, and they enjoy an importance corresponding to their persistence in time. They are very similar to many occupational ballads in structure, while their function is similar to the parable—they teach. They do not simply document the unusual accident; but they suggest a system wherein the reason for the accident can be determined, and, if the lesson is properly learned, similar accidents can be avoided in the future.... Whether spoken or sung, these cautionary tales share a certain didacticism, despite their differences. They remind workers to be careful and to avoid unnecessary risks. Improper placement of one's tools is an unnecessary risk, as is rushing through a job, and these stories teach the workers that violation of simple safety rules can and does result in accidents (Santino 1978, 202-204).

The staff at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge did not discuss many narratives related to accidents. However some of the stories, in particular ones pertaining to the gorge, can be considered what McCarl calls “close call narratives” (McCarl 1988, 38).” This kind of story “parallels the serious or fatal account in that it emphasizes processes and techniques that

could have had fatal consequences if followed to their logical conclusion” (McCarl 1988, 38). I asked the guides if there were any accidents that had occurred throughout the years and they said no. I am not 100% certain that this is true, but from my observations the guides do make safety their number one priority. Through stories like the one above told by Heldey, guests and guides are reminded of the importance of navigating the boat correctly and paying close attention to elements in the river.

Apart from the owners, other staff members, such as the kitchen staff, feature in many narratives that circulate throughout the lodge. The cooks are subjects of stories, mostly about their cooking disasters. In one interview with Beatle and Al, they started talking about some of the cooking disasters that have occurred:

Beatle: The cook mixed bread one day and we was all sitting out there to the table. I cut it open and was dough in the middle. Proper dough still wet and it was cooked and I bawled out to him, ‘Lord Jesus, Dave, that’s not cooked. It’s still raw in the middle.’ He took it and threw it all in the dump and then Jelle came in. Jelle took the garbage and said ‘What’s all the bread doing in the dump?’ I said, ‘Oh that was Dave, he baked a bread, and it was still half raw.’

Al: And it was doughy. The crust was ok.

Beatle: Oh yeah the crust was ok, the middle was dough. Just finished mixing it.

Al: He said the egg was wrong (Nippard and Sheppard 2010).

Here the cook is trying to cover up his mistake since egg does not go in bread but the above story suggests that mishaps in the kitchen are usually not forgotten by the guides. They are quick to call the cook out on any cooking misadventures as Beatle did. During the same interview Beatle shared another story regarding the cook:

I was out there once sat down. I was waiting for my breakfast and he came with the eggs. Millie was sat alongside of me. I was eating my eggs and [they were] all right white, like jelly. I said, 'Millie, I thought he had his cooking papers.' 'He has.' I said, 'The first thing you would have thought they would have taught him was how to fry an egg.' She said, 'You behave yourself,' she said [laughing]. I was on his case the whole time.

In an interview I did with Marjorie, she also told a narrative about a cook:

We had a male cook here a few years back and he was sitting on a plastic patio chair by the garbage can in the kitchen. Those chairs aren't very sturdy. He was peeling potatoes and just as I walked in. I could see the leg of his chair bending, but before I could say anything the cook was on the floor. The potatoes went one way and the garbage can another. I was laughing so much I couldn't even ask him if he was ok. Luckily, he wasn't hurt (Clark 2010).

The guides are quick to mention mishap stories about the cooks but their stories about the guides having a mishap or near-mishap are few in number. While the guides did not explain why they did not tell these stories, one wonders if their silence is partly from a fear of getting fired since safety is so important for both the guides and the lodge owners.

Many of the stories told made the people telling and listening laugh, but not all incidents were funny at the very moment they happened; rather, they became funny at a later time during storytelling. Marjorie tells another story and here she shows concern:

Another time a few of the guides were working on the sewer lines out by the main building. One of them came in looking for a pair of rubber gloves. While passing him the gloves he asked that we not flush any toilets. So he leaves to go on outside. I being so busy cleaning the rooms decided I should go to the washroom before going back to work. While in there I could hear someone shouting but not understanding what they were saying. All I was thinking was who fell in the river now? As I walked back into the kitchen the two workers were talking to someone through the window concerned. I asked 'What's going on?' One of them turned around and said someone flushed a toilet. I started laughing. As quick as the guide went through the door I had forgotten what he had told us (Clark 2010).

Like this example, most of the narratives told to me were about incidents that happened that were not funny at the time. In the realm of circulation, however, they became very

funny indeed. The act of retelling these stories is a way for storytellers to express themselves but as Contessa Small points out:

In essence, what these workers are being taught and are teaching themselves are work techniques for survival that are unique to their occupation. Within a worker's occupational life, one learns both formally and informally how to perform the job and through the narration of accidents a worker learns ways to remain safe on the job. These issues represent the single, most important form of education when pursuing an occupation in a dangerous environment (1999, 51).

Thus, these stories the guides and the other staff tell about their co-workers are ways to educate others on the ways to prevent similar incidents. Both Marge and Beatle use narratives to reinforce the importance of a cook being able to produce good food.

Some stories are about incidents that were never meant to be seen by co-workers.

An example is a narrative Beatle recounts of a time he saw my father hit a rock:

Every year, once or twice I hit a rock. And I was out there on the back river and he [Al] was coming through the back channel, high and dry. I was there holding my hands together laughing. Thirty-eight years and you still don't know where the rocks are to. That was funny. Good to catch him once in awhile. Well that was the first time I ever seen him hit a rock (Sheppard 2010).

Beatle is describing an incident that occurred the previous day when he saw Al hit a rock while out on the river. Al was hoping no one except for his guests knew about the incident but unfortunately for him Beatle was close by. It was not long after Beatle saw Al hit the rock that he was circulating the story.

It is in part through mishaps that joking relationships develop. These joking occurrences help create fraternal bonding. As Peter Lyman writes, "Fraternal bonding is an intimate kind of male group friendship that suspends the ordinary rules and responsibilities of everyday life through joking relationships" (Lyman 1989,91). Their

interpersonal joking is a sign of the close relationship Beatle and Al share; they are close buddies. Neither gets angry when they circulate a mishap story like that one presented above; they just laugh it off.



Alvin and Beatle. Photo taken by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

The joking among workers at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge allows them to pass away the long days all summer season. As Roger D. Abrahams notes:

Barbara Garson's recent study of routine work and workers, all the live long day, for instance, resounds with talk about how people maintain their sanity by developing joking and stalling techniques on the line... thus developing a sense of groupness resulting in an informal collective bargaining session... By developing situational joking on the job, hierarchy can be celebrated at the same time as status is somehow equalized (Abrahams 1978, 167-168).

Joking about the boat incident, given that Alvin is the oldest and most knowledgeable

guide on the river, lowers the guide's status. His status is playfully called into question through the telling of the narrative that asks: How is someone so experienced on the river able to make a mistake of hitting a rock? But Beatle is also quick to mention how this was his first time ever seeing Alvin do such a thing so that Al's status is not permanently damaged by the story.

Narratives told by staff members about the guests

Workers are not the only people who become the subject of funny and sometimes embarrassing narratives; staff members are also known to tell many stories about the guests. Beatle relates:

I took the father and son up the river. And the river was really low. And we were up there fishing, you know, a couple of hours in the morning and never seen a thing. I was cooking my flumbies [fried up dough for lunch] and I had them on in the frying pan on the open fire there. All of a sudden the young feller hooked a grilse [young salmon, between 3 -5 pounds] so I forgot about my flumbies and ran over to net the fish and I dip the fish, as soon as I dip the fish I took the hook out of him. And [I] looked at his father and bawled out, 'Dinner!' And as soon as, I said, 'Dinner,' he was gone [laughs]. And my flumbies they were burned black (Sheppard 2010).

While trying to create a lunch for his guest, Beatle extends help to his guest when he hooks a salmon. The narrative ultimately portrays two mishaps that happened to Beatle: losing the salmon and burning dinner.

Beatle is an entertaining, excellent, and, enthusiastic storyteller. I interviewed Beatle three times, and while all the interviews were good, the best interview I conducted with him was when he and Al were in the presence of each other. Beatle was the main storyteller while Al would join in with some remarks. After he would tell me one story,

another one would automatically follow. Below is another story Beatle told me regarding one of his guests:

The next day I took the young feller out fishing over to Broken Rubber. I was there sat down. The young feller was there fishing and fishing and next thing I know I fell asleep. I had a pair of glasses on. He couldn't see my eyes. And all of a sudden he hooked a fish and the boat started to hit a rock and I woke up and I said, 'Oh you got one?' He said, 'You were asleep?' I said, 'No, I wasn't. How would I know you had a fish on if I was asleep?' He said, 'I knows you were asleep,' he said, 'But I couldn't see your eyes' (Sheppard 2010).

The narrative's humour both lies in the fact that the guest caught Beatle sleeping and that Beatle makes himself the target.

The act of reminiscing about this particular guest helped Beatle remember other incidents that occurred awhile he was guiding them:

Beatle: That's like the time I gave him the light.

Al: Oh the cigar?

Beatle: He bummed a cigar off one of the guests on the way out. He was sixteen or seventeen years old. And he asked me for a light so I turned around and gave him a light. And god he puffed and he puffed and he puffed until the cigar was gone. When he came to shore he was sick. [He] smoked too much. [The] first smoke he ever had in his life was this great big cigar. And then I went to go out that afternoon and his father came down and I said, 'Are you ready to go fishing?' He said, 'What did you do to my son?' I said, 'What do you mean?' [He said,] 'Giving him cigarettes.' 'I never gave him no cigarettes,' I said. 'Someone gave him a cigar,' I said. 'I just gave him a light.' He said, 'If he wanted booze you would have gave that to him too, would ya?' He wasn't please, yeah Al?

Al: No. He said, 'You done me one favour. My son will never smoke no more.' B'y he was sick.

Beatle: He was. Oh that he was.

While reminiscing about past times Al and Beatle shared many laughs. When telling their stories, it was quite clear they had shared some memorable times, as they would often repeat, "God, them days were fun" (Nippard, Sheppard 2010). Their

comment connects to the notion of critical nostalgia that Ray Cashman discusses in his article “Critical Nostalgia and Material Culture in Northern Ireland.” Cashman writes:

Nostalgia can be critical in an analytic sense for instantiating informed evaluation of the present through contrast with the past. Nostalgia can also be critical, in the sense of being vitally important, for inspiring action of great moral weight, action that may effect a better future (Cashman 2006, 137-138).

Alvin and Beatle both value the good old days at the lodge, but, as Cashman, suggests, their recalling of earlier days offers valuable insight into how they see the present and the future of their time at the lodge. The stories they told of earlier days at the lodge highlighted the fact that there were fewer regulations. The guides had more free time because there were fewer guests. Today rules and regulations have increased as has the work load with more anglers staying at the lodge. Dwight has written a set of rules for the employees to follow [Please see Appendix C].

In addition to humorous stories about the earlier days at the lodge, the guides also recounted serious narratives. They love having a laugh and some fun, but they also want to be respected. Here Beatle tells of a time when some guests would not listen to him:

I took two guests on the back river fishing and it started getting late, you know, nine o'clock. So it was starting to get dark. I said, ‘Time to reel up b'ys.’ They never took no notice of me. Just kept on fishing. I said, ‘Time to reel up b'ys,’ another five minutes after. They never paid no attention to me. So I started up my motor. Ran up the nose of the boat. Hauled up the anchor. Ran back to the motor and took off. The b'ys reeling in, ‘Wait, wait, wait.’ I said, you can chase the reel. You guys didn't pay no attention to me.’ And they reeled right from there until we got ashore. The next time I told them to reel in they reeled in (Sheppard 2010).

The guides treat the guests with respect and show them a good time but their narratives reflect that they have zero tolerance for guests who do not show them respect. For most guides this seasonal job is their only means of a livelihood and they are not willing to jeopardize that for guests who do not obey the rules. Alvin mentioned to me how one of

his guests, who had used up all his tags, wanted to illegally bring a salmon inshore and get one of his friend's tags. Alvin was stern and said no. The guest challenged Al's decision but in the end Dwight told the guest that Al had done the right thing (Nippard 2010). If a fishery officer caught a guide going ashore with an untagged salmon, he would lose his license and thus not be able to work as a guide for sometime. Below Alvin describes how showing who has the more authority pays off with difficult guests:

I said, 'B'y time to go in.' He said, 'You should have an office job.' Now buddy, that didn't go over very good. I did the same thing. Got the motor going and went. The fly out there, bang, bang, bang, bang all over the water. When I got ashore I said to the other fellers, 'I'll guide you all morning, all day and all night, but this feller eight hours. When the eight hours is up I'm giving up.' He apologized and after [he was] not a problem. When I said 'Reel in,' he was reeling in buddy (Nippard 2010).

Both Beatle and Al made the point that the majority of guests are cooperative.

One of Beatle's stories illustrates how guests and guides can work together:

When I started guiding here I had [two guests], Mike and Jimbo, eh Al, everyday. I would be going out of the river and all of a sudden I hit a rock and they say, 'Get off the motor.' One of the guests telling me, 'Get off the motor.' And I sit down like a guest and another guest driving the boat all week. Al said, 'Oh Beatle you lost your license again.' I said, 'Oh yes.'

Al: Oh he going around just like one of the guests. Mike or Jimbo using his boat, well usually Mike.

Beatle: Oh yeah Mike kept the motor eh. Yup, I sat down, waving to the boys.

Al: Getting them to bring coffee to you. Fill out ya boat.

Beatle: Fill out my boat yeah.

Al: Oh we used to have some good times here.

Beatle: Oh that for sure.

Part of this narrative's humour comes from a blurring of the boundaries that usually

separate guide from guest. Here their positions appeared to reverse. Like the earlier narratives, the story also emphasizes the good times Al and Beatle shared in the past.

These narratives are meant to be a form of joking behaviour. As Lyman explains:

Although we conventionally think of jokes as a meaningless part of the dramaturgy of everyday life, this convention is part of the way that the social function of jokes is concealed and is necessary if jokes are to work. It is when jokes fail that the social conflicts that the joke was to reconstruct or negotiate are uncovered and the tensions and emotions that underlie the conventional order of everyday social relations are revealed (Lyman 1989, 87).

From my observations, joking relationships pervaded the lodge. They characterized both interactions between the guides as well as exchanges between guides and guests.

Narratives about the day's catch, the amount of salmon, the river, the experience and the weather

When sitting at the dining room table over a meal, a typical conversation includes stories about things such as the weather, river conditions, and the number of salmon caught. The guides and guests both tell these stories, fulfilling two of Bascom's functions of folklore: education and the promotion of cultural conformity. Bascom writes, "A third function of folklore is that which it plays in education (Bascom 1954, 344)... In the fourth place, folklore fulfills the important but often overlooked function of maintaining conformity to the accepted patterns of behavior" (Bascom 1954, 346). All the stories below educate the staff and guests and help the guides to maintain order. An illustration is the story that shows Beatle and Alice engaging in a conversation about the fishing season and the number of salmon in the river:

Alice: Slow fishing now.

Beatle: Oh that it is, really slow. I say what was here is all gone through now with all the high water.

Alice: I wonder if there's going to be another run yet?

Beatle: They say you get a run of jacks [medium size salmon] in September or late August but as far as I know you get the run of grilse, then you get the run of mixed, and then you get the jacks on the end.

Alice: Too bad it's such a short season.

Beatle: Yep. But a lot of people don't bother to come in August and you still get some good fishing in August.

Alice: Yep, that's it see. They all want the first two weeks in July.

Beatle: Yep, always. Yes, either the second or third week.

Alice: Yes.

Beatle: Usually you got real good fishing then. This year it wasn't good until the third week and then the water came up and fooled everything up again.

Alice: That's right.

Beatle: Yep the fish is just going to move on with the river up [high water] because, you know, their off-spray and the eagles and that can't get them so easy with the high water. You know with the high water, they can go down and go. Usually they only just move at night, you know to get away from them. The high water they are going through day and night now. They aren't stopping.

Alice: Not stopping for a rest (Lethbridge and Sheppard 2010).

In the above dialogue Alice and Beatle not only share their knowledge of the habits of salmon, they educate everyone present. There are parallels to McCarl's study of the occupational folklife of a fire department:

Storytelling in the fire department is as much a part of the firefighting experience as the color of the apparatus and the brass work. In many cases storytelling sessions like the one quoted above are serial accounts in which a group of fire fighters will begin with one topic that will suggest another and another with each person giving a personal example. To the rookie fire fighter this not only provides

him with information about the people and events of firefighting, it also communicates attitudes and feelings that shape the young fire fighter's view of the occupation. In the above case; the proper etiquette toward meals – you are either in or you are out (McCarl 1985, 137-138).

Just like the rookie firefighter, the new guide learns tips and tricks to become better guides by listening in on conversations and narratives told around the lodge.

While many of the stories are about events that occurred recently, others happened in a more distant past as indicated by this story Beatle tells about the river:

And the first time I took the guests down through the gorge I done alright taking them down because I only learned the gorge two runs before that, before I started guiding. So I took them down through and then it's time to come home for dinner. So I figured you have to use the full throttle to get up through that gorge. And when I started coming through I started bouncing off the lops [small waves in the water] and I drove the guests clean off their seats. Both of them was in the bottom of the boat. I dare say you could see the fingerprints on the side of my boat after that (Sheppard 2010).

Here again the underlying functions of education and conformity are evident as the story both educates and implicitly shows the proper way guides have of running the gorge. This can also be classified as an accident, or at least a near accident, narrative (McCarl 1988, 35).

Narratives told by Guests

Many of the narratives I collected were told by the guides but the guests also had stories regarding the river such as the one below when Ray Smallwood informed me about what happened while he was fishing:

Yesterday we were fishing with the Butlers. There were five of them in their party and there were four in our party. So nine of us sharing the pool where you could perhaps only fish three people at a time and there were nine of us. So that meant two thirds of the time we were sitting around talking. One third of the time we were fishing because we were sharing it. Anyways there was this one little feller,

he's particular mouthy, a bit like me. He always had something to say... He was anxious to get out on the rock and to get fishing and nobody had caught any fish for three hours... Very frustrating. Very slow day, very poor day for fishing. And finally we decided Al, John and I would come back over to the camp. So I'm going down, he gets out on the rock and he started fishing and we were two thirds of the way back to the boat and we heard this roaring and shouting, 'Hooray! Hooray! We caught a fish!' Anyways I didn't know who it was, who had caught the fish, but I turned around and beat it back up the trail to coach him on and give him words of encouragement from the shore. And when I get up there here he was stood up, the little short feller he was, up on the rock with the rod way up in the air playing the fish and he was doing a good job of it. And I started shouting at him from the shore, 'Way to go buddy! Bring him in. Reel your line, reel your line.' And he turned around and started shouting out at me, with his focus on me and not on the fish. The fish got off the line, the fish broke away. Everybody at the shore started clapping and roaring at him so it's pretty funny. Maybe if I hadn't went back to give him some words of encouragement he would have landed the fish. But he got away on him (Smallwood 2010).

This account deals with the day's catch, the amount of salmon, the river and the experience. It also educates listeners about the rules of a pool when there's a crowd there and the importance of keeping one's attention on the task at hand. It entertains them by having humour in the story. Finally, it shows how fellow anglers get excited when other anglers catch a salmon.

Apart from interviewing the four guests present during the ten days I was at the lodge, I also made contact through phone and email with former guests of Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge, including Mike Crosby, Ardythe Lantz, Doug Underhill, Thomas Pick, and Bill Spicer. Similar to the guides, the guests also have many narratives to share about their experiences at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge and fishing on the Eagle River. All the guests I got in contact with had a great time and their experience at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge left them with lasting memories. Guest, Albert shared one of his memories about the time he was on his way coming home from the lodge:

Last year...it was the last day they were closing the camp, and guides, Al, Heldey

and myself and the cook and everybody went out on the boats to go into Cartwright. It was only me, so it was too expensive for the plane. I was getting a small jumper from Cartwright to Goose so I could get back to Halifax. It was fogged in on the coast as usual in Cartwright and all the rest of the coast. I told Woody [the owner's father], 'I will go up to the airport and wait.' He said, 'There's no Airport, just a room. You can't go up there.' So I stayed at the hotel and waited. When I got up there he was right, it's only the person who runs the airport and the tower. Runs it from her house and turns the light on and the plane comes in. Anyway I got in, was maybe four hours late. I had to overnight in Goose anyway but I'd rather stay in Goose Bay. There is a restaurant and different things. I said, 'I got to get out of Cartwright.' The plane came in and they called me down at the hotel. Yeah, we are going to leave. We can't go up the coast. It's fogged up everywhere we got to go back to Goose bay. [We're] leaving right now if you can come right up.' I got a ride up to the plane. So I got to the plane and there's a women there and her husband and she had sunglasses on and she said, 'Excuse me b'y, you going on this plane?' [in a thick Newfoundland English accent] 'Yes,' I said, 'I'm going back to Goose Bay.' 'You sure you want to go on this plane?' I said, 'Yeah I want to go on the plane.' 'There's a dead body on the plane, [she said]. I said, 'What did he just die?' 'No, no me son we are going to take him up and bury him up in Black Tickle. This is three times. He's been back three times Goose Bay to Cartwright and it's fogged in, can't take him to the Tickle. The minister, the priest, is on the plane and the body, meself and my husband.' I said, 'I don't mind sitting on the rough box. I'm not staying in Cartwright. I'm getting out of Cartwright no matter what.' 'You sure you don't mind the body b'y?', [she asked]. I said, 'No, I don't mind the body, I'm outta here.' The guy was on the floor, I had my feet on the rough box, they had their feet on the rough box. It was a sad thing the way he went. I didn't ask any more questions. I said this could only happen to me, the way I went. I got off in Goose Bay and off I went to the hotel. I died. I'd rather get on with him then stay in Cartwright so that was the end of that. She said, 'You don't mind the body b'y?' I said, 'No.' I was that cranky by then I didn't mind the body (Sampson 2010).

Not all stories are about the lodge, river, or salmon. Others relate to the traveling one as to do to get into Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge, as the above example shows. Albert had a memorable experience last summer on his way back home. It illustrates how isolation, in terms of not many flights, can find a person in situations they were not planning on. Albert was quite animated when describing the incident, even using Newfoundland and Labrador dialect to portray how the woman spoke. Albert told me this story after I had asked him all the questions I had prepared for him. I wanted to know

if he had any more stories and he said, “Well, I have one, but not sure if it’s appropriate” (Sampson 2010). Since I was the only one there listening, I was a bit shocked by it but Albert told the story very well, making me chuckle at some parts.

As mentioned in previous chapters, the expertise of the guides at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge is a huge factor in making the experience memorable for visitors. Nelson, a guide for nine years, was the subject of many of the narratives told to me by the guests at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge. The word circulating around the cabins was that Nelson looks rough on the outside but he is very caring. Many guests said Nelson was a very knowledgeable guide and took great pride in showing them a great time. Here Albert remembers a story about one of his fishing adventures that centres on Nelson:

The first year I came, Nelson was guiding me. And Nelson is a little rough around the edges with the beard and the scrub stuff on him there. And he gets all worked up. It was about thirty degrees I guess and we were out in the boat and the river was low. And we were out in the sand bar fishing and I was flipping away at the thing and he was in the sun baking. So first thing I look in the back of the boat, there was no Nelson. He jumped over in the river, clothes and all and got washed off I guess and cooled down. Then he comes flying back on the side of the boat and inside of the boat and said, ‘Cool now?’ I said. ‘I hope you washed your underwear and stuff.’ But he was back in the boat and that’s the way he stayed for the rest of the day. Didn’t take him long to dry off because it was thirty 30 degrees or so and he was over heating so he couldn’t handle it. But that was kind of a funny one (Sampson 2010).

Although this thesis focuses on the occupational folklife of fishing guides, these examples show that the guests also have many stories regarding their guides.

Conclusion

An important element in narratives told by the guides at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge is the memories they generate of earlier seasons working at the lodge. The guides speak

nostalgically about their past at Pratt Falls, even though ownership, name of the lodge, staff members and guests have changed throughout the years. Heather Gillett wrote of the brickmakers she interviewed, what “stands out in the memory as being atypical or extraordinary tends to take the form of stories or narratives which are told with a certain degree of performance” (Gillett 2008, 115-116). Similarly, many of the stories the guides shared were of unusual incidents that stand out in their memories. These include catching the first salmon of the season or landing a particularly large fish. Desmond remembers helping his guests get a big salmon:

Two weeks ago two fellers hooked a big salmon. He was about fourteen pounds, I guess, and we were in Broken Rubber. But anyways there’s fast water and rocks and it’s a narrow spot. So when he hooked his salmon, the salmon took off to go down the river. So we had to haul anchor and only two of us aboard and try to get out between the rocks. We were hitting rocks and the water was fast that was pretty exciting, pretty interesting most memorable I say (Holwell 2010).

Robert vividly recalls his first big catch on the Eagle River:

He was twenty pounds. It was the first day I went fishing. It was amazing. Me, Jeremy and Nelson went over to the military side¹. We were fishing and all of a sudden my hook is stuck to a rock or stick or something. [I] passed the rod over to Nelson. He was trying to get it free, seemed like five minutes, and all of a sudden he passed it back, so I could bust the line. When I started to pull on it harder it started to move. Then all of a sudden I realized it was a salmon. So I got him in and it was twenty pounds (Kennedy 2010).

Positive memories of incidents that happened on the river in years past were relived as tellers shared them with others. When the guides Des and Robert were relating their memories of catching salmon, they were both very happy and excited. Even though Des's memory was of his guests catching salmon rather than himself, it still brought enjoyment

¹ According to Alvin Nippard, the Military Side is on the opposite side of the river from The Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge, directly next to the big falls (Pratt Falls).

to him since he was present and it reflected well on his skills as a guide.

The experiences of both the guides and the guests are the basis for stories that are passed on orally among guides and other members of the staff as well as guests throughout the season. Storytelling often takes place during meal times or at the end of the day and narratives are told not just to share some funny event that occurred but for entertainment and educational purposes. While both Santino and McCarl have written about the different categories of occupational narratives, the authors point out that no two occupations are the same and each workplace will produce their own categories of narrative. In this chapter I have focused on four categories of narrative present at the fishing lodge: those that the guides tell about and among themselves; narratives told by guides about the guests; narratives that guides and guests tell about the day's catch, the amount of salmon, the river, the experience and the weather; and narratives related by guests. Most, if not all, of the narratives told had elements of humour. If the story was not humorous at the beginning, the narrator made it seem funny by the end. The time both the guides and guests spend at the lodge creates special memories, such as remembering the first catch of the season. Embodied in these nostalgic memories of the past can be a powerful critique of the present.

The next chapter summarizes the key points found in earlier chapters and reflects on the meanings of occupational folklife for guides at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has outlined the importance of occupational folklife for guides working at a remote fishing lodge. Instead of looking at the actual salmon fishing, I examined the guides' canon of work technique and how they relied on foodways, pranks, and narratives to create a sense of community. Humour underlined all forms of expression.

I began the study by reviewing some of the literature in the field of occupational folklife and by outlining the fieldwork I conducted. In Chapter Two I reviewed the development of the tourism industry in Newfoundland and Labrador from its beginnings in the nineteenth century and introduced Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge, the fishing lodge that is the focus of the work. The lodge is located on the Eagle River in Labrador. The river is renowned for its salmon fishing and attracts anglers from around the world. The fishing lodge, established in the 1960's, has undergone many changes over the years in both appearance and owners, and I traced its development. I also described the layout of the lodge and the river. Finally, I introduced the lodge's guides, other staff members and owners, and the guests.

Chapter Three examined the guides' canon of work at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge. It is through the guides' daily routine we learn how they do their job and how they develop good relationships with guests. Robert McCarl relates canon of work technique to the notion of hierarchy and one way this is evidenced at the lodge is in terms of the guides' efforts to earn a tip from guests. The guides describe sometimes trying to exceed guests'

expectations in order to ensure that they catch a fish. This is in hopes of earning a generous tip. Canon of work technique also includes the guides' knowledge of the river and its salmon pools as well as their survival skills and interpersonal skills in managing the anglers. Guides ensure guests have a good time at the same time they are in control of every situation.

Chapter Four explored two aspects of folklife at the lodge: foodways and pranks. Food is very important to the lodge as Mick Emmens indicates when he observes: "I've seen guests come out of the camps and talk more about how good the cook was and the food they had than the fishing" (Emmens 2011). Foodways is one of the ways life at the lodge is ordered and routine established. On the other hand, pranks at the lodge create variation in that routine. Practical jokes played in the past were more extreme, partly because there were not so many rules. Today many of these practical jokes are the subject of humorous stories. Although the lodge now places a greater emphasis on safety and regulations, pranks and stories of earlier pranks are still important to the guides. Humour helps alleviate boredom and is key to their positive interactions with guides, other staff members, and guests.

Chapter Five considered storytelling at the lodge. I observed many stories told by the staff and guests for a variety of purposes. I concentrated on four types of narratives and explored how they fulfilled all four of Bascom's functions of folklore: entertainment, education, promotion of conformity and validation of culture (Bascom 1954). Recalling past times at the lodge helps to create nostalgic memories that contribute to a sense of community among the guides. These narrative sometimes also reflect a critical view of today's regulations. Like the pranks, the stories are an important way for the guides to

break up the day and to enjoy some entertainment.

Through forms of occupational folklife the guides at Pratt Falls Salmon Lodge share their skills as they play different roles: fishing expert, friend, tourist operator, authority figure, and entertainer. While all these different roles are never specifically stated when they are hired, they are important to the success of the season. Bell in his article, "Tending Bar at Brown's: Occupational Role as Artistic Performance," discussed how performance changes when in different roles, such as interactions with the customers and the interaction between employees:

The bartender or barmaid has been seen as the distributor of drinks and as the person ultimately responsible for order...In truth, tending bar is more complex. The bartender stands at the centre of societal ambivalence over public drinking...In a bar this is accomplished by the sale of as much alcohol as possible. At the same time, the unrestricted sale of alcohol offers the real possibility of serious social and business consequences...Accordingly, the person tending bar must create an atmosphere in which people will keep drinking, thus satisfying the legitimate needs of his employer, and, at the same time, not allow anyone to become so drunk as to constitute a threat to social order. To achieve this, the person behind the bar cannot be just a passive listener and observer waiting until disorder arises to exercise control, but he must be an active participant engaged in creating an orderly world in which patron energy can be appropriately expressed. Tending bar thus involves the strategic manipulation of patron energy into a social order in which encounters may occur without threatening consequences to patron, bar or community (Bell 1976, 93-94).

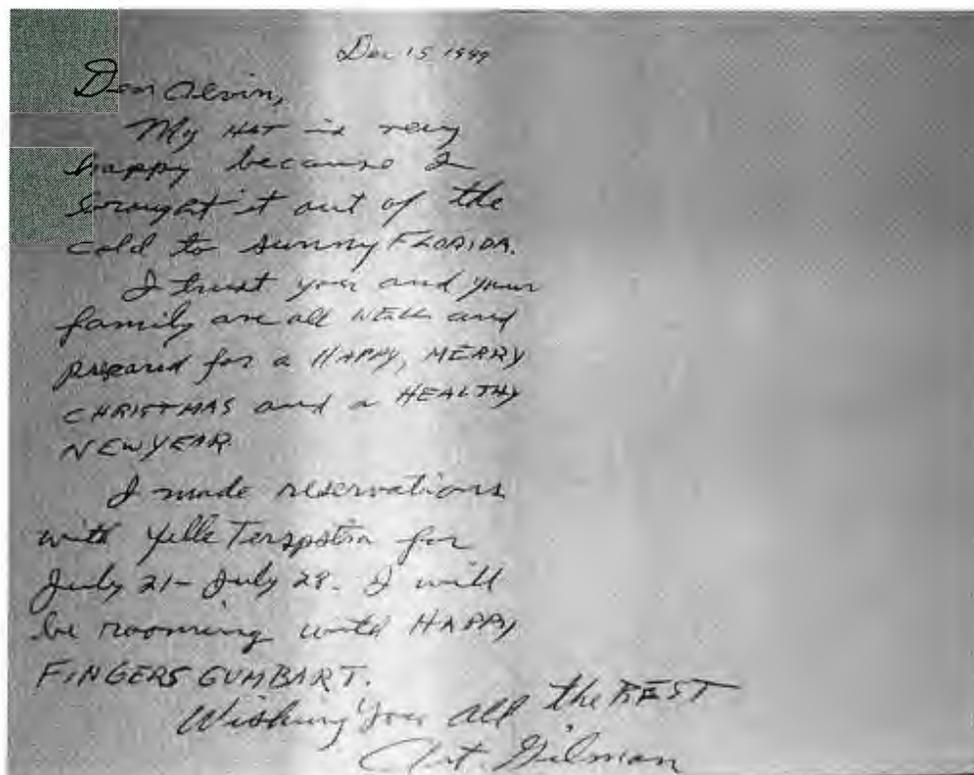
Like bar tenders, guides are hired to perform a specific job but end up performing many others as well. Although bar owners or lodge owners never formally require their employees to fill these extra roles, it is expected. The owner of the fishing lodge expects guides to do more than drive a boat and direct guests to fishing spots. It is understood that the guides will show the guest a good time and that they will also know how to assert their control to prevent any situation from getting out of hand. For example, when Al's guest wanted to keep fishing even though he had no salmon tags left, Al was firm. This

was even though they had been joking around together all week (Nippard 2010).

Keeping the guest happy means more than a good tip. If the guests enjoy themselves they will return again another year. It is this good treatment that helps turn a worker-guest relationship into a friendship. These friendships can flourish over the years and extend beyond the river to outside of the lodge. Alvin has one such friendship with a long-term guest, Art Gillman. Below is a picture of Alvin and Art at the lodge.



Alvin and Art. Personal photo from Alvin Nippard.



Christmas Card to Alvin Nippard from Art Gilman, Christmas 1999. Personal collection, Alvin Nippard.

The friendships may be kept up through phone calls, visits and Christmas cards, as pictured above. Lodge owner, Dwight, also talks about keeping in contact with the guides and guests during the off-season:

A few phone calls to the guides during the winter. Not all the guests, Christmas greetings things like that we keep in contact that way. But most of the contact I've gotten with the guests is getting details for the following year... There's not much chit-chat. With a couple of them there is. Like Albert calls me and I'll call him, probably half dozen times a year to say what's going on and how's business and that kind of thing. Because with some of them you just become friends with and that's the kind of people that they are and that's the kind of person I am (Lethbridge 2010).

These friendships are important to the guides and to the work environment they help create at the lodge. Being in the remote wilderness is not a bad thing when you are

surrounded by friends with whom you can create memories that will last a lifetime. The guides' canon of work technique, foodways, pranks, and narratives reflect the requirements of their job and the skills they need to do it well. These expressive forms also help generate lasting memories for guides and guests that bring them together in a kind of occupational family.

Tight Lines!



All the crew. Left to Right: Al, Marge, Nelson, Desmond, Hedley, Dwight, Robert, Janet, Terry, and Arch. Photo taken by L. Nippard, Summer 2010.

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APPENDIX A:

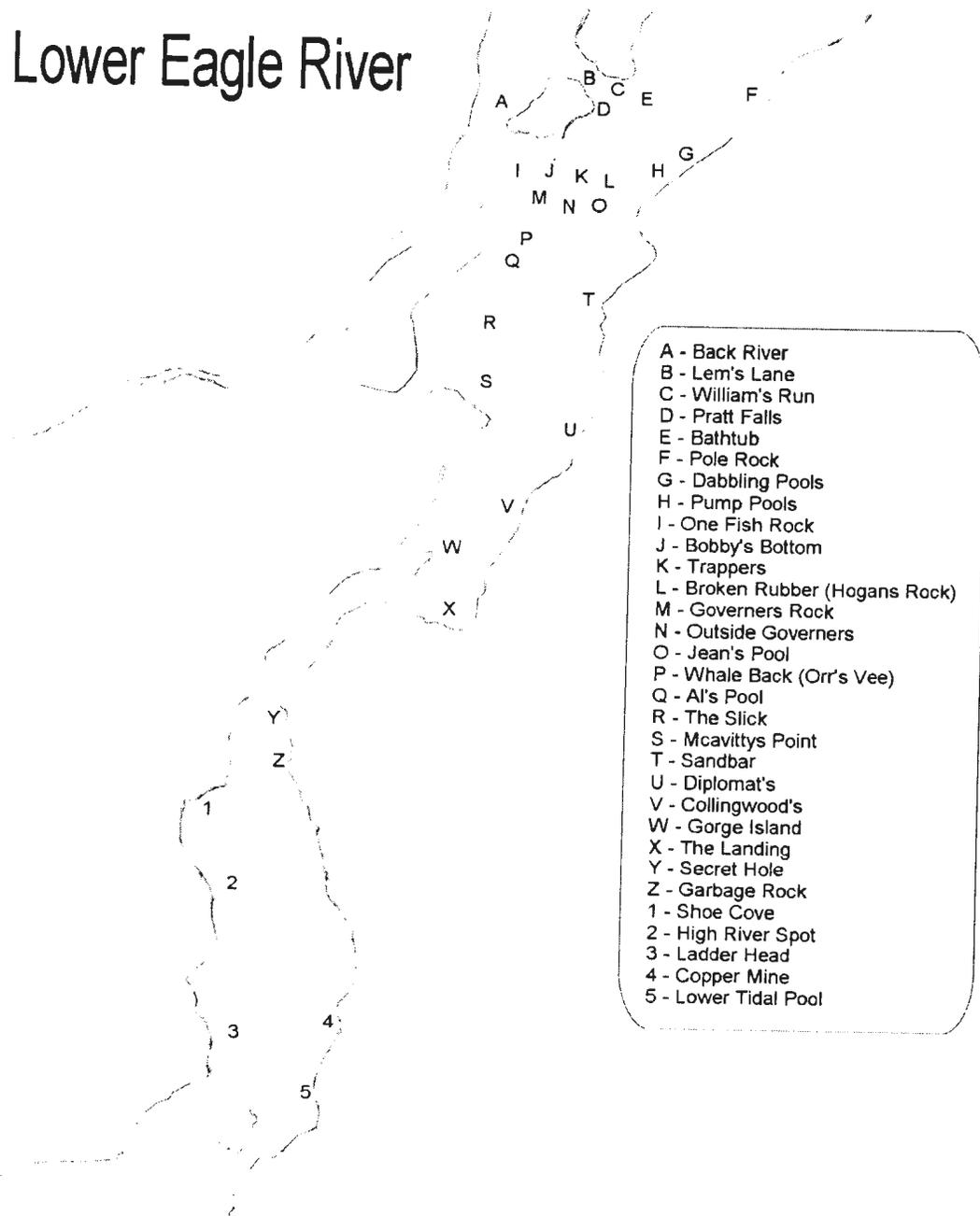
MAPS OF SALMON POOLS ON EAGLE RIVER



Pool Map



Lower Eagle River



Map of Pools supplied by Terry Gullage, July 30, 2010.

APPENDIX B: GUIDE'S LICENCE



DATE: 2012-04-25

2012 GUIDE'S LICENCE

ALVIN R NIPPARD
GENERAL DELIVERY
MAIN POINT
NL
AUG 3G0

D L NO: N500327013
REGISTRATION NO: 422

IS AUTHORIZED TO ACT AS A GUIDE PURSUANT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE
GUIDES REGULATIONS (NEWFOUNDLAND) AS AMENDED IN THE PROVINCE OF
NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR.



2012 GUIDE'S LICENCE RETURN

ALVIN R NIPPARD
GENERAL DELIVERY
MAIN POINT
NL
AUG 3G0

Mail to:
Wildlife Division
P.O. Box 2007
Corner Brook, NL
A2H 7S1

D L NO: N500327013
REGISTRATION NO: 422

# OF HUNTING PARTIES GUIDED	# OF FISHING PARTIES GUIDED	TOTAL # OF DAYS EMPLOYED

NOTE: Guides to provide names and addresses of guided parties if requested.

I the undersigned declare that this is a true and correct return of all parties guided.

DATE _____ SIGNATURE _____

DATE OF BIRTH: 1950-03-27

HEIGHT WEIGHT HAIR EYES SEX
5 FT. 8 IN. 175 LBS. BROWN BROWN M

Alvin R Nippard

FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE MINISTER OF
ENVIRONMENT AND CONSERVATION

(Detach and return with payment)

Mail To:
Central Cashiers Office
P.O. Box 8770
St. John's, NL
A1B 4J6

Guide Renewal

Name: ALVIN R NIPPARD
D L #: N500327013
Year: 2013
Licence Type: 6

Cost: \$ 11.30
Application Id: 032015112679

Guide's License belonging to Alvin Nippard.

APPENDIX C:
PRATT FALLS SALMON LODGE RULES AND REGULATIONS



dwight@prattfallslodge.com www.prattfallslodge.com PO Box 59 Cartwright, NL A0K1V0 ph. 709.938.7414 fax. 709.938.7260

Camp General Rules & Regulations

All Employees

Updated: June 2011

1. The consumption of alcoholic beverages during your work hours is strictly prohibited unless offered by camp owners (ie. end of season social).
2. The use of unlawful drugs is strictly prohibited.
3. Always be friendly and courteous to guests and fellow employees
4. Employees will not compete for pools while there are guests fishing. General rule of thumb is to stay off the river when guests are on the river unless you are guiding
5. Keep living quarters, personal space, and personal laundry clean at all times. Personal hygiene must be kept to a high standard.
6. All staff or kitchen laundry can be done on any day except for Monday and Friday. Laundry must be free on these days for housekeeping.
7. Everyone must wear a life jacket when travelling through the gorge, and there must at all times be a life jacket for every person aboard a boat.
8. Familiarize yourself with the location of fire extinguishers.
9. No cooking in rooms, and no open flames such as candles permitted
10. The use and storage of flammable solutions must be limited to the storage shed and the generator shed, or outside in appropriate containers.
11. Any employee found to deliberately damage camp property will be dismissed.
12. Fighting, yelling, or any violence will not be tolerated and instigators will be dismissed. An instigator will be determined by eye witness, and or past behavior at camp. This will be ultimately determined by the camp owners.
13. Any employee found to be stealing anything from a guest or the lodge will be dismissed immediately.
14. Loud noises must be kept to a minimum in the presence of guests and fellow employees. This includes music, tv, talking, or yelling.
15. The camp is stocked with 2 way radios for use in boats and on shore...be sure that they are charged at all times.

16. Never ask a sport to retain a fish for your tags.
17. Never permit sports to have open fires outside unless conditions are wet and forestry is notified
18. Be prompt at mealtimes. Guides allow guests to land hooked fish, cooks allow time for this and attempt to provide a hot meal to late guides and guests. Guides must advise the cook if they intend to be late for a meal.
19. Do not remove dishes from the main lodge to the guide cabin.
20. Be considerate of non-smokers. Smoking in the buildings is prohibited. Please ensure that cigarette butts are fully extinguished and not left laying around the camp grounds.
21. Assist management when asked.
22. Shirts, shorts/pants, and footwear must be worn in the dining room at all times
23. The storage of guns, knives with blades over 4 inches is not permitted in employee quarters.
24. Employees are to stay out of the main lodge guest area and patio unless invited by management or a guest, or unless lighting the fire place.
25. Wireless internet is available for employee use as well as a voice over IP phone. Employees may take laptops to camp but they may only be used during off duty hours. If internet is slow for guests or it is found that time spent on the internet is affecting job performance employees will be told to refrain from using the internet.
26. The camp will provide all employees with 3 meals a day and beverages to accompany meals. There will always be plenty of water and juice in stock and soft drinks will be limited to one a day from the camp stock. If you require extra soft drinks or snack food it can be brought to camp at your expense. Talk to the camp manager.

These rules and regulations are a working document. They have the sole purpose of outlining a safe and comfortable work place for all employees and a pleasant experience for guests. Thank you for your cooperation by following them. Breaking of these rules can result in job suspension or termination, and in some cases legal action. If you ever have questions about these rules, or questions about your job duties please bring them to the prompt attention of the camp manager.

Acknowledged by _____ this ____ day of _____

