VISUALIZING SCANDINAVIAN STORIES: AN EXPLORATION OF THE HISTORY OF SCANDINAVIAN INVOLVEMENT IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT L'ANSE AUX MEADOWS

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Abstract

The L'Anse aux Meadows (LAM) archaeological site, located in Northern Newfoundland, remains the only authenticated Norse site in North America, excluding Greenland. This project examines the history of archaeological research on the site, focusing specifically on the involvement of Scandinavian researchers during the 1960s to 1970s, and aims to present the information in an accessible manner using visual tools. The results of my research are integrated through an illustrated narrative that provides an overview of field seasons at LAM in the 1960s (Ingstads' excavations) and 1970s (Parks Canada excavations). To facilitate understanding and to visualize the history of archaeology at LAM, accessible tools, including an actor-network map and timeline, are provided. This allows the objectives and results of field seasons excavations, the original contribution of Scandinavian researchers, as well as the wider socio-political context of the research (including conflicting agendas and interests of different researchers and the NL provincial government, as well as Memorial University) to be made accessible to a non-specialist public. The methodology for this research comprised a comprehensive literature review of English and selected Icelandic source material, archival research, and oral history interviews. Archival research components included contemporary newspaper articles, site reports, photographs, and letters, especially the Ingstad's Letters from Memorial University of Newfoundland records. Oral history interviews were conducted with Parks Canada's Birgitta Wallace and Clayton Colbourne and focused on L'Anse aux Meadows' community and archaeological history. By making sense and collating together elements of the story of archaeology of L'Anse aux Meadows in a succinct narrative, this project serves as a steppingstone and a tool for a broader examination of the history of research focusing on this fascinating UNESCO World Heritage site.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Project Overview and Scope

The UNESCO World Heritage site of L'Anse aux Meadows (LAM) in Newfoundland, Canada, is famous due to its historical importance as the sole undisputed site of European presence in the Americas prior to 1492 (Ingstad 1985; Ledger et al. 2019). Indeed, as the only confirmed Norse site in North America (excluding Greenland), it is one of the farthest outposts of the Norse westwards diaspora as they explored and settled the North Atlantic islands from the ninth century, and which is documented in the Medieval Icelandic literature (Ledger et al. 2019; Smiley 2001; Wallace 2008).

This project does not, however, focus on the medieval Norse occupants of LAM. Instead, it examines the stories of Scandinavian actors involved with the research associated with the site from the 1950s through to the 1970s. My aim is to examine key Scandinavian actors involved with L'Anse aux Meadows, including but not limited to the Norwegian explorer and author Helge Ingstad and archaeologists such as Anne Stine Ingstad (Norwegian), Jørgen Meldgaard (Danish), Kristján Eldjárn (Icelandic), and Birgitta Wallace (Swedish). The identification and excavation of L'Anse aux Meadows as a Norse site was part of a larger trend, stretching back to the 19th century, of looking for evidence of the Norse in North America, specifically in New England, the Maritime region of Canada, and the Canadian Arctic (Crocker 2020; Friðriksson 2012; Guttormsen 2018). It also coincides with the tension between the Scandinavian countries of Norway and Denmark over ownership of the Arctic, including territories such as Greenland (Friðriksson 2012; Ingstad 2017).

This project uses the history of archaeology as a form of public archaeology to explore the understudied legacy of LAM and make it accessible to English-speaking audiences. Although previous literature exploring specific aspects of the history of archaeology at L'Anse aux Meadows exist (Eldjárn 2012; Ingstad and Ingstad 2000; Ingstad 2017; Skarstein 2010), these sources are either autobiographical or not available in English. By conducting interviews with contemporary actors and examining primary sources such as field journals and letters, this project aims to create an academic study of the history at L'Anse aux Meadows and make it accessible to the broader public. To this end, an actor-network map of Scandinavian scholars involved with L'Anse aux Meadows was created for this project as an accessible tool for understanding the site's history. The socio-political and historical backgrounds of Scandinavian countries, Newfoundland, and the site of LAM were examined to contextualize and tell the story of the Scandinavian researchers. Investigating the history of archaeology at LAM during the 20th century allows for the recounting of another story; that of the Scandinavian countries' political strife over ownership of the Arctic and the role of archaeology as a theatre for the manifestation of the legacies of Scandinavian colonialism during this strife. This research will also explore North Americans' connection to the Norse in North America, using LAM as a case study.

1.2 Research Objectives

The general research objective of this thesis is to explore the history of archaeology surrounding the Scandinavian researchers involved with the L'Anse aux Meadows excavations. More specifically, the aims of this thesis are:

I. To create an actor-network and timeline of Scandinavian researchers involved with L'Anse aux Meadows as an accessible resource for understanding the history of

archaeology at the site, and make this part of the story available to an English-speaking audience.

II. To compile an engaging narrative of the history of research at the site, including the objectives and outcomes of archaeological excavations, a presentation of the Scandinavian researchers involved, and a consideration of the wider socio-political context, conflicts and surprises that occurred during the excavations.

III. To explore the wider socio-political context and conflicts through the lens of colonial power relationships and the commercialization and control of heritage at LAM, including how these influenced the narrative of the site.

1.3 Theoretical Approaches

1.3.1 Public Archaeology

Public archaeology is a term that encompasses numerous archaeological practices, including but not limited to working with the public, archaeological education, community-led projects, and popular archaeology (Moshenska 2017; Williams et al. 2019). There are different ways of doing public archaeology, such as conducting activities to engage the public like lectures, blog posts, or excavation tours (Society for American Archaeology n.d.), to projects that view community members as partners in research (Atalay 2012; Rankin and Gaulton 2021).

Public archaeology was selected as the overarching framework for this project due to the inherently public nature of L'Anse aux Meadows as a UNESCO World Heritage Site and a National Historic Site. L'Anse aux Meadows is a site of public interest, as demonstrated by the site's annual tourist numbers, which included +30,000 visitors in 2018 (Parks Canada 2019). It is also the subject of television shows episodes (e.g. America Unearthed 2013) and of popular

culture books written about the site (e.g. Ingstad 2000; Ingstad 2017), which have likely played a role in enticing archaeologists to attempt to locate additional Norse material culture or sites in North America (Penney et al. 2017; Pringle 2000; Sutherland et al. 2014). The archaeological site of L'Anse aux Meadows also has an economic value to the local community, directly as an employer through Parks Canada and indirectly through the tourist revenues to the Great Northern Peninsula region. Businesses such as restaurants, B&B's, and Viking-themed souvenir shops all depend greatly on the tourism generated by L'Anse aux Meadows.

This project aims to fill a current gap in knowledge, specifically a lack of a historiography of research at L'Anse aux Meadows which is available in English. Indeed, early (1950s-1960s) research concerning LAM and the search for Vínland was largely conducted by Scandinavians, and apart from brief overviews of the history of research in field reports and monographs (Ingstad 1970, Ingstad 1985, Schönbäck 1974, Schönbäck et al. 1976, Wallace 1977), and some books written in Icelandic (Eldjárn 2012) and Norwegian (Skarstein 2010), there are few publications examining the history of research at this famous site (one exception being Ingstad 2017). A timeline and actor-network map can be a tool for both academics and the interested public looking for waypoints to help them navigate the fascinating story that involved locating and excavating Norse archaeology at L'Anse aux Meadows.

Besides compiling an accessible source about the history of archaeology at the site and creating an actor-network map, my research has also involved engaging with local community members through public lectures during the summer of 2021 in the L'Anse aux Meadows region, a radio interview for the local radio (Voice of Bonne Bay program), and oral history interviews with participants of the L'Anse aux Meadows' excavations and local community members.

1.3.2 Actor-Network Theory

Actor-Network Theory (abbreviated as ANT) was developed in the early 1980s and was disseminated in books such as *Mapping the Dynamics of Science and Technology* (Callon et al. 1986) and popularized by Bruno Latour (1996). ANT has been used as a methodological and theoretical framework in archaeology, focusing on the relationships or networks of actants, including human, non-human, and non-individual actors (Latour 1996). Traditionally, ANT does not focus on the individual actors but on their relationships (Harris and Cipolla 2017), and it is not only a social network, as it is meant to encompass society and should therefore include non-human entities (Latour 1996).

This project does not strictly use ANT as a theoretical approach, as the primary focus is between select human actors, making it more of a social network (Mills 2017). However, while the focus lies on the actors (the Scandinavian researchers), other actants and phenomena entangled in the archaeological research and its broader context will also be considered. These include members of university communities, the government of Newfoundland and Labrador, the local people, and concepts such as nationalism and colonialism, all of which help reveal the network of relationships connecting these different nodes as they shaped the excavations at L'Anse aux Meadows and the legacies left behind. To achieve this, an actor-network map was created as a part of my research to describe the relationships of Scandinavian researchers before, during, and after the L'Anse aux Meadows excavations.

1.3.3 History of Archaeology

Archaeology is not a neutral social science (Diaz-Andreu 2007), and researchers encounter political, social, and economic pressures. The history of archaeology is important to consider

when researching an archaeological site, as the worldview of individual archaeologists influences their research questions, methodological choices, and conclusions, leading to interpretations that are never wholly objective (Trigger 2006). Another way to put this is that archaeological interpretations combine the past, which can be material culture or paleoecological data, and the present, the contemporary archaeologists' positionality (Shanks and Tilley 1992). The biases and views of individual archaeologists, and overall paradigms within the field of archaeology, can significantly influence interpretations (Trigger 1980).

There is value in acknowledging the impact of the history of archaeological research frameworks and contexts. Researching the history of archaeology can mean conducting wider-scale projects examining different phases in archaeological theory and methodology (Bahn 2014; Trigger 2006), or studying how past views influenced how archaeological materials or groups were interpreted or treated (Trigger 1980). In this thesis, I examine the history of archaeological research at L'Anse aux Meadows between the 1950s-1970s with the specific goal of assembling a story of the involvement of Scandinavian researchers and telling it in a manner that will make it more accessible.

Nationalism and colonialism work in tandem with the history of archaeology. Here, they will be analyzed as an influence on the viewpoints of the Scandinavian researchers. Nationalism is a political movement in which the "nation" (a community formed through shared characteristics such as history, language, culture, ethnicity, and/or territory) should be in agreement with the state or relevant political system (Vincent 2013). Simply put, nationalism is the use of a group's national identity for political purposes (Brooks and Mehler 2017) and can be controversial due to the exclusion of minorities (Vincent 2013). Archaeology can be employed as a tool for nationalistic endeavours, such as when it is deployed to help build a nation or cultural group's

history, such as Saddam Hussein's plan to rebuild Babylon as a copy of Ancient Mesopotamia (Brooks and Mehler 2017). This project considers nationalism through the lens of Scandinavian researchers' views, which are influenced by their Nordic identities, and the push to identify a part of North America as European. This project engages with aspects of colonialism by examining how colonial sentiments influenced historical actors before and during the excavations, specifically the interest in the medieval Norse in North America by North Americans of European descent.

1.4 The Structure of this Thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to present the history of archaeology at LAM in an accessible manner, which is accomplished through the following format. Chapter two provides the necessary historical context relevant for the results and discussion and focuses on the medieval Norse, including the Norse at LAM, the political history of Scandinavia in the 19th and 20th centuries and its influence on archaeology, and a brief history of Newfoundland and of archaeological practice in the province. The third chapter outlines the methodology of this thesis, summarizing how the literature review and oral history interviews were conducted, and explains how the thesis will build the narrative. Chapter four presents and explains the visual tools, including the actor-network map and the timeline produced to help understand the story of Norse archaeological research at LAM. The fifth chapter presents a narrative of the history of archaeological research at L'Anse aux Meadows including the early searches for Vínland and the Norse in North America, the Ingstads excavations in the 1960s, the Parks Canada field seasons in the 1970s, and a brief overview of archaeological work at LAM in the following decades up to the present. Chapter six discusses this narrative in light of topics such as Scandinavian geopolitics, colonialism, and the commercialization and control of heritage. Chapter seven is the

conclusion and is followed by the appendices, which include the transcripts of both oral history interviews.

Chapter 2: Historical Context

This chapter will provide the historical background necessary to contextualize the results and discussion of this thesis. This includes brief introductions to medieval and early modern Norse history with a primary focus on the North Atlantic region (Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Greenland), events associated with the Kalmar Union, as well as 19th and 20th century Scandinavian political and archaeological history. The latter will help situate the reader within the political and academic context that preceded research at LAM, which centred on the Treaty of Kiel and management of Scandinavian overseas territories. The final three subsections of this chapter focus on the history of Newfoundland in particular, providing an overview of Newfoundland archaeological history as well as background information about the L'Anse aux Meadows archaeological site.

2.1 Medieval/Early Modern Norse History

Given that medieval and early modern Scandinavian history is too broad a subject to cover in detail here, this section focuses primarily on relevant key events specific to the Norse expansion in the North Atlantic region. The term 'Norse' is used in this section as it has the benefit to include the inhabitants of Iceland and the Faroe Islands, while the term 'Scandinavians' refers to the modern people who live in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway today. The Norse primarily originated from the coastal regions of the Scandinavian Peninsula and Denmark before expanding throughout Europe, trading, raiding, and creating settlements beginning in the 8th century (Brink and Price 2008; Somerville and McDonald 2020). The era, which comprises the Norse expansion throughout Europe, the North Atlantic, and their expansion to the Middle East and Northern Africa, is referred to as the "Viking Age" (Brink and Price 2008). The traditional start of the Viking Age began with the attack at Lindisfarne in 793 CE and was followed by

numerous Norse settlements in the British Isles and other parts of Europe throughout the 8th-10th centuries (Somerville and McDonald 2020). The number and size of Norse settlements in the British Isles and mainland Europe (excluding Scandinavia) had declined by the 11th century, and 1066 is the usual date for the end of the Viking period, with the Norwegian defeat at the battle of Stamford Bridge (Walaker Nordeide and Edwards 2019).

Despite the decline of the Norse expansion in mainland Europe in the 11th century, the Norse continued to maintain settlements throughout the North Atlantic. These included settlements in Shetland, the Orkneys, the Faroe Islands, areas of northern Scotland, Iceland, and parts of southwest Greenland (McGovern 1990). Below, I briefly explore the history of the Norse settlements of the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland, as they are the settlements more directly relevant to the Norse occupation at L'Anse aux Meadows.

Current radiocarbon dates place the beginning of the Norse settlement in the Faroe Islands around the 9th century (Arge 2014). However, additional archaeological evidence also indicates human presence in the Faroe Islands during the 4th-6th centuries, but whether the settlers were Scandinavian, Celtic Papars or a different group remains unknown, as research on the topic is still ongoing (Church et al. 2013; Curtin 2021). Modern DNA research has found that the majority of male settlers of the Faroe Islands in the 9th century were Scandinavian, with the majority of women and a small percentage of men originating from the British Isles (Als et al. 2006). The settlement of Iceland occurred around the year 874, according to the Landnámabók[1], but recent archaeological analysis of sediment profiles containing layers of volcanic ash (tephras)

[1] Medieval Icelandic written work that describes the settlement and genealogy of Iceland from the 9th to 12th centuries. It is called in English the "Book of Settlements" and the oldest surviving copies are from the 13th and 14th centuries.

and traces of anthropogenic activities dated the landnám[2] to prior to 877 ± 1 CE (Schmid et al. 2018). Similar to the Faroe Islands, the settlers of Iceland were mostly a combination of Scandinavian men and women of British Isles ancestry (Ebenesersdóttir et al. 2018). Originally both islands were politically independent, as the Faroe Islands (Wylie 2015) and Iceland (McTurk 2005) each had their own Alþing[3]. However, both would eventually become part of Norway. According to the *Færeyinga Saga*, or Saga of the Faroe Islands, by 1035 CE, the Faroe Islands were ceded to the Norwegian crown. Given that the original document was probably written in Iceland ~200 years after this event, the sagas may not be the most reliable source for this chronology (Wylie 2015). While the exact year remains unknown, scholars still estimate that the Faroe Islands joined Norway sometime in the 11th century (Wylie 2015). The timeline for the union between Iceland and Norway is better established, with the Old Covenant being signed in 1262, which stated that Icelanders would pay taxes to the Norwegian king in exchange for peace, a law code, and transportation and shipping between the countries (Imsen 2013).

The Norse also explored further westward past Iceland, establishing settlements in southern Greenland beginning near the end of the 10th century (Arneborg et al. 2012). The Icelandic sagas describe the two settlements of Norse Greenland as being led by Erik the Red, who emigrated from Iceland, although he was originally Norwegian (Somerville and McDonald 2020). One possible explanation for the expansion into Greenland is that by ~930 CE, most of the arable land in Iceland had been claimed, creating a need for additional homesteads. Greenland also provided high-value luxury resources such as walrus ivory (Frei et al. 2015). The Norse

[2] Landnám translates to "land-taking" and is a term generally used in Norse archaeology to refer to the period from the 870s-930s when the Norse first settled Iceland (Smith 1995).
[3] Alþing are national parliaments that began in the 10th century in Iceland and the Faroe Islands. The current Faroese parliament is called the Løgting.

settlement in Greenland was primarily located on the Western coast near the southern tip, divided into the Eastern and Western settlements (Arneborg et al. 2012). However, Norse hunters would head further north to the Disko Bay region for hunting (Barrett et al. 2020). They also ventured further west, as it is understood that the Norse who established the settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows were most likely from Norse Greenland. The medieval Icelandic sagas identify Leif Eriksson, Erik the Red's son, as the leader of the expedition (Wallace 2008). This is further discussed in section 2.5.

Like the Faroe Islands and Iceland, Norse Greenland became part of the Norwegian crown, beginning in 1261 (Skarstein 2006). Meanwhile, a medieval confederacy of North German towns and merchants called the Hanseatic League was becoming increasingly powerful in mainland Europe. It would replace Scandinavia as the primary leader for international trade in the region during the 12th century, and this influence would increase after their defeat of the Kingdom of Denmark in 1370, which ensured the Hanseatic League 15% of the profit of Denmark's trade (Harreld 2015). To protect Scandinavian economic and political interests, a personal union was formed between Norway, Denmark, and Sweden between 1397-1523. This was called the Kalmar Union, an arrangement that involved the three kingdoms (Norway, Denmark and Sweden) and included Norway's overseas territories such as Iceland, the Faroe Islands, Greenland, and the Northern Isles of the Shetlands and the Orkneys. All of these would then be ruled by a joint monarch (Etting 2004).

Around 1450-1500 CE, the Norse settlements in Greenland declined and were eventually abandoned (Arneborg et al. 2012). Scholars have proposed climatic shifts, cumulative environmental damage, a new source of ivory for European markets, conflict with Indigenous groups and the effects of the plague as contributing factors to the abandonment of the

Greenlandic Norse colonies (Arneborg et al. 2012; Dugmore et al. 2012; Somerville and McDonald 2020; Star et al. 2018).

In 1523, Sweden left the Kalmar Union, leaving Denmark-Norway as a dual monarchy until 1814 (Middleton 2015).

2.2 19th-20th-century Scandinavian Political and Archaeological History

The dissolution of the Danish-Norwegian dual monarchy in 1814, with the Treaty of Kiel, marks an important point for further dissemination of 19th and 20th-century Scandinavian political history. Following the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1814, in which Denmark-Norway had sided with France, the Danish-Norwegian union was broken; as the signature of the Treaty of Kiel by Denmark, the United Kingdom, and Sweden ended hostilities between the countries and left Denmark free to join the anti-French alliance (Feldbæk 1990). The treaty of Kiel stipulated that the Kingdom of Norway was to be given to Sweden, excluding Norway's overseas dependencies of Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Greenland, which remained with Denmark (Feldbæk 1990). Although Norway did not initially accept becoming a province of Sweden, eventually, in 1815, a union was created between Norway and Sweden (Lindgren 1959).

From then on, Denmark had control over previously Norwegian North Atlantic territories, plus the colonies and trading posts acquired during the Denmark-Norway dual monarchy. These included trading posts in West Africa that were sold to the UK in 1850 (Weiss 2013), colonies in India such as Tranquebar and Serampore that were sold to the UK in 1868 (Jørgensen 2013), and the Danish West Indies that were sold to the USA in 1917 and are now the US Virgin Islands (Armstrong et al. 2013; Loftsdóttir and Pálsson 2013). Despite the sale of most overseas territories during the 19th century, Denmark continued to have dependencies in the North

Atlantic during the 20th century through the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland. However, Iceland's increased fight for sovereignty was eventually achieved through independent statehood in 1918 and full republic status in 1944 (Karlsson 2000).

In 1905, Norway separated from Sweden and looked to establish territories in the North Atlantic, especially in the Arctic, where it could access fishing and whaling grounds, extract mineral resources such as coal and conduct Arctic exploration (Hacquebord and Avango 2009). In the North Atlantic, Norway successfully acquired Svalbard in 1920 and Jan Mayen in 1929, which, although previously unclaimed, had served as whaling stations primarily used by the Dutch (Hacquebord and Avango 2009).

However, not all of Norway's attempts to establish a claim on additional territories were successful. This includes their attempt to claim an uninhabited area in Eastern Greenland which the Norwegians termed "Erik the Red's land" (Skarstein 2006). Although the Treaty of Kiel stipulated that Greenland belonged to Denmark, Norway opposed the loss of this overseas territory. During the beginning of the 20th century, Denmark had allowed Norwegian hunting and scientific settlements in Northern Greenland. While "Erik the Red's land" is not the same location as the medieval Norse settlement and is actually a far distance away, the name is a reminder of Norway's past in Greenland. In 1931, claiming that the eastern section of Greenland was *terra nullius* (nobody's land), Hallvard Devold raised the Norwegian flag in Myggbukta in Eastern Greenland, visible in Figure 1, which was thus claimed for Norway (Skarstein 2006). However, in 1933 Norway lost its claim when the dispute was brought before an international court, and it was decided Greenland would remain a dependency of Denmark.

Figure 1: Map of "Erik the Red's land" in Eastern Greenland (Uwe Dedering 2019 Creative Commons License).

The governor of 'Erik the Red's land' between 1931-1933 was the Norwegian Helge Ingstad (Ingstad 2017), the man who would be responsible for the initiation of archaeological work at L'Anse aux Meadows (more on this later). Additionally, because Greenland was a Danish dependency, archaeological excavations in Greenland – including those focusing on Greenlandic Norse settlements – were typically undertaken by Danish archaeologists, making them the *de facto* authority on Norse sites in the North Atlantic (Bruun et al. 1896; Edvardsson 2007; Holm 1883; Madsen and Appelt 2010; Meldgaard 1965; Nørlund et al. 1934). Early archaeological

excavations in Iceland were also regularly led by Danish archaeologists, and later, Icelanders who had received training at a university in Denmark (Friðriksson 1994).

2.3 History of Newfoundland

In this thesis, Newfoundland will refer solely to the island of Newfoundland, while Newfoundland and Labrador (NL) will mean the Canadian province. The island of Newfoundland is off the Eastern coast of North America in the Atlantic Ocean, situated to the East of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Labrador, Quebec, and the Canadian Maritime provinces.

The human history of Newfoundland began around 4000 BCE with the Maritime Archaic tradition (Duggan et al. 2017). More recent Indigenous cultures include Paleo-Inuit groups such as the Dorset and Groswater (Renouf 2011) and so-called 'Recent Indian' groups including the Cow Head, Beaches, and Little Passage Complexes (Bell and Renouf 2008). Later Indigenous groups on the island of Newfoundland include the Beothuk and the Mi'kmaq. Archaeological and historical knowledge about the Beothuk is limited due to sporadic interactions with Europeans and the fact that the last surviving Beothuk, Shanawdithit, died of tuberculosis in 1829 (Kristensen and Davis 2015). Current Indigenous groups on the island of Newfoundland are the Mi'kmaq communities in Conne River and the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation Band.

According to historical records, the island of Newfoundland was first visited by Europeans (excluding the Norse) in 1497 by Giovanni Caboto, also known as John Cabot (Cadigan 2009). Throughout the 16th century, the region of Newfoundland and Labrador was primarily used by Europeans for acquiring marine resources, as demonstrated through archaeological evidence recovered from a Basque whaling station in the Red Bay region of Labrador (Tuck and Grenier 1989). Newfoundland eventually saw the rise of seasonal fishing by Europeans, including the

Portuguese, Normans and Bretons (Cadigan 2009). A settlement was attempted in St. John's by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, but the settlers only remained a few weeks due to a lack of supplies before returning to England (Cadigan 2009). After this, Newfoundland continued primarily with a seasonal fishing system involving European fishers catching and salting cod in the summer before returning home. During the next two centuries, both the English and French established settlements across various parts of the island and by the 1770s, the year-round European population of Newfoundland was over 10,000 people (Head 1976). By the early 19th century, most seasonal fishing communities shifted into year-round settlements, often in the same locations as the previous fishing stations due to their proximity to marine resources and wood (Higgens 2008). Besides larger mercantile communities such as Placentia or St. John's, the population of Newfoundland was primarily rural in the 18th and 19th centuries (Cadigan 2009).

The modern political history of Newfoundland began in 1610 when Newfoundland and Labrador became a British colony (Cadigan 2009). Centuries later (in 1824), Newfoundland became a crown colony and gained the right to self-governance in 1854 (Gunn 1966). Newfoundland and Labrador would later become an independent country, the Dominion of Newfoundland, in 1907 (Cadigan 2009). However, the Dominion of Newfoundland became overwhelmed with political corruption scandals and debt following WWI and was severely impacted by the Great Depression (Cadigan 2009). In 1934 the Dominion of Newfoundland lost the right to self-governance after returning to the UK due to debilitating debts and was governed by the UK until joining Canada and becoming a province in 1949. Joseph Smallwood, who was heavily involved in campaigns aiming for Newfoundland and Labrador to join Canada, was the province's first Premier from 1949 to 1972 (Cadigan 2009).

2.4 History of Archaeological Practice in NL

During the Ingstads' initial research and excavations at L'Anse aux Meadows from 1960 onward, Newfoundland had limited infrastructure to support and manage archaeological resources. Newfoundland and Labrador's only university, Memorial University of Newfoundland, was first established as a teacher's training school in 1925. It was not a full-fledged university until 1949, when Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada (Jensen 2002). Originally a small organization, by the 1960s Memorial University's previous location on Parade Street could not meet the demand for higher education in Newfoundland, as it had an annual cap of 600 students. So in 1961, the university moved to its current campus on Elizabeth Avenue to accommodate additional enrollments (Jensen 2002).

Prior to the appointment of Dr. James Tuck in 1967 to create an archaeological unit within the Department of Anthropology at Memorial University and investigate the burials uncovered at Port aux Choix (Mills and Gaulton 2019), archaeology in Newfoundland was typically done by visiting academics. Examples include Dartmouth's Dr. Elmer Harp's work at Port aux Choix from the 1940s to 1960s (Fitzhugh 2010) and preliminary excavations conducted at Ferryland in the 1930s by Dr. Brook of Baltimore and by J.R. Harper from the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (Colony of Avalon 2016). Because MUN did not have an archaeology department or archaeologists on staff until 1967, during the 1962 excavation at L'Anse aux Meadows, MUN sociology professor Dr. Ian Whitaker was chosen to visit the site (Eldjárn 2012).

During the early 1960s, there were limited government systems in place for archaeology, unlike current times, which has the Provincial Archaeology Office (PAO) responsible for provincial archaeological sites. Annual archaeological reporting for Newfoundland began in 1980, and the

position of Provincial Archaeologist was created in the 1990s (Brake and Osmond 2019; Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2019). While Parks Canada was formed in 1911 and is responsible for National Historic Sites, Newfoundland and Labrador did not join Canada until 1949 and L'Anse aux Meadows did not become a National Historic Site until 1970. When L'Anse aux Meadows was first identified as a possible Norse site, the provincial government had no legislation to protect and manage archaeological sites (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[4].

2.5 Overview of the Norse Archaeology at L'Anse aux Meadows

L'Anse aux Meadows is a UNESCO World Heritage Site and a National Historic Site of Canada located at the Northern tip of the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland, directly across the Strait of Belle Isle from Labrador (Figure 2). The archaeological site is located slightly to the west of the local community of L'Anse aux Meadows, where it lies within Épaves Bay and is intersected by Black Duck Brook (Kristensen and Curtis 2012). There is archaeological evidence for human occupation of L'Anse aux Meadows extending back to approximately 5000 years ago with the Maritime Archaic culture (Kristensen and Curtis 2012). Indigenous occupation of the site continued intermittently with evidence for other Indigenous groups such as the Groswater and Dorset Paleo-Inuit, and so-called 'Recent Indian' groups such as the Cow Head complex and the Beothuk (Kristensen and Curtis 2012; Wallace 2006).

[4] Entry #9 in Ingstad Letters from Mortimer Wheeler of the British Academy to MUN President Raymond Gushue on February 19, 1962.

Figure 2: Map of Newfoundland with the location of LAM indicated (Image Copyright of Parks Canada 2019).

European occupation of the area includes the Norse settlement, dated to the early 11th century CE (Kuitems et al. 2022; Wallace 2008) and the later French fishing stations beginning around the 17th century. The current community of L'Anse aux Meadows was established around 1850 (Wallace 1977) and is located in close proximity to several other fishing inlets (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Community of Straitsview nearby to the L'Anse aux Meadows archaeological site (Photograph courtesy of Joshua Gillis 2021).

Although it is still unclear when the Norse arrived and how long they remained at LAM (Ledger et al. 2019), recent dating of tree rings from wood remains demonstrates that the Norse were present and active at L'Anse aux Meadows during the year 1021 CE (Kuitems 2022). This provides a *terminus ante quem* (latest possible date) for their initial arrival. The highest possible estimate for the duration of the Norse settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows is 195 years (Ledger et al. 2019), although the small archaeological assemblages and shallow depth of the occupation layers suggest that an occupation beyond a few decades is highly unlikely (Wallace 2003a). Based on the settlement's capacity, the site was probably able to accommodate between 70-90 individuals, who were likely from Norse Greenland or Iceland (Wallace 2008). Although archaeological remains associated with Indigenous occupation both precede and follow the short-lived Norse occupation – which is but a small part of the whole archaeological history at the site

– this thesis focuses specifically on the Norse, as it is primarily the Norse connection that attracted so many Scandinavian researchers there from the 1960s.

Eight structures identified as Norse have been uncovered at the site of L'Anse aux Meadows, all of which were Icelandic in style and built of turf with a timber frame (Wallace 2003a). They are distributed into four sections (visible in Figure 4), with structures A-G on the east bank of Black Duck Brook and structure J, the furnace house or smithy, located separately on the west bank (Wallace 2003a). Except for structure J, all the buildings at L'Anse aux Meadows are interpreted as having included living quarters, and Halls D and F contained storage rooms while other buildings contained workshops (Wallace 2003a). As of yet, there is no archaeological evidence of animal enclosures or barns, and no zooarchaeological evidence to suggest farming or animal husbandry on the site. The zooarchaeological assemblage is limited and mainly marine in nature, containing seal, whale, and walrus bones, as well as wild birds (Wallace 2003b). Most Norse artifacts excavated from L'Anse aux Meadows consist of waste from iron manufacture and woodworking (Wallace 2003a). These artifacts include slag, post and plank ends, wood artifacts and nail fragments that were likely used in boat building and repair (Wallace 2003b). However, some personal items have also been found, including a small bronze pin, a glass bead, a fragment of a gilded bronze ornament, a spindle whorl, a small whetstone, and a bone needle (Ingstad 1985; Wallace 2003a).

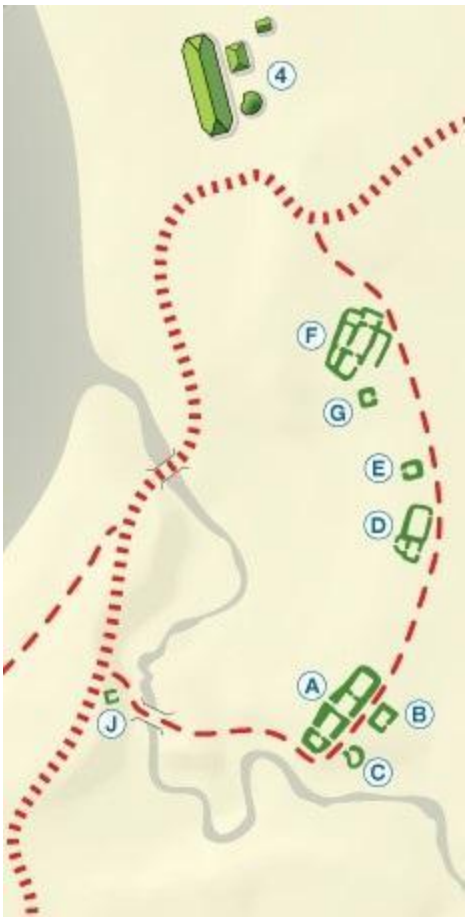

Figure 4: "Remains of Norse Buildings"(Figure Copyright of Parks Canada 2017). Map of the archaeological site of L'Anse aux Meadows. The letters (A-J) correspond to their respective Norse ruins. The number 4 represents the Norse reconstructed sod houses.

Some researchers believe L'Anse aux Meadows to be the site of Vínland from the Icelandic sagas, *Eiríks Saga Rauða* and *Grænlendinga Saga* (Ingstad 1985). In fact, it is the description of Vínland and the Norse settlement in these texts that inspired research to find a Norse site in North America, which would eventually lead to Newfoundland (Ingstad 1985). A Norse site was first proposed to be in Newfoundland by William Munn, publisher of *The Evening Telegram* in St. John's (Wallace 2021), who published a series of articles in 1914 that were later published as a book called *Wineland Voyages: Location of Helluland, Markland and Vinland* (Munn 1930). In it, Munn stated that Newfoundland was the location of Vínland (translated by Munn as

‘Wineland’), despite others’ belief that it was located further south due to the lack of grapes growing in Newfoundland. In 1939, Finnish geologist Väinö Tanner also proposed that Vínland was located in Newfoundland (Wallace 2021). However, the first archaeologist to visit Newfoundland in an attempt to locate Vínland was Jørgen Meldgaard, who travelled here in 1956 (Madsen and Appelt 2010). Meldgaard travelled through Greenland, the Labrador Coast, and Northern Newfoundland during the summer of 1956 in an attempt to trace the route of the Norse explorers. He hypothesized that the location of Vínland could have been at Bartlett River, by Pistolet Bay, approximately 15km from L’Anse aux Meadows (Madsen and Appelt 2010).

In 1960, the famous Norwegian explorer Helge Ingstad, with his daughter Benedicte, travelled to Northern Newfoundland, where local resident George Decker showed them mounds that appeared to be an archaeological site near the community of L’Anse aux Meadows (Ingstad 1985). Ingstad would return the following year with archaeologist Anne Stine Ingstad, his wife, to begin excavations on what he believed to be a Norse site. The excavations at L’Anse aux Meadows in 1961 and continuing into the 1970s through Parks Canada mark the beginning of a complex and fascinating archaeological story, which I will explore in more detail throughout this thesis.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The methodology used for this project involved a literature review, archival research, and oral history interviews, which were integrated into an actor-network map and a timeline of the excavations at LAM. These served to guide the construction of an accessible narrative of the history of Scandinavian involvement at the site.

3.1 Literature Review

This project compiled a list of primary, secondary, and popular sources, which was achieved by conducting a systematic survey of sources focusing on the 20th century excavations at L'Anse aux Meadows and the Scandinavian researchers involved in this research.

3.1.1 Primary Sources

Contemporary sources from the 1960s-1970s were the main data source for this project, as they provide an understanding of the history of research at the site (and even in some cases the experiences of the actors) as it was taking place. Primary sources used consisted of field notebooks (such as the one compiled by Icelander Kristján Eldjárn, which was published in 2012), letters, photographs, newspapers and magazine articles (Gander Beacon 1962; Evening Telegram 1961; Ingstad 1964), as well as site reports (e.g. Schönbäck 1974; Schönbäck et al. 1976). Sources from the period of the excavations were mined for information such as names and dates which could be utilized to create an established timeline and actor-network map of Scandinavian involvement at L'Anse aux Meadows. An important source of information used during the research of this project was "The Ingstad Letters" (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001), a collection of correspondence from 1961-1965 concerning the excavations at L'Anse aux Meadows and to a lesser extent Port aux Choix. The Ingstad Letters is

a grey report, compiled by Memorial University archivist Dr. Melvin Baker, who was working in the Office of the President in 2001. Dr. Baker compiled the Ingstad Letters from the university records for Memorial's chair of the board of regents Dr. Edward Roberts.

Some of the primary sources used in this project were part of archival collections held at the Center of Newfoundland Studies at Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador's Library and from the Newfoundland and Labrador Public Library's NL collections. These included sources such as contemporary newspaper and magazine articles, site reports, and documentaries. Although research at the National Museum of Iceland had been planned for the autumn of 2021, COVID-19 restrictions on international travel and in-person archival research meant it was not possible to do this research outside Newfoundland.

English and Icelandic primary sources were consulted for this project in an effort to provide broad coverage to the topic – something that would not have been possible by focusing on English language sources alone. Relevant sections of Kristján Eldjárn's (2012) field journal were translated into English from Icelandic, as this source provides an in-depth account of the events that occurred during the 1962 field season. Icelandic sources were chosen over other Scandinavian languages due to the original (pre-covid) focus of the project on the Icelandic archaeologists, and also because numerous publications by the Norwegian Ingstads were already available in English as they were intended for commercial markets (Ingstad 1964; Ingstad 1966; Ingstad 2017; Ingstad and Ingstad 2000).

3.1.2 Secondary Sources

Although some of the secondary articles and books analyzed in this project were written by historical actors involved in this research, works that synthesize data or incorporate other

scholars' ideas about L'Anse aux Meadows are classified as secondary instead of primary sources. Secondary sources consisted of academic books and articles about L'Anse aux Meadows (Ingstad 1970; Ingstad 1985; Wallace 2003a; Wallace 2003b; Wallace 2008) and academic sources about researchers (Friðriksson 1994; Madsen and Appelt 2010; Skarstein 2010). Academic secondary sources concerning the context of the project, such as the medieval Norse, Scandinavian political history, and the history of Newfoundland, were also consulted.

3.1.3 Popular Sources

As L'Anse aux Meadows is the only known Norse site in North America, there are many popular forms of entertainment about the site, including television shows and books. These include popular sources written by the Scandinavian researchers about their research, including Helge Ingstad's books *Land under the Pole Star* (Ingstad 1966) and his article published in National Geographic, "Vinland ruins prove Vikings found the New World" (Ingstad 1964). The biography about Helge and Anne Stine Ingstad, *A Grand Adventure*, written by their daughter Benedicte (Ingstad 2017), was also considered. Although these sources cannot be regarded as scholarly in the strictest sense, they provide information about the personal relationships and politics around the excavations in the 1960s.

3.2 Interviews

Oral history interviews were conducted for this project to explore the Scandinavian scholars' time at L'Anse aux Meadows and also to preserve the history of the topic. Prior to conducting the interviews, it was first necessary to obtain ethics approval from ICEHR (the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research at Memorial University). This was followed by contacting possible participants to provide information on the study. Interested parties were sent

an informed consent form, which included all the necessary information on the project. Once participants agreed to participate and signed the consent form, the interviews were conducted and recorded by a digital tape recorder for accuracy. Participants were sent a transcribed copy of the interview to approve prior to public access.

During the summer of 2021, I interviewed Mr. Clayton Colbourne, a Parks Canada guide and lifelong resident of L'Anse aux Meadows who was a child during the 1960s excavations. Mr. Colbourne was interviewed to collect oral histories about the community of LAM and to learn their perceptions of the archaeological work conducted during the 1960s. Mr. Colbourne also provided information about the history of LAM as a Parks Canada site. Finally, I spoke to Mr. Colbourne at length regarding the modernization of the region, which occurred during the 1960s and 1970s, and the previous traditional lifeways of the residents. During my interview with Mr. Colbourne, I showed him multiple contemporary photographs from 1962 as visual cues (available in Appendix III). A transcript of my interview with Mr. Colbourne is available in Appendix I.

I also interviewed Dr. Birgitta Wallace in November of 2021. Wallace participated to and oversaw several field seasons in the 1970s at L'Anse aux Meadows with Parks Canada and has published numerous papers on the subject (Wallace 2003a, Wallace 2003b, Wallace 2008). Importantly, she was also present at the excavations in 1964 and 1968 (Ingstad 1985), and due to her extensive experience with the archaeology at L'Anse aux Meadows, she is considered the expert on the site's archaeology and also the history of research at the site. Wallace answered questions about L'Anse aux Meadows in 1964 and 1968, the Icelanders who were present at the site, including the relationship between Eldjárn and the Ingstads. A transcript of my interview with Birgitta Wallace is in Appendix II.

3.3 Building the Narrative

This project builds the narrative of the L'Anse aux Meadows excavations by integrating data from the oral history interviews and the literature review. I have constructed two visual tools to facilitate this: (1) an actor-network map and (2) a timeline. The Actor-Network Map serves to both list the relevant actors and connect them based on associations, including pre-existing personal relationships, participants excavating during the same field seasons, or external academic relationships. The timeline presents the key events of the archaeological story of L'Anse aux Meadows in chronological order and serves as an outline to the following chapter (Chapter 5) and as an accessible tool to help visualize the story.

3.3.1 Actor-Network Map

An actor-network map of the Scandinavian actors was created for this project in order to provide a clear visual representation of the relationships and interactions involved. It focuses on Scandinavian researchers involved in the LAM excavations and related investigations from the 1950s to the 1970s. It illustrates Scandinavian researchers' relationships with each other before, during, and after the excavations, as well as their ties to different geographic locations (e.g. their home countries, place of travel for research, and/or presence at LAM itself). Researchers' nationalities (Norwegian, Swedish, Icelandic, and Danish) were also noted. Although American and Canadian archaeologists such as Junius Bird or William Taylor were involved in some way in the research, they were excluded from the actor-network map, given that the project focuses on the Scandinavian influence on the site. The actor-network map was created using Microsoft PowerPoint.

3.3.2 History of Archaeology Timeline

A timeline of the LAM excavations was also created as another tool to visualize the chronology of the archaeological work and present it in a concise and organized way that would allow the different aspects of the excavations to be displayed and facilitate the placement of actors and their roles within the narrative. Events in the timeline are divided by year, which is typically associated with the summer/early fall archaeological field seasons, or in the case of 1956 and 1960, corresponds to exploratory trips to locate Norse sites in North America. The archaeological field seasons include those led by the Ingstads from 1961-1964 and 1966-1968, and later by Parks Canada teams from 1973-1976. Each entry details the researchers involved during that year, the sections of the site excavated, important archaeological finds, and the excavation leader.

The timeline was created using data from primary sources such as field notebooks and letters, interviews with Birgitta Wallace, and popular sources such as newspapers (Gander Beacon 1962) and biographies (Ingstad 2017). Site reports and other sources were also used to establish the site's chronology, including the acknowledgements section of *The Norse Discovery of America* by Anne Stine Ingstad (1985).

Chapter 4: Accessible Tools for Understanding the History of Research on L'Anse aux Meadows

As stated in the previous chapter, accessible visual tools were created as part of this project to help readers comprehend the history of archaeology at L'Anse aux Meadows: (1) an actor-network map explaining the relationships between the Scandinavian researchers and (2) a timeline of the L'Anse aux Meadows research, which spans Meldgaard's trip to Labrador and Northern Newfoundland (1950s), the Ingstads excavations (1960s), and Parks Canada's field seasons (1970s).

4.1 The Actor-Network Map

The Actor-Network Map (Figure 5) provides a visual representation of relationships between the Scandinavian, Norwegian, Swedish, and Icelandic researchers at L'Anse aux Meadows.

The researchers' relationships are modelled in several ways throughout the Actor-Network Map, including by field season. The years 1961, 1963, and 1966 solely contain the Ingstads as no other Scandinavian researchers participated during those years. Local excavators are not included in this diagram, nor are the Americans involved with the 1963 field season. There is no section for 1965 as there were no excavations during that year. The 1962 field season is located on the left of the Actor-Network Map and includes the Ingstads, Norwegian pollen analyst Kari Henningsmoen, the Icelanders Kristján Eldjárn, Gísli Gestsson, and Þórhallur Vilmundarson, and Swedish archaeologist Rolf Petré. The 1964 field season is near the center of the diagram and includes the Ingstads and Birgitta Wallace. The 1967 field season is located near the top right of the diagram and includes the Ingstads plus the visiting archaeologists Drs. Bjørn Hougen and Mårten Stenberger. The final field season to include the Ingstads, 1968, is located near the

bottom of the diagram and includes Kari Henningsmoen and Birgitta Wallace again, plus Arne Emil Christensen and Sigrid Kaland. On the right of the Actor-Network Map are included the Scandinavian actors affiliated with Parks Canada, Birgitta Wallace and Bengt Schönbäck.

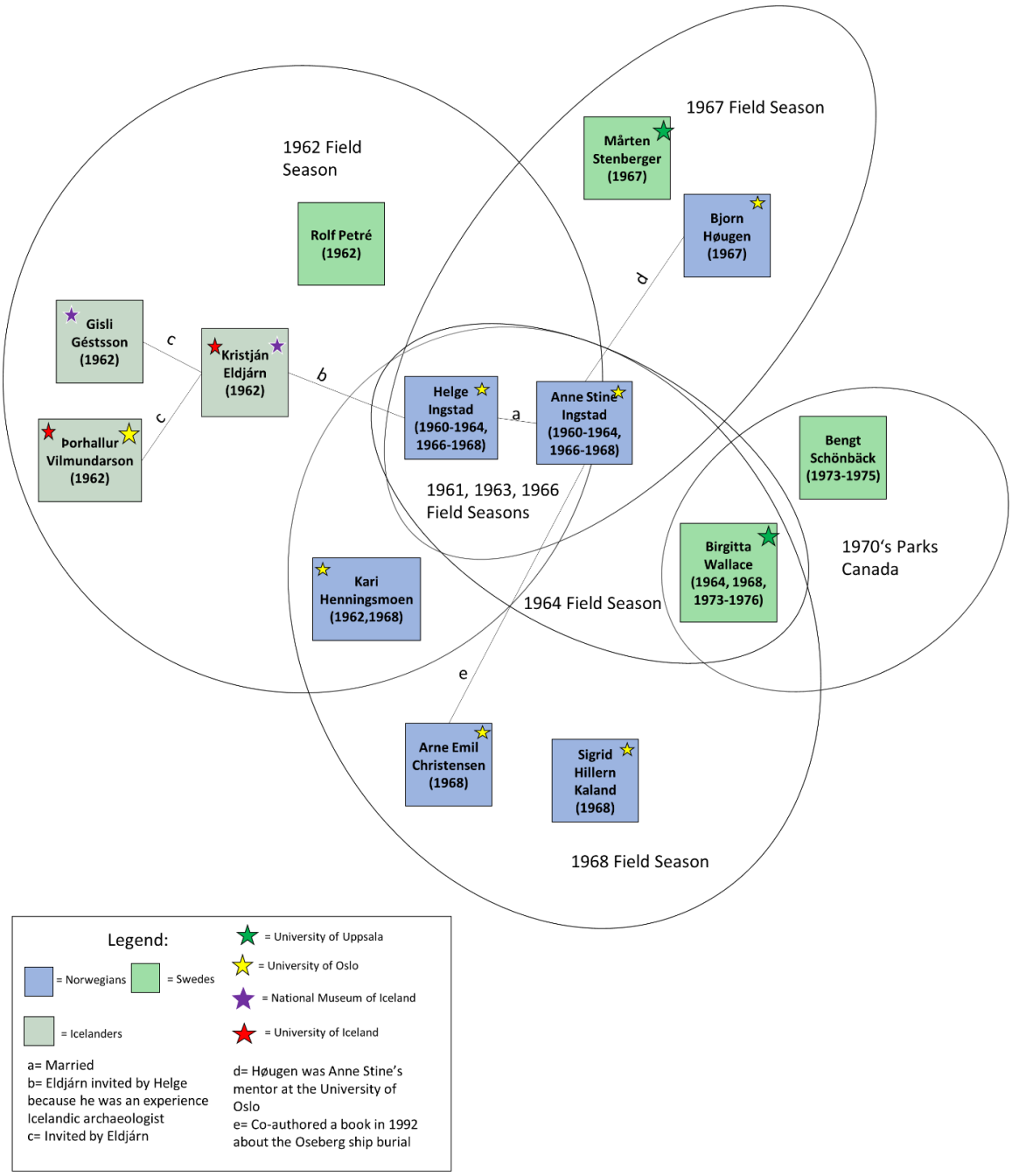

Figure 5: Actor-Network Map illustrating the relationships and affiliations of the Scandinavian researchers during each LAM field season.

Other modelled relationships include institutional affiliations up to and at the time when the individual researcher became involved with LAM, such as with museums or universities. These are represented on the Actor-Network Map via stars, with different coloured stars indicating a different institution.

A yellow star indicates an affiliation with the University of Oslo, Norway, either as a student, an employee, or someone who conducted research with the university. Anne Stine completed her undergraduate and Master's degrees with the University of Oslo during the 1950s and finished her Master's in 1960 (Ingstad 2017). Helge Ingstad also attended the University of Oslo in the 1920s when he studied Law (Ingstad 2017). Kari Henningsmoen, Arne Emil Christensen, and Bjørn Høugen were all employees of the University of Oslo. Additionally, Sigrid Kaland completed her Master's degree in 1969 with the assistance of the Universitetets Oldsaksamling and the University of Oslo (Kaland 1972), and Þórhallur Vilmundarson visited the University of Oslo in the 1950s after completing his Ph.D. (Morgunblaðið 2013).

The red star indicates an association with the University of Iceland. Both Kristján Eldjárn and Þórhallur Vilmundarson completed their Ph.D.'s at the University of Iceland, with Vilmundarson in Icelandic studies in 1950 and Eldjárn in archaeology in 1956. Vilmundarson was also a professor at the University of Iceland starting in 1960 (Morgunblaðið 2013). Another Icelandic institution indicated on the Actor-Network Map is the purple star, which represents an affiliation with the National Museum of Iceland. Both Kristján Eldjárn and Gísli Gestsson were employed at the National Museum of Iceland; Eldjárn began working as the curator in the 1940s before becoming the director from 1947 to 1968 (Lentz 2013). Gestsson was the museum's curator under Eldjárn from the 1950s to 1978 (Morgunblaðið 2015).

The green star represents an affiliation with the University of Uppsala in Sweden. Former students at the university include Birgitta Wallace, who completed her Bachelor of Arts, and Mårten Stenberger, who completed his Master's in 1929 and Ph.D. in 1933. Stenberger was also a professor at the University of Uppsala from 1953 to 1965 and was one of Wallace's professors (Appendix II).

Additional relationships beyond the researcher's country of origin, institutional affiliation, and field season(s) they participated in are indicated by letters (a-e). The "a" represents that Anne Stine and Helge Ingstad have been married since 1941 (Ingstad 2017). Helge Ingstad inviting Eldjárn as a guest excavator to the 1962 field season due to his experience as an Icelandic archaeologist is represented by the "b". Eldjárn inviting Gestsson and Vilmundarson to accompany him to L'Anse aux Meadows is indicated by the two "c's". The "d" represents that Bjørn Høugen had been Anne Stine Ingstad's mentor at the University of Oslo (Appendix II). Finally, the "e" represents the collaboration between Anne Stine Ingstad and Arne Emil Christensen in 1992 with the book *Oseberg Dronningens Grav* (Christensen et al. 1992). Other relationships and affiliations besides those displayed on the Actor-Network Map and this above description may exist; however, these are unknown by the author.

4.2 The Timeline

The timeline (Figure 6) provides a concise overview of the events of the L'Anse aux Meadows excavations and also serves as an outline for the next chapter, which relates the story of Scandinavian involvement in research at the site.

The timeline begins with Jørgen Meldgaard's explorations through Labrador and Northern Newfoundland, includes each of the Ingstads and Parks Canada's field seasons and concludes

with the current work at L'Anse aux Meadows, of which this project is a part. The timeline's events typically include the participants, especially the Scandinavian ones, any notable finds, and the focus/objectives of the field season.

Both the Actor-Network Map and the Timeline guided the narrative of Scandinavian involvement in research at LAM. As such, the reader is invited to consult those as they proceed through the next two chapters, which forms the core results and discussion of this thesis.

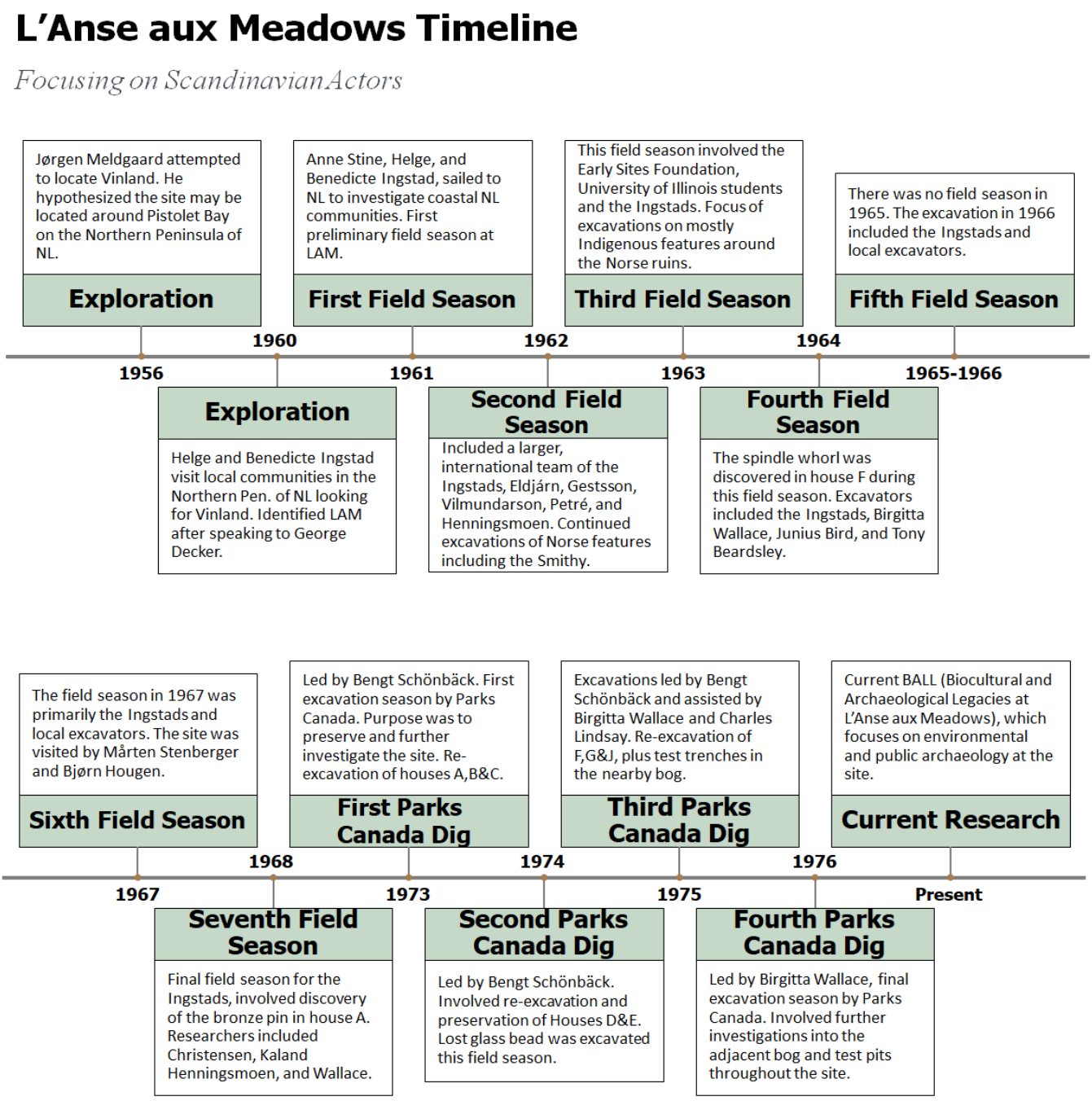

Figure 6: Timeline outlining different stages of archaeological research at LAM including preliminary investigations, each of the Ingstads' and Parks Canada's field seasons and current research.

Chapter 5: An Accessible History of Scandinavian Involvement at L'Anse aux Meadows

This chapter presents the history of archaeology at L'Anse aux Meadows and, specifically, the history of Scandinavian involvement. This narrative will be presented as a chronological history focusing on individual field seasons in the 1960s and 1970s. Each entry will include the excavation results of the field season, notable finds, the Scandinavian researchers involved, including a brief profile of the researcher, and relevant background information. Building the narrative will be the primary aspect of the discussion, complemented with a brief analysis of the use of Norse archaeology as a political tool in the context of the LAM excavations.

The chapter (and narrative) is divided into three sections: (1) the early explorations to locate Vínland, including expeditions by Jørgen Meldgaard and Helge Ingstad, (2) the excavations led by Anne Stine Ingstad from 1961 to 1964 and 1966 to 1968, and finally (3) Parks Canada's management of the site and their excavations in the 1970s.

5.1 Explorations and Search for "Vínland"

Interest in discovering the location of "Vínland" stems from descriptions of the Norse travelling to lands further west than Greenland. Vínland is described in two of the medieval Icelandic sagas, *The Saga of the Greenlanders* or *Grænlendinga Saga* and *The Saga of Erik the Red* or *Eiríks Saga Rauða* (Smiley 2001). Both sagas begin with Erik the Red's banishment from Iceland and settlement in Greenland, followed by his son Leif Eriksson exploring the land to the west, and Thorfinn Karlsefni and his wife Gudrid later returning to Leif Eriksson's camp (Smiley 2001; Wallace 2008). However, *The Saga of the Greenlanders,* preserved in the 14th-century *Flateyjarbók*, focuses primarily on Leif Eriksson and his initial westward exploration where he encounters Helluland (Stone-land), Markland (Forest-land), and Vínland, which is described as

having vines and grapes. *The Saga of Erik the Red,* preserved in the 14th-century *Hauksbók* and the 15th-century *Skálholtsbók,* focuses more so on Thorfinn Karlsefni and his wife Gudrid and describes, amongst other things, a bull being brought by the Norse to Vínland (Smiley 2001). The description of a Norse camp in the medieval Icelandic sagas inspired interest in locating Norse sites in North America by attempting to retrace the route from the sagas while also identifying areas where wild grapes were known to grow. However, the sagas were recorded hundreds of years after they were set, making them not fully reliable as historical sources and stressing the need to critically assess these when used in historical research (Crocker 2020; Friðriksson and Vésteinsson 2003).

5.1.1 19th-and-Early-20th-Century Norse Archaeology in North America

When the book *Antiquitates Americanae* was published in 1837, followed by the English language version *Discovery of North America* in 1838, both of which were written by Icelandic-Danish Antiquarian Carl Christian Rafn, North Americans gained exposure to the Vikings and the possible presence of the Norse in the Americas (Brink and Price 2008; Machan 2020; Wallace 1982). *Discovery of North America* included the Vínland sagas, which made the Norse and the possibility of Norse sites in North America popular in the United States (Wallace 1982). Norse archaeology in the Americas in the 19th and 20th centuries can primarily be grouped into two avenues, one associated with the Eastern seaboard of North America and the Vínland sagas, and the other with Minnesota and the Kensington Runestone (Wallace 1982).

New England, and especially Rhode Island and Cape Cod, Massachusetts, was considered as the location of Vínland after Rafn hypothesized that the Newport Tower was Norse in *Antiquitates Americanæ* (Rafn 1837). The Newport Tower has since been disproved as Norse, and archaeological digs around the tower have found colonial, not Norse, artifacts (Wallace 1982),

and later radiocarbon dating of the mortar placed the constructions in the late 17th century (Hale et al. 2003). However, the idea of possible Norse archaeological sites or artifacts being found within New England persisted with the misidentification of weapons, mooring holes (Wallace 1983), and the Dighton Rock, which was inscribed with Indigenous-made markings misinterpreted by some people as Norse (Harty 2020). Claims of Norse artifacts and sites also appear in Minnesota following the alleged discovery of the Kensington Runestone in 1898 (Wallace 1983). The inscription of the Kensington stone states it was inscribed in 1362 and describes a voyage from Vínland to further west (Wallace 1983). The stone was initially found by Olof Öhman but was later sold to Hjalmar Holand, who popularized it with articles written about the Kensington Runestone in the 1910s, claiming it correlated with Paul Knutson's 1354 visit to Greenland (Machan 2020). The Kensington Runestone is now widely interpreted by scholars as non-authentic (Machan 2020), but like Rafn claiming the Newport Tower was Norse, it inspired additional interest in the discovery of Norse artifacts in the region (Wallace 1983). Besides locating the Norse in the Americas through archaeology, Vikings remained a popular trope in American media throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, appearing in poems, novels, and films (Harty 2020).

During the late 19th and 20th centuries, scholars and the general public were interested in locating the Norse in North America, both as a symbol of national identity for Scandinavians or other Germanic Europeans and as an alternative to the current origin story of Europeans in North America (Friðriksson 2012). The arrival of Columbus and other Europeans beginning in 1492 involved widespread disease, destruction of Indigenous cultures, slavery, and the death of Indigenous peoples; a narrative that can cause white North Americans discomfort and guilt (Mancini 2002). In this context, according to Friðriksson (2012), the saga of the Norse visiting

Vínland (understood as being located in North America) provided a better alternative with less cultural destruction and a longer established timeline for European presence on the continent. The impact of colonialism at L'Anse aux Meadows includes Indigenous peoples being pushed to the margins of the story through a focus on the Norse as the first Europeans in North America (Crocker 2020) and as a part of a larger trend of looking for European history in this part of the world.

5.1.2 Jørgen Meldgaard's 1956 Exploration

Although several people hypothesized that Northern Newfoundland may have been the location of Vínland, the first Scandinavian to travel to the region looking for ruins was Jørgen Meldgaard. Jørgen Meldgaard (1927-2007) was a Danish archaeologist who specialized in Arctic archaeology and was the curator of the National Museum of Denmark from 1957 to 1997 (Appelt et al. 2007; Madsen and Appelt 2010). Meldgaard completed his Ph.D. at Aarhus University in 1953, focusing on European Prehistoric archaeology; however, during his career, Meldgaard completed significant research in Greenland with Pre-Inuit and Inuit archaeology (Appelt et al. 2007). He was also interested in the Norse and specifically the accuracy of the Vínland Sagas, and whether the Norse had created settlements in North America around 1000 CE. During the summer of 1956, Meldgaard travelled from Greenland to Labrador and Newfoundland, looking for evidence of a Norse settlement. He was not just drawing inspiration from the sagas, as he was also intrigued by the connection between the Norse and North America suggested by the excavation of a Ramah chert arrowhead from Sandnes, a Norse farm in the Western Settlement of Greenland in 1930. Ramah chert is a type of lithic material exclusively found in Northern Labrador, proof of a connection between the Norse settlements in Greenland and the mainland of North America. Meldgaard believed the arrowhead was brought to

Greenland by the Norse, suggesting they had been to North America, hence his interest in looking for the Vínland settlement (Madsen and Appelt 2010).

Meldgaard started his 1956 exploration with excavations near Sisimiut/Holsteinsborg in Greenland before arriving in Goose Bay, Labrador, by plane on July 7th. He travelled around Labrador until July 24th, when he sailed to St. Anthony, Newfoundland. Meldgaard visited different communities in northern Newfoundland, including Bartlett River, Roddickton, Englee, and Conche, before returning to Cartwright, Labrador, on August 6th. However, he had difficulty travelling around Northern Newfoundland as most communities were only accessible by boat at the time. Meldgaard did not have one of his own, and was therefore reliant on the available opportunities. After travelling around northern Newfoundland, Meldgaard believed there may have been a possible Norse site located at Bartlett River by Pistolet Bay, approximately 15 kilometres from L'Anse aux Meadows (Madsen and Appelt 2010)[5]. However, Meldgaard did not return to Newfoundland before the Ingstads published about their investigation and their first field season in 1961 (Madsen and Appelt 2010). The Ingstads' claim over locating "Vínland" caused a media storm between Norwegian and Danish papers, especially since the Ingstads were Norwegian, and disrupted the prior tradition of Norse archaeology in Greenland being conducted by Danes (Madsen and Appelt 2010:45-46). Media disputes over whether Meldgaard or the Ingstads had identified Vínland were intensified by previous nationalistic sentiments stemming from ownership of the Arctic, and specifically Greenland (Madsen and Appelt 2010:45-46).

[5] No additional Norse sites have been located in Newfoundland and Labrador except for L'Anse aux Meadows despite numerous investigations, such as by Parks Canada in the 1970s (Schönbäck et al. 1975; Lewis-Simpson 2020).

More information on this dispute and its consequences will be explained in the following chapter.

5.1.3 Helge Ingstad's 1960 Adventure

The next attempt to locate the sagas' "Vínland" in Newfoundland was led by the Norwegian explorer and author Helge Ingstad in 1960 (Ingstad 1974). Born in 1899 near Tromsø, Norway, Helge Ingstad originally studied Law at the University of Oslo, then called "The Royal Frederick University" (Ingstad 2017). After practicing Law in Levanger from 1923 to 1925, Ingstad decided to travel and eventually went to Canada's Northwest Territories to be a trapper in 1926 (Ingstad 2017). Later he wrote about his time as a trapper and the local Indigenous groups in his first book, *The Land of Feast and Famine* (Ingstad 1933). Ingstad later became the governor of 'Erik the Red's Land' in Eastern Greenland from 1932 to 1933, until international courts ruled against Norway, ending the official Norwegian presence on the island (Ingstad 1937). Following the Erik the Red's Land ruling, Ingstad was offered the position of governor of Svalbard, the Norwegian archipelago in the North Atlantic, from 1933 to 1936 (Ingstad 2017). He continued travelling and writing books after his tenure at Svalbard, living with Indigenous Apache groups (Ingstad 2004) and the Nunamiut, an Alaskan Inuit group (Ingstad 1954). In 1941, Helge married Anne Stine Moe, and their daughter Benedicte was born in 1943 (Ingstad 2017).

Although Helge Ingstad's previous investigations had been ethnographic research with living communities, in 1953, Helge and Anne Stine travelled to West Greenland as the first steps in identifying "Vínland" (Ingstad 1974). Travelling around Greenland by boat, they inspected ruins from Norse Greenland. This research led to the book *Land under the Pole Star* (Ingstad 1966), which primarily explored why the Norse civilization disappeared, and where the sagas' "Vínland" was located. Attempting to answer the question of the location of Vínland, Helge

Ingstad travelled to North America during the summer of 1960. He started his exploration for Norse ruins in the United States, travelling through Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Maine (Ingstad 1974). He then travelled north to Canada to visit inlets in Nova Scotia and parts of Newfoundland. He then met with his daughter Benedicte in St. John's (Anne Stine was then working at the Norwegian Forest Museum), where they travelled to the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland, the area possibly identified as Vínland previously by Munn, Tanner, and Meldgaard. Helge and Benedicte Ingstad were able to visit various rural Newfoundland communities via the *Albert T. Gould,* a boat owned by the Grenfell Mission that provided healthcare to the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland and Labrador (Ingstad 1974). In Pistolet Bay, Harvey Taylor advised Helge Ingstad to visit L'Anse aux Meadows and speak to George Decker if he was interested in locating ruins (Ingstad 2017). The mounds George Decker showed the Ingstads at L'Anse aux Meadows were the most promising lead to Norse artifacts in North America, spurring the Ingstads to return the following summer to investigate archaeologically.

5.2 The Ingstads' Excavations

After L'Anse aux Meadows was identified as a site of possible Norse ruins with the help of Decker, the Ingstads returned for seven archaeological field seasons from 1961-1964 and 1966-1968. The story of each field season will be disseminated throughout this section.

5.2.1 1961: Test Excavation of L'Anse aux Meadows

In June of 1961, the *Halten* docked in Épaves Bay, spurring the beginning of the field season at L'Anse aux Meadows (Ingstad 1985). Initially launching in Montreal in April, the *Halten* had been purchased by Helge Ingstad to allow travel to different Newfoundland inlets as there were no roads connecting communities in the Northern Peninsula at that point as transportation was

limited by boat or dogsled in the winter (Appendix I). The crew consisted of Helge Ingstad, Paul Sørnes (a skipper from Sunnmøre), Erling Brunborg (a Norwegian photographer, sailor, and adventurer), Odd Martens (a childhood friend of Helge's who acted as the boat's cook and doctor), Benedicte Ingstad, and Anne Stine Ingstad, the latter whom was the team's archaeologist (Ingstad 2017).

Anne Stine Ingstad (née Moe) was born in Lillehammer, Norway in 1918 (Ingstad 2017). She began studying archaeology at the University of Oslo in the 1950s, initially focusing on Iron Age archaeology (Ingstad 2017). Anne Stine completed her Master's degree in Nordic archaeology in 1960 and was then hired as the curator of the Norwegian Forestry Museum at Elverum from 1960 to 1961 (Ingstad 2017). Later, she would receive her doctorate in 1978 from the University of Oslo and received two honorary doctorates; one from Memorial University of Newfoundland[6] in 1979 and the other from the University of Bergen in 1992 (Ingstad 2017).

Local community members were hired in L'Anse aux Meadows to assist Anne Stine with the excavations. They included but were not limited to Job Andersson, Carson Blake, and Lloyd Decker (Ingstad 2017). The purpose of this field season was primarily to investigate the mounds identified by George Decker the previous summer and to attempt to determine whether the site was Norse, Indigenous, or later European in origin (Ingstad 1985). The excavations began with several 1 m^2 test pits, some of which were through the walls of the mounds to ascertain the methods of construction and the materials used. The first test pits did not reveal the previous inhabitants due to a lack of material culture, but Anne Stine Ingstad did find rudimentary hearths and cooking pits (Ingstad 1985). Certain walls of the ruins were highly eroded in some areas and

[6] Now known as the Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador (MUNL).

were difficult to differentiate from the surrounding layers, such as the eastern wall of House-site A (Ingstad 1985:36). Other sections excavated during 1961 include sections of House-sites B and C and the western part of House-site D (Ingstad 1985).

During this first excavation season, the crew of the *Halten* travelled north to Labrador to continue looking for possible Norse sites; however, Anne Stine returned alone in August to continue the excavations (Ingstad 2017). Once back at L'Anse aux Meadows, Anne Stine continued digging test trenches near the presumed wall of what is now known as 'Hall F' (Ingstad 1985). Further excavations revealed the structures resembled Norse-style houses with Icelandic or Greenlandic-style hearths and some corroded iron rivets, which were interpreted as indicating the site was not solely Indigenous, on the basis that no Indigenous groups had this technology (Ingstad 1985). The ruins were also primarily rectangular in shape, indicating they were Norse as the Ingstads thought Indigenous structures would be round (Ingstad 1985). Although the test dig this season did not answer the question of who the previous inhabitants of the site were, the presence of corroded iron artifacts and Norse-style hearths and houses indicated the site could have been used by medieval European people. The results of the field tests were sufficient grounds for an additional, more extensive field season the following year with more archaeologists, and also for the involvement of the Canadian and Newfoundland governments in research pertaining to L'Anse aux Meadows (Ingstad 1985).

5.2.2 1962: International Attention

The information that the ruins at L'Anse aux Meadows may be Norse became available publicly by September 1961 as newspaper articles about the site began being published throughout Newfoundland in the *Evening Telegram* (1961), *The Daily News* (1961) and the *Western Star* (1961), as shown in Figures 7 and 8. However, in Europe, the media coverage was more

negative, with an open dispute between the Ingstads and Danish archaeologist Aage Rousell over who first identified L'Anse aux Meadows as a Norse site, either Helge Ingstad or Jørgen Meldgaard, and if Ingstad had found the site based on information from Meldgaard (Ingstad 2017). The issue was mostly resolved when Meldgaard confirmed that while he had visited Newfoundland in 1956, he had not visited L'Anse aux Meadows. However, the public dispute resulted in two consequences; the Newfoundland government becoming increasingly involved with the excavations, and questions about the Ingstads' qualifications being asked as a result of this disagreement. All of this hindered any possible future involvement of Danish archaeologists in the project (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[7].

Army Officers In Control Of Syria

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THE DAILY NEWS

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THE DAILY NEWS, ST. JOHN'S, NFLD., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1961 (Price 7 Cents)

Expedition Finds Traces Of Norsemen In Nfld.

Report Finding Traces Of Norse Settlement At Lance-aux-Meadows

HALIFAX—CP—Five Norwegians have completed a summer of explorn- on Canada's east coast which they say adds proof to some legendary and undocumented adventures of the early Vikings.

Syrians Defeat Invasion Forces Sent By Egypt

BEIRUT — Reuters — A group of conservative politicians and army officers appeared to control neighboring Syria Friday night in the revolt against the United Arab Republic headed by Egyptian Presi-

Figure 7: The possible Norse ruins at L'Anse aux Meadows were on the front page in Newfoundland on September 30th, 1961 (The Daily News 1961).

[7] Entry #30 in Ingstad Letters from MUN President Raymond Gushue to NL Premier Joseph Smallwood on March 30, 1962.

The negative press and questions regarding the Ingstads' qualifications to excavate L'Anse aux Meadows, which stemmed from comments made by Aage Roussell, made the Ingstads unwilling to invite Danish archaeologists to join the excavations. This included Meldgaard, to whom Helge wrote letters explicitly saying this prior to the 1962 field season (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001).

On November 29th, 1961, photographer David Linton sent a letter to the premier of Newfoundland, Joseph Smallwood, about L'Anse aux Meadows, which was forwarded to Dr. Raymond Gushue, the then president of Memorial University of Newfoundland. In the letter, Linton stated he had heard about L'Anse aux Meadows due to the controversy in the media and that he personally believed that Helge Ingstad found the ruins because of information from Meldgaard (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[8]. However, his main priority was that the site be properly excavated by experts using geomorphology, pollen analysis, and Carbon-14 dating. Linton believed Danish archaeologists such as Meldgaard were more qualified to lead the excavation of L'Anse aux Meadows than Helge Ingstad. This letter concerned Premier Smallwood, who suggested that Memorial University of Newfoundland and President Gushue manage the excavations at L'Anse aux Meadows by entrusting a scientific body of scientists to lead or advise upon the excavations, with Helge Ingstad just being invited to participate and no longer leading the excavation (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[9].

[8] Entry #8 in Ingstad Letters from David Linton to NL Premier Joseph Smallwood on November 29, 1961.
[9] Entry #2 in Ingstad Letters from Premier Smallwood to MUN President Gushue on January 17, 1962 and entry #24 from Premier Smallwood to Helge Ingstad on February 15, 1962.

Grade Eleven Results Down

TRACK AND NOVELTY RACES PROVE SUCCESSFUL

Gander Parks and Playgrounds held its yearly Track and Novelty races on Wednesday, August 1st., and, although the number of contestants was somewhat less than last year's races, it still proved to be highly successful.

Possibly the reason for so few contestants, and parents, was that many of them may possibly have thought that the races were cancelled, due to the rain we had the night before. Then again, this would be a poor excuse, when all one had to do was listen to the radio, or check with the main park.

Personals

Viking Expedition Continues

TWO MEMBERS OF GROUP RETURN HOME

The first All-Newfoundland Track and Field Meet ever to be held in Gander got underway here at 10:00 a.m. Saturday. By 2:30 p.m. continuous rain and high winds forced officials to postpone the Meet until the following day, which proved to be sunny and warm. Gander's entry racked up the highest number of points by far, to capture top place in the Track and Field Meet for 1962.

For months the Gander Branch of the Royal Canadian Legion, in conjunction with the Parks and Playgrounds Committee, had been planning for the big day, Aug. 11th. The successful manner in which the Meet was run, was evidence of their tireless efforts.

Awa

RETURN TO ICELAND: Two members of the Viking Expedition, who have been at Lance-au-Meadows during the past summer, spent Friday night in Gander. They were (l - r): Professor T. H. Vilmundarson, from the University of Iceland and Dr. Kristjan Eldjarn, Director of the National Museum in Iceland. They have been working in Northern Newfoundland since the middle of July. (Gander Photo Shop)

WORK CONTINUES ON ARENA: Laying of the concrete floor for the Falon Arena is now nearing completion. This steel and other materials have now arrived in St. John's and should be in Gander

Figure 8: Eldjárn and Vilmundarson were interviewed by the Gander Beacon en-route home to Iceland in August 1962 (Gander Beacon 1962).

Following this, Dr. Gushue sent letters to British archaeologists Mortimer Wheeler, Grahame Clark, and Stuart Piggott, none of whom specialized in Viking-Age archaeology, on the advice of MUN sociology professor Dr. Ian Whitaker (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[10]. The letters ask for their recommendations for protecting an archaeological site of high historical importance, such as with legislation. One letter also describes Helge Ingstad's interest in excavating the site the following summer as "obviously most undesirable" and states that he (Dr.

[10] Entry #6 in Ingstad Letters from Ian Whitaker to Raymond Gushue on January 23, 1962.

Gushue) believes that his [Ingstad's] discovery was made based on information from Meldgaard (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[11]. Wheeler advises Gushue to involve Meldgaard in the excavations to "prevent unauthorised excavation under less creditable supervision" (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[12], and Clark also recommends Meldgaard and provides information about the United Kingdom's *Ancient Monument Acts* as a reference for NL creating similar legislation (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[13].

In early 1962, L'Anse aux Meadows was made a historic site and George Decker was hired as the site's caretaker (Ingstad 2017). On February 15th, 1962, Premier Smallwood sent a letter to Helge Ingstad outlining that the site of L'Anse aux Meadows would be under the control of an international body, meaning any future archaeological work would require a permit from the province and that no independent work would be allowed going forward (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[14]. However, a friend of the Ingstads, R.A. Mackay, advocated for the Ingstads to have continued involvement and stated that they had already invested money and recruited archaeologists to assist with the 1962 field season (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[15]. The endorsement of Anne Stine Ingstad as a trained archaeologist and experienced excavator by Adrian Digby of the British Museum and Norwegian archaeologist Wencke Slomann legitimized the Ingstads' interest in continuing work at L'Anse aux Meadows (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[16]. Eventually, the Ingstads would be granted a permit for the 1962 field season, on the conditions that Anne Stine Ingstad would serve as

[11] Entry #10 in Ingstad Letters from Raymond Gushue to Mortimer Wheeler on January 29, 1962.
[12] Entry #9 in Ingstad Letters from Mortimer Wheeler of the British Academy to MUN President Raymond Gushue on February 19, 1962.
[13] Entry #13 in Ingstad Letters from Grahame Clark to MUN President Raymond Gushue on February 8, 1962.
[14] Entry #24 from Premier Smallwood to Helge Ingstad on February 15, 1962.
[15] Entry #25 in Ingstad Letters from R.A. Mackay to Raymond Gushue on March 18, 1962.
[16] Entry #22 in Ingstad Letters from Adrian Digby to Miles Murray on October 16, 1961.

excavation leader, that they published a report on their previous findings, and that the artifacts would belong to the government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Other requirements included involving a scientist with experience with radiocarbon dating or pollen analysis as well as an independently trained archaeologist assisting Anne Stine (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[17].

1962 Field Season Overview

A body of scientists was not appointed to manage L'Anse aux Meadows; instead, several researchers were invited to participate in the 1962 field season (Eldjárn 2012). They included Helge and Anne Stine Ingstad, Kari Henningsmoen, William Taylor, Kristján Eldjárn, Gísli Gestsson, Þórhallur Vilmundarson, Rolf Petré, and Ian Whitaker (Eldjárn 2012; Ingstad 1985; Ingstad 2017). The photographer Hans Hvide Bang and his assistant Nickolay Eckhoff also participated in the 1962 and 1963 field seasons (Ingstad 1985).

Kristján Eldjárn was invited to join the 1962 field season as a guest by the Ingstads when they were visiting Reykjavík in February 1962, as Eldjárn was very experienced with Icelandic archaeology (Eldjárn 2012). If the ruins at L'Anse aux Meadows were Norse, they would be more similar to Icelandic and Norse Greenlandic sites, as the Norse at L'Anse aux Meadows were from Greenland and previously Iceland, and so having archaeologists with experience in excavations in the North Atlantic would be beneficial. Due to the conflict in the media, the Ingstads did not want to include Danish archaeologists in the L'Anse aux Meadows' excavations, as explained earlier, and so involving an Icelandic archaeologist instead seemed a good solution.

[17] Entry #30 in Ingstad Letters from MUN President Raymond Gushue to NL Premier Joseph Smallwood on March 30, 1962.

Researcher's profile: Kristján Eldjárn

Kristján Eldjárn was born in Tjörn, Svarfaðardal in Northern Iceland in 1916 (Lentz 2013). He studied archaeology at the University of Copenhagen and later completed his Ph.D. in archaeology at the University of Iceland, focusing on Icelandic pagan burials (Eldjárn 1956). Eldjárn was a key figure in Icelandic archaeology, especially during the 1950s-1960s, as he was the director of the National Museum of Iceland, starred in a popular television show about Icelandic artifacts (Friðriksson 1994), and published numerous articles and books about Icelandic archaeology (e.g. Eldjárn 1943, Eldjárn 1956, Eldjárn 1957). His early work focused on researching the validity of Icelandic sagas (Friðriksson 1994; Hreiðarsdóttir 2004). However, he would later move away from proving the sagas using archaeology when he completed his doctoral thesis *Kuml og Haugfé* on pre-Christian burials in 1956 (Eldjárn 1956, Friðriksson 1994). His thesis was a thorough overview of Viking-Age burials in Iceland, which provides information on their location, contents, and discovery (Friðriksson 1994). Although his doctoral work did not reference saga literature, he was still a strong advocate of using historical written sources and archaeology in tandem to understand the history of Iceland. In 1956 he wrote that he believed in the accuracy of the sagas, and although archaeology can "reinforce or weaken the authenticity" of them, written evidence is what provides the settlement history of Iceland (Friðriksson 1994:39). Eldjárn began working at the National Museum of Iceland or *Þjóðminjasafn Íslands* as the curator before becoming the museum's director in 1947 (Lentz 2013). He remained the museum director until he became the third president of Iceland from 1968 to 1980, after which he retired to return to archaeology (Friðriksson 1994). Kristján Eldjárn died following heart surgery in 1982.

Eldjárn invited other Icelandic researchers, Gísli Gestsson and Þórhallur Vilmundarson, to accompany him to L'Anse aux Meadows after the Ingstads suggested inviting additional Icelanders (Eldjárn 2012). Gísli Gestsson was born in Iceland in 1907 and worked with Eldjárn as the curator of the National Museum of Iceland from the early 1950s until 1978 (Morgunblaðið 2015). Gestsson was never formally trained in archaeology and originally studied engineering at the University of Copenhagen (Morgunblaðið 2015). However, he participated in numerous Icelandic archaeological excavations from the 1950s to the 1970s (Gestsdóttir 2012; Gestsson 1959; Gestsson 1960; Smith et al. 2019; Vésteinsson 2004; Ævarsson 2004). Eldjárn also invited literary historian and University of Iceland professor Þórhallur Vilmundarson, visible in Figure 9. Vilmundarson was born in 1924 in Ísafjörður, Iceland and completed his Ph.D. in Icelandic studies from the University of Iceland in 1950, while also having studied at the Universities of Oslo and Copenhagen in the 1950s (Morgunblaðið 2013). Vilmundarson worked as a teacher in a Menntaskóli[18] before becoming a professor at the University of Iceland in 1960 in Icelandic literary history (Morgunblaðið 2013). Specializing in Icelandic place names, Vilmundarson was the director of the "Örnefnastofnunar" or Place Names Institute[19] from its inception in 1969 to 1998. Vilmundarson was invited to participate in the 1962 field season despite his lack of archaeological background due to his expertise in Icelandic literary history and the sagas and his personal interest in Vínland (Eldjárn 2012).

[18] A Menntaskóli is the Icelandic version of a secondary school or junior college.
[19] The Örnefnastofnunar is now part of the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies since 2006.

Figure 9: Vilmundarson (left) and Whitaker (right) in 1962 (Photograph copyright to the National Museum of Iceland).

In 1962, the archaeological ruins at L'Anse aux Meadows were surveyed by the Historic Sites Division[20], which plotted all the visible features (Ingstad 1985). The field season began in mid/late June after being delayed by sea ice making travel by boat from St. Anthony to L'Anse aux Meadows impossible (Ingstad 2017). The excavations began with Helge and Anne Stine Ingstad, Kari Henningsmoen, and William Taylor, Chief Archaeologist at the National Museum of Canada (Ingstad 1985). Henningsmoen departed LAM to return to Norway with pollen samples on July 10th, and William Taylor departed before the Icelanders and Rolf Petré arrived on July 17th (Eldjárn 2012; Ingstad 1985). Rolf Petré was a Swedish archaeologist with the

[20] Now known as Parks Canada.

Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum or Lund University Historical Museum (Petré and Stronberg 1958).

Researcher's profile: Kari Henningsmoen

Born in 1923, Kari Henningsmoen was a Norwegian state geologist and pollen analyst with the University of Oslo. Throughout the 1950s, Henningsmoen worked as a pollen analyst in archaeology (Prøsch-Danielsen 2005) and completed her *Candidatus realium* in 1953 (Bjørlykke 1961). Henningsmoen fulfilled the provincial government's requirements for an excavator at L'Anse aux Meadows with experience in archaeological methodologies such as pollen analysis and Carbon-14 dating to complement the more traditional excavation. In 1963, Kari Henningsmoen and Nils Spjeldnaes wrote an article about *Littorina littorea* (the common periwinkle, a small sea snail) possibly being introduced to North America by Norse settlers around 1000 CE (Spjeldnaes and Henningsmoen 1963). Henningsmoen would return for the 1968 field season at L'Anse aux Meadows (Ingstad 1985).

Areas excavated during the 1962 field season include additional excavations on House-sites A and D (especially D-III) and new excavations on J (known as the Smithy) and other features (Ingstad 1985). The excavations of House-site A continued in 1962, with the Icelandic researchers led by Kristján Eldjárn taking over for Anne Stine when she returned to Norway in July (Eldjárn 2012; Ingstad 1985). The excavations of A primarily consisted of digging trenches, with a 17m-long and 15cm-wide trench being dug west-east, and five 50 cm by 1 m trenches being dug south-north (Ingstad 1985:37). The Icelanders found an iron rivet within A (Ingstad

1985). All trenches were excavated to the sterile sub-soil and were re-filled at the end of the 1962 field season (Ingstad 1985).

The Icelanders led the excavations on House-site J ('the Smithy'), the charcoal kiln, cooking pit I, and several Indigenous hearths (Ingstad 1985). The Smithy (visible in Figure 10) is located across Black Duck Brook from the other house-sites and was described as a horseshoe-shaped depression known as "Decker's Love Nest"[21](Eldjárn 2012; Ingstad 1985). The area contained unsmelted bog ore, high amounts of slag and corroded iron, and numerous large stones (Ingstad 1985). A Dorset soap-stone lamp was found at site J (Ingstad 1985)[22]. The charcoal kiln was located behind the smithy at the top of the bank of Black Duck Brook and contained pieces of charcoal and charred twigs (Ingstad 1985).

Figure 10: Eldjárn excavating the House-site J ('the Smithy') during the 1962 field season (Photograph copyright to the National Museum of Iceland).

[21] According to Eldjárn (2012), it was called "Decker's love nest" because George Decker would take romantic partners there when he was younger.
[22] A photograph of the soap-stone lamp is included in Appendix III, see photograph C4.

The Icelanders also identified three Indigenous hearths through a test trench dug from the north-west of the kiln, containing burned stones (one of them is shown in Figure 11). The hearths were located about 4 m north-west of the charcoal kiln and 8-10 m west of the Smithy (Ingstad 1985:104). Finally, the Icelanders located a cooking pit on the brook's west bank, which contained burnt stones and a layer of charcoal.

Figure 11: Hans Hvide Bang and Eldjárn by an Indigenous hearth in 1962 (Photograph copyright to the National Museum of Iceland).

The Swedish archaeologist Rolf Petré excavated sections of House-site D, cooking pit II, a midden, and some test trenches during the 1962 field season (Ingstad 1985). When Petré excavated the north-eastern section of House-site D (often referred to as D-III), it was initially termed House-site H, as excavators did not realize the sections were connected until 1966 (Ingstad 1985:54). D-III is located between House-sites D and E, and the cultural layer of the feature contained charcoal, charred bones, slate pieces, and small burnt stones (Ingstad 1985). Underneath the cultural layer a hearth was uncovered, and artifacts found near the hearth

included a small burnt copper object, burned bones (including fish vertebrae), and a broken, burned bone needle (Ingstad 1985). Other features located in D-III included a section with five large stones, a patch of soot, and numerous irregular pits[23]. Iron artifacts such as nail fragments and rivets, plus chert stone tools, were also excavated from D-III (Ingstad 1985:63-64). Petré also excavated a layer of refuse close to House-site G, which contained charcoal fragments, charred bones, burned stones, and slivers of slate (Ingstad 1985). Numerous chert fragments and flakes were also excavated. Another feature, the cooking pit II, was located northwest of House-site F, visible as a depression in the ground (Ingstad 1985). The cooking pit contained charcoal, burned stones, soot, and chert stone tools (Ingstad 1985). Finally, Petré dug several test trenches between the bog and the brook bed. They contained no artifacts, but a small Indigenous hearth was uncovered (Ingstad 1985).

Besides the traditional archaeological excavations, pollen analysis of samples collected by Kari Henningsmoen during the first two weeks of the L'Anse aux Meadows field season was also used as a scientific tool (Ingstad 1985). Pollen analysis, in tandem with radiocarbon dating, can be employed to reconstruct past environments, and it was hoped that this would allow a better understanding of what the environment of L'Anse aux Meadows was like in the early 11th century when the Norse would have been present[24] (Ingstad 1985:309). Here, it is important to recall that the saga's name for the Norse settlement, "Vínland," has been a source of debate about whether "vín" translates to wine (referring to grapes) or the Norse word "vin," meaning meadow grassland (Ingstad 1985:309). Helge Ingstad discussed Swedish linguist Sven Söderberg's theory that although Vínland is spelt in the sagas with an accented í, this could be an etymological

[23] An archaeological drawing of D-III is available in Ingstad (1985) plate 21.
[24] Diatom analysis was also attempted by Henningsmoen for L'Anse aux Meadows, but preservation issues made identification of diatoms difficult and limited informative value (Ingstad 1985:310).

misunderstanding and it should be spelt “vin” (Stefánsson 1998). Therefore, the excavators used pollen analysis to reconstruct the environment and vegetation of L’Anse aux Meadows around 1000 CE in an attempt to test if either definition of “vín” or “vin” could fit the past ecology of the site.

The methodology of the pollen analysis included taking eight samples from bogs and ponds in the area (Ingstad 1985:316). Three were within the limits of the archaeological site (or within 150 m of archaeology), three were within 3 km of the site in areas with similar vegetation, and two were 10 km and 14 km away and closer to the forested area (Ingstad 1985:316). Four samples were also taken from House-site walls; two from House A, one from F, and one from D (Ingstad 1985:316)[25]. The results of the pollen analysis did not reveal any evidence that profound vegetation change had taken place in the past 7.5 millennia, and besides *Najas flexilis*[26], there was no evidence of addional species having been introduced by the Norse around 1000 CE (Ingstad 1985:346). The vegetation primarily consisted of native plants, with no indication that grapes grew in the region, although there were berries (Ingstad 1985). Henningsmoen also explains that according to the pollen diagrams, there lacks evidence that the area was “densely forest-covered” (Ingstad 1985:347), indicating that “Vínland” may refer to “meadow-land.” Henningsmoen also states that unlike pollen diagrams from Iceland or Norse Greenland, there is no evident “landnám” phase, which she attributes to the settlement being small and short-lived, and to the fact that the Norse burned driftwood instead of cutting fresh material from the site (Ingstad 1985:348).

[25] Detailed results and pollen diagrams of each sample are available in Ingstad (1985) from pages 309-362.
[26] According to Ingstad (1985:329), *Najas flexilis,* which is an annual aquatic plant commonly known as nodding waternymph, is still located in the south-west part of Newfoundland, just not the Northern Peninsula.

Prior to the L'Anse aux Meadows' excavations, Anne Stine had been experiencing mental health issues written about by her daughter Benedicte in *A Grand Adventure* (Ingstad 2017). The book states that the negative press about who discovered "Vínland" between the 1961 and 1962 field seasons had been very difficult for her (Ingstad 2017). The critiques of the Ingstads credentials, which often did not mention Anne Stine despite her Master's degree in archaeology, and the lack of support from Norwegian scientists, had caused her increasing stress (Ingstad 2017). During the field season, Anne Stine was both the head archaeologist and provided the camp's domestic duties, which caused her to become overworked (Ingstad 2017). On July 23rd, 1962, she left the excavation season early to return to Norway (Eldjárn 2012), citing health concerns. Later, her daughter wrote that Anne Stine was depressed during this period (Ingstad 2017).

Anne Stine's departure during the excavation before the end of the field season caused conflict with the other archaeologists, as they were invited as guests, with Anne Stine being responsible for the excavations as per the terms of the provincial permit (Eldjárn 2012). As Helge was not a trained archaeologist and Anne Stine left early, Eldjárn writes that this was not the situation he agreed to when accepting their invitation, as no lead archaeologist was present anymore (Eldjárn 2012). Kristján Eldjárn's field notebook chronicles the interpersonal issues during the 1962 field season, such as Eldjárn's disapproval that William Taylor and Kari Henningsmoen departed before they (the Icelanders) arrived, and that there was no geologist or pollen analyst present during the second half of the excavation (Eldjárn 2012). The Icelanders also found an Indigenous whetstone in the back dirt of Anne Stine's excavation area after she departed to return to Norway (Appendix II; Eldjárn 2012). This caused conflict between the Ingstads and Eldjárn, as Anne Stine viewed this as criticism of her work (Appendix II). Eldjárn also had an issue with Helge Ingstad's conviction that L'Anse aux Meadows was a Norse site prior to definitive

archaeological proof (Eldjárn 2012). Issues between the Ingstads and Eldjárn would continue after the 1962 field season, as Eldjárn also had concerns about the Ingstads publishing popular content about the excavations instead of focusing on publishing academic sources like a site report (Appendix II).

Dr. Ian Whitaker arrived at L'Anse aux Meadows near the end of the 1962 field season in early August as the representative from Memorial University tasked with inspecting the excavations (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[27]. On August 7th, he wrote a letter to the president of MUN, Dr. Raymond Gushue, detailing the issues at the site, including Anne Stine's early departure, that Eldjárn and Vilmundarson are leaving shortly, and the lack of communication between the archaeologists about the current state of the excavation before Anne Stine left (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[28]. Whitaker comments that the permit terms are not technically being met since there is no lead archaeologist present in the absence of Anne Stine. At the end of the 1962 field season, wooden structures were built over some of the ruins to protect them against weather and aid their preservation (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[29]. These structures would later be removed by Parks Canada and caused animosity between the Ingstads and Parks Canada.

5.2.3 1963: Excavation with the Americans

During the fall of 1962, Helge Ingstad wrote to Dr. Gushue suggesting that the archaeological ruins would need to be cleaned up for preservation and that some supplementary excavations that were not completed in the 1962 field season should be undertaken (Memorial University of

[27] Entry #78 in Ingstad Letters from Ian Whitaker to Raymond Gushue on August 7, 1962.
[28] Entry #78 in Ingstad Letters from Ian Whitaker to Raymond Gushue on August 7, 1962.
[29] Entry #71 in Ingstad Letters from Helge Ingstad to Raymond Gushue on July 20, 1962.

Newfoundland 2001)[30]. He also states that only the Ingstads can complete this work as they have the necessary site knowledge. Despite issues with the provincial government over the scientific report not being published right away, the Ingstads were given a grant from the Newfoundland and Labrador government for an additional excavation in 1963 (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[31]. Besides the Ingstads, the 1963 field season also involved several guest excavators and scientists, including Dr. Henry Collins of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. Junius Bird of the American Museum of Natural History, Dr. William Taylor, as well as University of Illinois students Charles Bareis and John Winston, and representatives from the Early Sites Foundation (Appendix II).

The Early Sites Foundation was a scientific organization formed to study the stone ruins in North Salem, New Hampshire. Members included the organization's president David C. Nutt, Mr. J. Hartness Beardsley, President of Twin Falls Power Corporation, Ltd. Of Labrador, Dr. Vilhjalmar Stefansson of Dartmouth College, and Junius Bird. They were very interested in Norse archaeology in North America and wrote to Dr. Gushue in June of 1962 asking "to participate or help in the archaeological study programs in Newfoundland and Labrador" (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[32].

The 1963 field season was from July to September and focused on completing excavations at established House-sites such as B and C, as well as testing areas adjacent to known features (Ingstad 1985). Both House-sites B and C are adjacent to House-site A and had been partially excavated during the 1961 field season (Ingstad 1985:46-53). These were completed in 1963,

[30] Entry #92 in Ingstad Letters from Helge Ingstad to Raymond Gushue on November 8, 1962.
[31] Entry #95 in Ingstad Letters from Ian Whitaker to Raymond Gushue on November 16, 1962.
[32] Entry #68 in Ingstad Letters from David Nutt to Raymond Gushue on June 6, 1962.

allowing the entrance to House-site B to be located and the unearthing of a hearth and a cooking pit within it (Ingstad 1985). House-site C also contained a small hearth and several artifacts, including slag, iron objects, a piece of red jasper, and charred pieces of bone (Ingstad 1985). The 1963 field season also included testing the unexcavated areas adjacent to the house-sites in attempts to locate additional Norse features and artifacts (Ingstad 1985:110).

The excavation in 1963 unearthed eight additional archaeological features, most of which were located in the proximity of House-site F (Ingstad 1985). Feature 1 was a large whale rib located within sod to the west of Hall F, with no other artifacts located nearby, making the cultural affiliation unknown (Ingstad 1985). Feature 2 was a pit containing charcoal flecks and chert items associated with the Maritime Archaic Culture[33] (Ingstad 1985; Schönbäck et al. 1976). Features 3 and 4 are cooking hearths near each other, located north of Hall F (Ingstad 1985). Feature 3 contained fire cracked and blackened rocks, charcoal, 30 chert items, and animal bones (Ingstad 1985). The hearth was believed to be for outdoor cooking with the chert objects and animal bones indicating this was a butchering site for the preparation of animal carcasses (Ingstad 1985). Feature 4 also contained burnt rocks, charcoal, and 27 chert objects, but no bones (Ingstad 1985). According to Ingstad (1985), both features 3 and 4 are attributed to the Maritime Archaic Culture. This is also the case for Feature 5, which was identified as a chert knapper's station located close to Feature 1 and Cooking Pit II, which was excavated in the 1962 field season (Ingstad 1985). It is also associated with the Maritime Archaic Culture and contained rocks, a post hole, charcoal flecks, 103 chert items and six projectile points (Ingstad 1985). Located east of Hall F, Feature 6 was a hearth containing burnt rocks and charcoal, with no defining cultural artifacts within. Feature 7 was a trench containing thin pieces of slate and was

[33] The Maritime Archaic culture is referred to in early works as the Boreal Archaic component (Ingstad 1985).

the only feature identified as Norse (Ingstad 1985). Located between Hall F and House G, the trench was hypothesized to be lined with slate to direct water away from the structures to prevent flooding (Ingstad 1985). Finally, Feature 8 was two tent rings containing slate rocks and chert items (Ingstad 1985). The tent rings were located by the charcoal kiln near structure J and were identified as either being Inuit or Pre-Inuit, instead of Maritime Archaic[34].

Following the 1963 field season, there was increasing pressure from the provincial government of Newfoundland towards the Ingstads to complete the formal scientific report as stipulated in the 1962 excavation permit. Helge Ingstad had sent a short summary to Dr. Gushue and the provincial government in May of 1964, which contained a brief overview of the excavation results and a suggestion that a road should be constructed up to L'Anse aux Meadows (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[35]. However, MUN officials and the provincial government were concerned about the excavations due to a lack of proof that the site was Norse and the amount of money spent on preserving the site.

According to correspondence sent by Gushue and Whitaker, neither were convinced that the site was even Norse and they were concerned about the optics if the site was Indigenous. The provincial government were unwilling to financially support the project unless it could be proved to be Norse (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[36]. As a Norse site in North America would be unique and culturally significant for the province, it was therefore provided additional financial support and oversight towards the excavations. Although Helge Ingstad wrote in his letter to Dr. Gushue that Henry Collins believed the houses were Norse, not Indigenous, Gushue

[34] Ingstad (1985) uses the terms "Eskimo" and "Pre-Eskimo" instead of "Inuit" and "Pre-Inuit".
[35] Entry #178 in Ingstad Letters from Helge Ingstad to Raymond Gushue on May 15, 1964.
[36] Entry #233 in Ingstad Letters from Raymond Gushue to Ian Whitaker on November 30, 1965.

and Whitaker thought the opinion of an archaeologist with a medieval Norse background would be more conclusive. Whitaker also wrote to Helge in June of 1964, stating the more extensive excavation with Scandinavian researchers had occurred two years before, stressing this should have been adequate time to complete a scientific report of the excavations (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[37]. Whitaker was concerned that Ingstad was focusing primarily on publishing popular sources, such as the National Geographic article published in 1964, for which Helge had suggested to the provincial government of Newfoundland they order "quite a few thousand reprints" to provide tourists (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001; Ingstad 1964)[38].

The L'Anse aux Meadows excavations also received some bad press, such as the Harold Horwood (1964) article in the *Evening Telegram* that scathingly stated the Ingstads were underqualified, questioning why there was no publicly available information despite its announcement in 1961, and that the provincial government gave it support without proof the site was Norse. He also alluded to the site actually being a Basque whaling station and not Norse (Horwood 1964). Helge responded to the article stating Horwood's claims were untrue and not based on factual information. However, the provincial government and MUN were displeased that they were funding the preservation of a site for which they had not received a report. By 1964, the cost associated with the excavations at L'Anse aux Meadows, including the wooden structures built over the ruins, had reached over ten thousand dollars, and the province was uncomfortable spending more money if the site turned out not to be Norse.

[37] Entry #182 in Ingstad Letters from Ian Whitaker to Helge Ingstad on June 3, 1964.
[38] Entry #183 in Ingstad Letters from Helge Ingstad to Raymond Gushue on May 28, 1964.

An additional problem emerged in 1964 through a report by W.L. Lilly about LAM hypothesizing that due to isostatic change the terrace bearing most of the Norse ruins at L'Anse aux Meadows may have been underwater in the past, including during the time period of the proposed Norse settlement (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[39]. Although the Ingstads had provided carbon-14 data dating the sod houses to the early 11th century CE, Whitaker sent a letter to Eldjárn, whom he had met previously in 1962, asking if he had taken any charcoal from L'Anse aux Meadows that could be dated, to provide data independent of the Ingstads (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[40]. Eldjárn declined to have his charcoal samples dated without the Ingstads' knowledge, as he felt it was unnecessary at that point and was choosing to remain silent on the topic until the scientific report was made publicly available (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[41]. Whitaker also suggested to the provincial government and Dr. Gushue that a board should be established to manage historical and archaeological sites in the province, which would include L'Anse aux Meadows. To Dr. Gushue, Whitaker stated that the report on L'Anse aux Meadows should be the priority, but that Helge Ingstad was instead focusing on writing popular material[42]. He also told Gushue that Ingstad had lied and that the excavations had been understaffed during the 1962 field season (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[43].

[39] Entry #177 in Ingstad Letters is a report by H.L. Lilly from 1964.
[40] Entry #181 in Ingstad Letters from Ian Whitaker to Kristjan Eldjárn on June 2, 1964.
[41] Entry #195 in Ingstad Letters from Kristjan Eldjárn to Ian Whitaker on June 6, 1964.
[42] Entry #222 in Ingstad Letters from Ian Whitaker to Raymond Gushue on November 23, 1965.
[43] Entry #227 in Ingstad Letters from Ian Whitaker to Raymond Gushue on December 6, 1965.

5.2.4 1964: Findings of Norse Artifacts

Regardless of the political turmoil behind the scenes, another field season was conducted in L'Anse aux Meadows in 1964. Helge Ingstad was not present that year, and the excavations were led by Anne Stine Ingstad and involved Dr. Junius Bird and his wife Margaret (Peggy) Bird, S. Hartness Beardsley from the Early Sites Foundation and his son Anthony (Tony) Beardsley, and Swedish archaeologist Birgitta Wallace (Appendix II).

The focus of the 1964 field season was primarily to provide site maintenance and to re-examine previously excavated house-sites. The site maintenance included repairing and restoring features and digging a drainage ditch to prevent water damage to the site (Ingstad 1985). Metal detectors were used on exposed site floors, and additional section profiles were exposed.

During the 1962 field season, all eight house-sites had been at least partially excavated, which includes A, B, C, D, E, F, G and J (the Smithy), plus H, which was later discovered to be part of D (Ingstad 1985). House-site F, which had previously been excavated in 1961 and 1962, is the largest house-site at L'Anse aux Meadows, containing six rooms (Ingstad 1985). House F appeared to have been burned, indicated by the layer underneath the grass sods being coal-black and containing numerous large charcoal pieces (Ingstad 1985: 77-79). Rooms II and III are the largest in the house-site and look connected as there was no partition separating them in the archaeological record, but Anne Stine believed they were separate rooms due to the floors being at different depths (Ingstad 1985:82-83). Each of the rooms contained a hearth.

Researcher's profile: Birgitta Wallace

Birgitta Wallace was originally from a small community in Sweden located west of Stockholm (Appendix II). Her education included studying at Uppsala University for a degree in Nordic Archaeology and Anthropology (Newfoundland and Labrador Archaeological Society 2021) before receiving a scholarship from the American Scandinavian Foundation to study in the USA (Appendix II). Wallace worked at the Carnegie Museum of Natural History in Pittsburgh before completing her Master's in 1975, focusing on the Norse migration westward (NL Archaeological Society 2021). In 2018, Wallace was awarded an honorary doctoral degree by Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador (The Gazette 2018). Besides the 1964 field season, Wallace also participated in the 1968 season with the Ingstads and assisted with the 1973-1974 excavations before being hired full-time with Parks Canada in 1975 (NL Archaeological Society 2021). With Parks Canada, Wallace was involved with numerous Canadian archaeological excavations including Grassy Island National Historic Park (Wallace 1979), Battery Provincial Park (Wallace 1985), Nicholas Deny's Trading Post (Wallace 1986) and Fort Anne (Wallace 1994). Birgitta Wallace continued to be involved with L'Anse aux Meadows throughout her career and is viewed as an expert on the site who has published numerous books, articles, digital resources, and book chapters about the topic (e.g. Wallace 1977; Wallace 1982; Wallace 2003a; Wallace 2003b; Wallace 2006; Wallace 2008; Wallace 2021).

Near the end of the 1964 field season, while digging additional section profiles in House-site F room VI, Tony Beardsley and Birgitta Wallace unearthed several iron nails and a soapstone spindle whorl (Ingstad 1985:90). The soapstone spindle whorl was definitively Norse, providing

legitimacy to the Ingstads' claims that L'Anse aux Meadows was a Norse site. Beside this, additional artifacts were excavated from House-site F, including a needle hone or whetstone made of quartzite, and iron rivets in room VI (Ingstad 1985:93). A stone lamp was located in the upper layers of House-site F below the sod, and a pumice stone was found in room II (Ingstad 1985). Several jasper objects were excavated from House F, including four pieces of red jasper used for striking fire and a serrated green jasper tool found between rooms II and III (Ingstad 1985). Later analysis of the jasper by Kevin Smith identified that four of the jasper pieces were from Greenland, and one was from Iceland (Smith 2000; Wallace 2003a).

5.2.5 1965-1966: Interlude

While there were no excavations conducted at L'Anse aux Meadows during 1965, as the Ingstads were busy with the publication of Helge Ingstad's book *Westward to Vinland* (Ingstad 1974)[44], issues between Helge Ingstad and MUN continued throughout the year. On October 15th, 1965, Dr. Gushue sent a letter to Helge Ingstad stating (again) that they had been given adequate time for the report on the site to be completed, and that – despite writing to Helge in May and September of 1964 requesting the report – there had been no response from him (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[45]. Helge responded on October 20th that he had not received the letter from Gushue in September of 1964 and that he had sent a preliminary report to the Premier in November of 1964. He also stated that because the excavations involved numerous researchers from different countries, the report would take time to be completed (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[46]. He also included a copy of the letter sent to

[44] Which was originally published in 1965 in Norwegian and later translated into English.
[45] Entry #218 in Ingstad Letters from Raymond Gushue to Helge Ingstad on October 15, 1965.
[46] Entry #219 in Ingstad Letters from Helge Ingstad to Raymond Gushue on October 20, 1965.

Smallwood in 1964, the report from 1964, and statements from Drs. Bird and Collins stating that L'Anse aux Meadows was Norse, as well as the National Geographic article and news bulletin about the site (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[47]. Gushue replied on November 10th, stating that neither he nor anyone from the provincial government was previously aware of the November 1964 letter or report (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[48]. The general tone of the letter implies that Gushue is very unhappy with the situation, and the final paragraph of the letter states, "I think we should keep on top of this matter until all questions are concluded" (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[49].

The letters mentioned above show that by the fall of 1965, MUN officials and the provincial government felt the scientific report about L'Anse aux Meadows was overdue. Later that month, on November 23rd, Dr. Ian Whitaker sent a letter to Dr. Gushue about his concerns with the L'Anse aux Meadows excavations. In 1964, Ian Whitaker left Memorial University to accept a position with the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, moving to Cardiff. However, he remained in contact with MUN officials including Gushue, as well as with Kristján Eldjárn, whom he had met in the 1962 field season. In a November 23rd letter to Gushue, Whitaker relays that Eldjárn had recently written him, stating that the Ingstads were planning to publish another popular account of the excavations, which would be published soon in Norwegian[50], which went against the original terms of the 1962 permit that stated the scientific report should take precedent (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[51]. Eldjárn disapproved of a popular source taking precedence over the completion of the scientific report,

[47] Entry #219 in Ingstad Letters from Helge Ingstad to Raymond Gushue on October 20, 1965.
[48] Entry #221 in Ingstad Letters from Raymond Gushue to Helge Ingstad on November 10, 1965.
[49] Entry #221 in Ingstad Letters from Raymond Gushue to Helge Ingstad on November 10, 1965.
[50] This was *Westward to Vinland* (1974).
[51] Entry #222 in Ingstad Letters from Ian Whitaker to Raymond Gushue on November 23, 1965.

something which had already caused strife between the Ingstads and Eldjárn (Appendix II). Whitaker also writes in the letter that there is "very considerable doubt" by some professional archaeologists that the site is truly Norse, on the basis that the carbon-14 dating was performed solely on samples taken by the Ingstads, that the buildings were not absolutely typical of the Norse, that there were no other examples of temporary Norse settlements to which L'Anse aux Meadows could be compared (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[52]. Whitaker also states that Eldjárn sent his part of the report to the Ingstads a time ago, and that he felt that continued field seasons at L'Anse aux Meadows (like the one planned for 1966) would be delaying completion of the report of the 'important work [that] had been completed in 1962'. In the final sections of the letter, Whitaker states his regret for his earlier enthusiasm about the excavations, especially since the experts mentioned by Helge Ingstads as openly supporting the site's identification as Norse (e.g. Junius Bird or Henry Collins) specialize in Indigenous, not Norse archaeology. Whitaker then prompts Gushue to urge Ingstad to complete the report, stating he is inferring from Eldjárn's letter that all the participants had submitted their chapters to the Ingstads (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[53].

Gushue followed up on this suggestion, sending a letter to Helge on November 30th, which summarizes Dr. Whitaker's concerns (but without mentioning Eldjárn by name) and urging the Ingstads again to complete and publish the scientific report as soon as possible (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[54]. In early December, Helge sends letters to both Premier Smallwood and Dr. Gushue in which he states he was surprised by Dr. Gushue's previous letter, as a preliminary report had been sent in 1964. He also repeated that the final submission would

[52] Entry #222 in Ingstad Letters from Ian Whitaker to Raymond Gushue on November 23, 1965.
[53] Entry #222 in Ingstad Letters from Ian Whitaker to Raymond Gushue on November 23, 1965.
[54] Entry #224 in Ingstad Letters from MUN's Raymond Gushue to Helge Ingstad on November 30, 1965.

take time due to requiring submissions from numerous scientists. Helge then writes that the previous information he has sent plus the radiocarbon dates from the site should be adequate information for people interested and that he would send Smallwood a copy of his new book about the site *Vesterveg til Vinland*[55] (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[56].

Issues continued on December 6th when Whitaker sent another letter to Gushue, criticizing the Ingstads' excavations (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[57]. In it, he states that the short report provided by Ingstad in 1964 does not replace a full scientific report that should be publicly available, and Helge had instructed that the 1964 report should not be published (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[58]. Whitaker also states additional problems he had with the excavations, including the fact that the experts invited by the Ingstad (Junius Bird and William Taylor) were only at L'Anse aux Meadows for a few days, that the average of the radiocarbon dates was 820 CE ('too early for the Norse'), and that – based on the fact Eldjárn was questioning the excavations – Helge was over-exaggerating support from other archaeologists that had been involved. He also questions how Helge cannot find time to complete the scientific report, when he has time for other activities such as writing a popular book, planning another expedition to L'Anse aux Meadows, and appearing before the U.S. Congress (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[59]. Despite Anne Stine being the lead archaeologist according to the stipulations by the Newfoundland government, and therefore responsible for

[55] *Vesterveg til Vinland* was the Norwegian title of *Westward to Vinland* (Ingstad 1974).
[56] Entry #226 in Ingstad Letters from Helge Ingstad to Premier Smallwood on December 1, 1965.
[57] Entry #227 in Ingstad Letters from Ian Whitaker to Raymond Gushue on December 6, 1965.
[58] Entry #227 in Ingstad Letters from Ian Whitaker to Raymond Gushue on December 6, 1965.
[59] Entry #227 in Ingstad Letters from Ian Whitaker to Raymond Gushue on December 6, 1965.

organizing and writing the report, most correspondence between the Ingstads and Newfoundland officials was typically with Helge, not Anne Stine.

Whitaker's concerns about the excavation report not being completed are reflected in letters Gushue sent in December 1965 to Helen O'Reilly of Longmans Canada Limited and John Lear, the Science Editor for the *Saturday Review* (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[60]. Longmans Canada Limited was a publishing company, which sent a letter to Dr. Gushue inquiring about a possible book written about L'Anse aux Meadows. To this enquiry, Gushue responded that before Ingstad publishes a popular book, he should complete the final report on L'Anse aux Meadows with relevant accompanying data to be submitted to a panel of archaeologists (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[61]. Gushue also received a letter from John Lear on December 3rd, 1965, after Lear wrote an article about the Vínland Map[62]. The latter contained numerous references to L'Anse aux Meadows and the Ingstads, and Lear asked if a report was available as he had received several inquiries. Gushue responded by sharing Helge Ingstad's reasons for why the report had not been completed, although he signals displeasure that *Westward to Vinland,* a popular book on the site, had been published prior to the report being completed. He also states that the government's position was that no announcements or claims about the site would be made prior to a full scientific report being accessed and accepted by a competent authority. Lear responds that he believes scientists will not accept that L'Anse aux Meadows is a Norse site without a scientific report and mentions that while they can be time-

[60] Entry #229 in Ingstad Letters from Helen O'Reilly to Raymond Gushue on November 29, 1965 and entry #232 in Ingstad Letters from John Lear to Raymond Gushue on December 3, 1965.
[61] Entry #230 in Ingstad Letters from Raymond Gushue to Helen O'Reilly on December 6, 1965.
[62] Scholars now agree that the Vínland Map is a forgery and not Medieval (Seaver 2004).

consuming to write, it is common practice to avoid publishing popular or promotional material until the report is completed (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[63].

In 1966, the Ingstads returned to L'Anse aux Meadows to continue excavations. The team consisted of Helge and Anne Stine Ingstad, and the fieldwork began in July, focusing on re-excavating known features, such as House-sites A and D (Ingstad 2017). House-site A had been primarily excavated in 1962 by the Icelanders, and the new excavations continued into 1967 and 1968 (Ingstad 1985). In 1966 two drainage ditches were dug throughout the House-site A, B, and C complex, with one running through room I of House-site A to between Houses B and C, and the other through room IV of A up to House B (Ingstads 1985). Excavations also continued with Hall D, which had been partially excavated in 1962 by Rolf Petré as Hall H at the time (Ingstad 1985). In 1966, the southwest of the complex was excavated, revealing that the two sections were connected. Hall D comprised three rooms, the smaller two excavated in 1966 (I and II), and the larger (III), which contained additional archaeological material such as stone arrowheads, iron fragments, bone, flint chips, and a part of a bone needle (Ingstad 1985). Rooms I and II have a connecting doorway; no doorway was found connecting room III (Ingstad 1985). Charcoal was found throughout Hall D, plus pyrites in room I and iron rivets, a hearth, and a section of soot in room II (Ingstads 1985). Excavations on Hall D were completed by the autumn of 1966 (Ingstad 1985).

5.2.6 1967: Site Authentication

The Ingstads returned to L'Anse aux Meadows in September of 1967 and arrived using the newly constructed road (Ingstad 2017). The archaeological focus of the field season was

[63] Entry #234 in Ingstad Letters from John Lear to Raymond Gushue on December 28, 1965.

continuing the excavations at House-site A (Ingstad 1985), and the site was visited by archaeologists Drs. Bjorn Hougen and Mårten Stenberger (Ingstad 2017). Hougen and Stenberger were invited to visit the ruins at L'Anse aux Meadows to examine them and provide authenticity that they were Norse (Appendix II). Anne Stine and Bjørn Hougen had a prior relationship to the 1967 field season, as she had completed her education at the University of Oslo while Hougen was a professor there, and he had acted as a mentor to her (Appendix II).

Researcher's profile: Bjørn Hougen

Dr. Bjørn Hougen was a Norwegian archaeologist born in 1898 in Sandefjord who specialized in the Norwegian Iron Age (Sjøvold 1977). Hougen completed his Masters's in archaeology in 1924 with his thesis "Grav og gravplass. Eldre jernalders gravskikk i Østfold og Vestfold," which focused on the Iron Age burial customs of Østfold and Vestfold (Sjøvold 1977). His doctoral research, which was completed in 1936, focused on an Iron Age burial in Snartemo titled "Snartemofunnene" (Sjøvold 1977). Hougen worked at the Universitetets Oldsaksamling, a cultural history museum at the University of Oslo, beginning in 1919, until becoming a professor of archaeology at the university from 1950 to 1968 (Sjøvold 1977). Besides his involvement with the University of Oslo, Hougen was also the secretary-general of the Norwegian Archaeological Society from 1951 to 1971 and the editor of *the Viking* (Sjøvold 1977). Hougen was also involved with the preservation of the Oseberg ship in the Viking Ship Museum, which is part of the University of Oslo (Sjøvold 1977). Bjørn Hougen died in 1976 (Sjøvold 1977).

Both Hougen and Stenberger were respected experts in Scandinavian archaeology. Their opinion on whether the site was Norse would be more conclusive than that of Bird or Collins, who both specialized in Indigenous archaeology.

Researcher's profile: Mårten Stenberger

Dr. Mårten Stenberger was a Swedish archaeologist born in 1898 in Göteborg, Sweden. He completed his Bachelor of Arts at Lund University in 1923 with a Major in geography and Minors in geology, minerology, and Scandinavian and comparative archaeology, and completed his Master of Arts (1929) and Ph.D. (1933) at Uppsala University, focusing on Iron Age buildings in Oland, Sweden (Riksarkivet n.d.). Stenberger worked at the Gotland Museum in Visby, Sweden, from 1934 to 1945, the Museum of National Antiquities in Stockholm in the Iron Age Department from 1946 to 1952, and was a professor of Scandinavian archaeology at the University of Uppsala from 1953 to 1965. He was also an accomplished field archaeologist, leading international archaeological training camps in Oland and Gotland, Sweden, and participating in international digs in Greenland, Iceland, and Ireland, including the Brattahlíð excavations in Norse Greenland with Poul Nørlund in the 1930s (CA Online 2001). Brattahlíð is commonly interpreted as having been Erik the Red's (Leif Eriksson's father) estate in the Norse settlement in Greenland, located at the present settlement of Qassiarsuk (Edvardsson 2007). Stenberger died in 1973 (CA Online 2001).

5.2.7 1968: Final Field Season with the Ingstads

The 1968 field season was the final excavation at L'Anse aux Meadows led by the Ingstads. The excavators involved in 1968 included Helge and Anne Stine Ingstad, Kari Henningsmoen,

Birgitta Wallace, Sigrid Hillern Kaland, and Arne Emil Christensen Jr. (Ingstad 1985; Ingstad 2017).

Researcher's profile: Sigrid Hillern Hansen Kaland

Sigrid Hillern Hansen Kaland is a Norwegian archaeologist specializing in Norse archaeology. She completed her Master's degree in Norse archaeology in 1969, focusing on Telemark, Norway, where she worked with the University of Oslo's Universitetets Oldsaksamling or Antiquities Collection (Kaland 1972). Kaland was later involved with excavations in Orkney (Kaland 1973) and has numerous publications about Norse archaeology (e.g. Kaland 1975; Kaland 1995; Kaland 1998). She was employed at the University of Bergen prior to her retirement and was associated with the Department of Cultural History and the University Museum of Bergen or Universitetsmuseet i Bergen (Universitet i Bergen, n.d.).

Arne Emil Christensen Jr. is a Nordic archaeologist and Professor Emeritus of the University of Oslo specializing in Maritime Archaeology, especially ships. He was involved with several boat excavations, including the Sjøvollen (Christensen 1968a), and wrote articles and books about shipbuilding in Norway (Christensen 1968b; Christensen 1973).

The 1968 field season included the continuation of excavation at House-site A (Ingstad 1985). House A is the largest building in a complex with Houses B and C, which are the closest buildings to Black Duck Brook (Ingstad 1985). House or Hall A contained four rooms (I, II, III, and IV) and was damaged throughout time due to the brook's repeated flooding of the feature (Ingstad 1985). Despite the flooding, in 1968, Sigrid Kaland found a 10 cm-long bronze ring-headed pin in the hearth of room III of House-site A (Ingstad 1985). Like the spindle whorl found in 1964, the bronze pin was a significant archaeological find because it was indisputably

Norse, unlike other artifacts located at the site (Appendix II). Other artifacts found at House-site A include iron rivets and fragments, lumps of slag, a Dorset arrowhead, two pieces of red jasper, and pieces of animal bone (Ingstad 1985). One of the bones was identified as a fragment of a pig scapula (Ingstad 1985:287-288), which was archaeologically significant as proof of domestic animals at the site; however, it has since been classified as seal, not pig, and is now lost (Wallace 2003a).

Another focus during the 1968 field season between August 30th and September 25th was a test excavation conducted by Christensen of four oval-shaped depressions located on the west bank of Black Duck Brook (Ingstad 1985). Two primary trenches were dug intersecting the four depressions, plus additional longitudinal sections (Ingstad 1985). These trenches were dug to ascertain if the depressions were human-made, if they were associated with the Norse settlement, their purpose, and what construction methods were used (Ingstad 1985). The depressions contained numerous stones, a piece of highly decayed wood, and two pieces of whalebone (Ingstad 1985). No definitive post-holes were located in the features (Ingstad 1985). Christensen's excavation indicated humans purposefully dug the depressions due to excess soil being heaped on the sides and the walls being built of stacked turf similar to the other structures at L'Anse aux Meadows (Ingstad 1985). Christensen also cites the features' profiles as evidence that the depressions were human-made and Norse, including a strip of turf in the profile believed to be a collapsed roof. They were interpreted as Norse boat sheds built with turf walls and roofs similar to the other Norse structures at L'Anse aux Meadows (Ingstad 1985). However, Bengt Schönbäck, who led the Parks Canada excavations of L'Anse aux Meadows from 1973 to 1975, disagreed, stating the depressions were natural features caused by erosion from storm-driven

breakers, an event witnessed during 1975, and were not Norse boat sheds (Ingstad 1985; Schönbäck 1975).

The 1968 field season was the final excavation led by the Ingstads, as Parks Canada took over the site in 1970. Anne Stine Ingstad published a report on the site "The Norse Settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland: a Preliminary Report from the Excavations, 1961-1968" in *Acta Archaeologica* in 1970 (Ingstad 1970). A longer and more comprehensive site report, *The Norse Discovery of America,* which included additional analyses and background information and included chapters by Eldjárn, Petré, Henningsmoen, and Christensen, was also published in 1977 (Ingstad 1985).

5.3 Parks Canada

The organization that is now Parks Canada was formed in 1911 as the Dominion Parks Branch and was the world's first national park service (Dick and Routledge 2019). The Dominion Parks Branch continued the work initiated by the federal government in 1885, which started with the hot springs at Banff becoming the first national park in 1887 (Lothian 1987), with four more national parks established by 1911 (Dick and Routledge 2019)[64]. Parks Canada manages the country's National Parks and Park Reserves, National Historic Sites, and National Marine Conservation Areas (Dick and Routledge 2019)

5.3.1 From Provincial Site to National Park

Parks Canada's involvement in Newfoundland and Labrador began with confederation in 1949 when Newfoundland and Labrador became a Canadian province (Lothian 1987). This led to

[64] The term Parks Canada will be exclusively used from this point for ease of reading.

Signal Hill being designated a National Historic Site in 1951 and Terra Nova a national park in 1957 (Lothian 1987). Parks Canada currently manages four national parks in Newfoundland and Labrador[65] and ten National Historic Sites[66]. In 1970, when Parks Canada fell under the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, the government of NL made an agreement with Parks Canada for the development of National Historic Parks at L'Anse aux Meadows and Port au Choix, the latter being an Indigenous archaeological site south of L'Anse aux Meadows (Lothian 1987, also see number 6 in Figure 2). An agreement was also made in 1970 between Jean Chrétien, the then Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, and the province of NL for the establishment of Gros Morne National Park in Western Newfoundland (Lothian 1987)[67].

While L'Anse aux Meadows would be transferred to Parks Canada in terms of site management, in 1972, an International Research Advisory Committee was established to help advise on plans for future development (Ingstad 2017). The committee consisted of Norwegian archaeologist and University of Oslo professor Sverre Marstrander (Skjølsvold 1987), Helge and Anne Stine Ingstad, Danish Maritime archaeologist Ole Crumlin-Pedersen (McGrail 2008), Director of the National Museum of Iceland Þór Magnússon (Magnússon 1988), Swedish archaeologist Bengt Schönbäck, Memorial University Vice-President Leslie Harris (O'Dea 2008), William Taylor of the National Museum of Canada, and John Frederick of the National Historic Sites Services (Ingstad 2017). During the first years after Parks Canada began managing L'Anse aux Meadows, it was decided to conduct additional excavations to help the establishment of the new National

[65] These include Terra Nova, Gros Morne, and Torngat Mountains National Parks, and Akami-Uapishk^{U}-KakKasuak-Mealy Mountains National Park Reserve.
[66] The National Historic Sites include Cape Spear Lighthouse, Castle Hill, Hawthorne Cottage, Hopedale Mission, L'Anse aux Meadows, Port au Choix, Red Bay, Ryan Premises, Signal Hill, and Kitjigattalik - Ramah Chert Quarries.
[67] Gros Morne was originally a National Park Reserve beginning in 1973 and became a National Park in 2005.

Park and the implementation of infrastructure to accommodate tourism at the site (Schönbäck 1974). This included Parks Canada converting an old two-room schoolhouse from the community into a reception center prior to building a permanent interpretation and visitor center (Appendix I).

Records from the Parks Canada excavations in the 1970s primarily consist of post-season reports focusing on the results of each field season which include minimal interpretation (e.g. Schönbäck 1974, Schönbäck et al. 1976, Wallace 1977). Parks Canada records can also be difficult to access, as they are generally not published nor publicly available, except as hard copies in certain archives and libraries. By the 1970s, the management of L'Anse aux Meadows was centralized under Parks Canada and included fewer stakeholders than during the 1960s, when visiting archaeologists from different institutions and countries, the provincial government of Newfoundland, and the Ingstads were all involved. The different stakeholders of the 1960s may have caused interpersonal conflicts between parties and varied interpretations, but it also created historical records in the form of letters which can be studied in the present. Available documents about the 1970s excavations used in this thesis focus primarily on the excavation results and conservation efforts, with little mention of the politics associated with earlier field seasons. The results-based and concise content of the available sources about the Parks Canada field seasons is reflected in my analysis below, which does not delve as deeply into the events around the excavations as during the Ingstad period.

5.3.2 1973: First Parks Canada Excavation

Parks Canada began excavations at L'Anse aux Meadows in 1973 and these were led by Swedish archaeologist Bengt Schönbäck (Schönbäck et al. 1976). Schönbäck was a Swedish archaeologist who was a member of the L'Anse aux Meadow's International Advisory Committee and was

hired by Parks Canada to lead the L'Anse aux Meadows excavations from 1973 to 1975 (Schönbäck 1974; Schönbäck et al. 1976). Previously, Schönbäck had been the Head of the Iron Age Department at the Statens Historiska Museum or Swedish History Museum (Wallace 2000) and had previous Norse excavation experience in Gotland (Wehlin and Schönbäck 2012) and Uppsala (Nordahl 2018).

Before being hired by Parks Canada full-time, Birgitta Wallace (who had participated in the 1964 and 1968 field seasons) assisted Schönbäck during the 1973, 1974, and 1975 excavations (Wallace 2022 email correspondence). The Parks Canada excavations were influenced by the primary goals established by the L'Anse aux Meadows International Advisory Committee: I) to seek additional information to aid in site development, II) to define the limits of the Norse settlement, III) to locate and excavate remains which could be damaged when the site opens to tourists, IV) to carry out a survey for additional Norse sites, and V) to clean out the structures previously excavated by the Ingstads prior to restoration (Schönbäck et al. 1976). These goals indicate the primary focus for this renewed phase of archaeological research at L'Anse aux Meadows: gathering additional information and site preservation. Indeed, excavating for additional site features and artifacts, defining the site and features' limits, and locating new Norse sites reflect Parks Canada's interest in acquiring additional information. Another focus was the preservation of the site and the ruins. An influx of tourists could destroy the archaeological site if it were not properly preserved, and the annual flooding from Black Duck Brook had already damaged house-sites and could continue to do so (Schönbäck et al. 1976). The reports from Parks Canada also state that the wooden structures erected in 1962 by the Ingstads to preserve the ruins had actually damaged them instead of providing protection, and therefore needed to be removed (Schönbäck et al. 1976). Schönbäck states that the

archaeological material at L'Anse aux Meadows needed to be identified and excavated due to the tourist activity and weather causing issues with deterioration if materials remained in the ground (Schönbäck et al. 1976). The re-excavation of the Norse ruins at L'Anse aux Meadows in the 1970s and the removal of the wooden structures due to their damage to the site caused conflict between the Ingstads and Parks Canada, of which additional information can be accessed in chapter sixteen of *A Grand Adventure* (Ingstad 2017).

The archaeological focus of the 1973 field season was the re-examination and conservation of the A-B-C house complex, which yielded no additional Norse finds (Schönbäck et al. 1976). More information about the field methodologies will be provided in the following sections.

5.3.3 1974: Second Parks Canada Field Season

Excavations continued in 1974, again led by Bengt Schönbäck, and focused on re-examining the previously excavated houses, excavating parts of the nearby bog, and the areas south and west of the central Norse settlement (Schönbäck 1974). Schönbäck states in the 1974 progress report that the field season carried out the plan formulated and approved by the L'Anse aux Meadows International Advisory Committee in June 1974 in Oslo (Schönbäck 1974).

Excavations of the previous features included the re-excavation of the west wall of House A to establish its width and outline. The excavation also yielded approximately 50 pieces of wood chips and worked wood pieces near House A, which were interpreted as waste from wood working and carpentry (Schönbäck 1974). House D and E were also re-examined to help establish the dimensions of the walls and the outline of the buildings (Schönbäck 1974). Additionally, a clear white glass bead was located outside the east wall of D, as were three to four hundred pieces of worked wood (Schönbäck 1974). An Indigenous fireplace was also

located by House D. No additional finds were identified in House E, but the protective structure erected in the 1960s damaged the turf wall as the width of the wall had been underestimated (Schönbäck 1974). The area between the A-B-C and D-E house complexes was excavated, but there is no mention of any archaeological finds there (Schönbäck 1974).

Besides the re-excavation of the Norse settlement, test and sampling trenches were excavated west and south of the central site, in areas of the nearby bog, and near the beach (Schönbäck 1974). Excavations to the southwest located seven fireplaces, indicating Indigenous activity. The only artifact mentioned was a Dorset black chert stone tool found near one of the fireplaces (Schönbäck 1974). Archaeological sampling was taken from the beach near the site to locate shells for conducting Carbon-14 dating in order to ascertain beach levels and uplift of the land (Schönbäck 1974). Samples of wood were also taken from the nearby bog to identify species and to study the composition of driftwood deposits (Schönbäck 1974). Finally, with the assistance of Icelandic specialist Þórður Tómasson, replica Norse-style sod houses were constructed adjacent to the archaeological site using local turf (Schönbäck 1974).

5.3.4 1975: Third Parks Canada Field Season

By the end of the 1975 field season, the re-excavation of all buildings had been completed, with Houses F, G, and J (‘the Smithy’) being finished that year (Schönbäck et al. 1976). Besides the re-excavation, all the Norse buildings underwent conservation and restoration consisting of layering white sand or gravel on the exposed areas of the ruins for drainage and future identification of where the archaeological material begins, before being layered with sod for protection and to emphasize the outline of the buildings (Schönbäck et al. 1976). In certain sections, stone-filled drains were included in existing trenches to facilitate drainage (Schönbäck et al. 1976). Similar to House E, the wooden protective structures erected in the 1960s damaged

parts of Houses F and G (Schönbäck et al. 1976). In House or Hall F, the increased oxygen circulation in the structure had caused increased lichen growth, and the structure's posts created holes throughout F, including through walls. Besides repairing the feature and conserving it using sods, the site was also re-excavated in case more artifacts remained unfound, like the bead located in House D (Schönbäck et al. 1976). The high acidity of the soil caused preservation issues, especially with organic materials such as bone, but a flint fragment was found within House F (Schönbäck et al. 1976). Outside House F, two decomposed whalebone pieces and four chert fragments were located (Schönbäck et al. 1976). No additional excavations were completed on House G due to its poor state in 1975, and the lack of significant archaeological finds during initial excavations, but it underwent the same conservation methods as described above (Schönbäck et al. 1976).

The final structure re-excavated was House J, also known as the Smithy. The wooden shelter was removed from J, and the Smithy's pit was cleaned out (Schönbäck et al. 1976). No further excavation was performed within the pit, but the shelter had damaged the structure's walls so small excavations were completed in case the structure collapsed in the future, impacting the stratigraphy (Schönbäck et al. 1976). More pieces of slag were located, and Schönbäck hypothesized the Smithy may have been more complex than initially interpreted due to the possible presence of shoring to support the deeply cut walls (Schönbäck et al. 1976).

Besides preserving the known Norse buildings, the field season consisted of digging trenches in the peat bog adjacent to the settlement terrace (Schönbäck et al. 1976). Twenty-plus trenches 2 meters wide by 10 meters long were dug, in which charcoal, wood, and bark were found. Some fragmentary wooden objects were also found which could not be identified to a specific culture, but may be associated with the Norse, one of which was identified as part of a boat floor

(Schönbäck et al. 1976). Investigations south of Black Duck Brook located additional Indigenous campsites from the ones found in 1974, identified as possibly Maritime Archaic and Dorset (Schönbäck et al. 1976). Artifacts located include stone tools such as flakes and chips of flint, quartz and chert (Schönbäck et al. 1976).

5.3.5 1976: Final Parks Canada Field Season

The 1976 field season was led by Birgitta Wallace and was the final large-scale excavation completed at the site in preparation for increasing tourism (Wallace 1977). The re-excavations of the Norse buildings had occurred during the 1973-1975 field seasons, so the 1976 excavations focused on completing trenches in the bog near the Norse buildings and the Smithy, and conducting test pits in anticipation of the building of infrastructure at the site (Wallace 1977). The previous two field seasons resulted in the excavation of numerous wooden objects, including the artifacts mentioned in the previous section and numerous pieces of roots, worked wood, and driftwood (Wallace 1977). These remains were grouped into four possible different time periods and cultures, with the aim of the 1976 excavation to clarify the cultural sequence and establish each group's relationship with the Norse. All dates were established using radiocarbon dating of the wooden objects (Wallace 1977). These groupings and their associated dating and cultural associations are presented below:

Group i

Group i was dated to 1000-700 B.C.E. and contained a wooden spear and two notched sticks of unknown use. Wallace attributes them to the Maritime Archaic culture based on the objects' age (1977:2).

Group ii

Group ii was dated to 600-750 C.E. and contained six worked wooden objects. Objects may have belonged to Maritime Archaic, Dorset, and/or Norse (Wallace 1977).

Group iii

The eight objects in Group iii have been dated to 'around 1000 C.E.' and include an upright wooden stake, a possible toy bow or a bow drill, a possible sled runner, a potential boat floorboard, a dowel, a birchbark net sinker, and a decorative object (Wallace 1977)[68]. Wallace states these objects fit into a Norse cultural context and have parallels in other 11th-century Norse sites (Wallace 1977:2).

Despite being older according to radiocarbon dating, Group ii was found above and partially intermingled with Group iii. As observed by Wallace (1977), this is unusual as the laws of stratigraphy stipulates that the lower strata or layer should be older than the strata or layers above it. A suggested explanation is that the stratigraphy may have been impacted by human activities or by natural occurrences such as frost (Wallace 1977). Wallace also suggests the "older" objects in Group ii may have been made of driftwood, impacting their age as measured using radiocarbon dating. When radiocarbon-dating materials such as wood or other organic material, the results indicate when the piece of organic material died, not when it was modified or used by humans. For cases such as driftwood, the date in which it died and when it was worked by humans could be significantly different, so relying on radiocarbon dates of wood can provide an inaccurate time range for both the object and its corresponding strata (Kim et al. 2019). During the time of both the Ingstads' and Parks Canada's excavations, using charcoal or wood was the

[68] Some objects were excavated in the previous field seasons and were described in the 1975 section.

standard for accurate radiocarbon dates (Ingstad 1985), but many advances in archaeological dating have been made since then (see for example Ledger et al 2016, 2018 and Kuitems et al 2021).

Group iv

The final Group (iv) was dated to 1350-1600 C.E. and contained a pile of cut twigs located west of House D and cut wood located west of House A. Wallace attributes the objects as either Beothuk or possibly Norse (1977:2). The objects identified with Group (iv) were excavated during the 1976 excavation of the bog. This involved digging 10 m x 2 m trenches to the west of Houses A and D and between the two buildings (Wallace 1977). In the area west of House A, additional root bundles, building sods, cut wooden chips, iron slag remains, and driftwood were excavated. The excavated area west of House D contained coiled roots and a hand-forged iron nail that was probably Norse based on the context (Wallace 1977).

Artifacts from a later historic period were also found immediately below the turf on the terrace slope, a 19th-century square cut nail and a piece of green hand-rolled bottle glass, also dated to the 19th-century (Wallace 1977). Another bog area excavated was between Houses A and D, which contained additional pieces of cut wood and driftwood (Wallace 1977). The Smithy and the process of smelting bog ore was a key identifier that L'Anse aux Meadow's was a Norse site and remained an area of interest during both the Ingstad (1985) and Parks Canada excavations (Wallace 1977). During the 1976 field season, an excavation was conducted on the western slope by the Smithy, in an area previously unexcavated (Wallace 1977). No additional material related to smelting was found, however.

Additional test excavations were also completed to ensure there was no archaeological material prior to building a permanent visitor center and replica turf houses (Wallace 1977). By the final Parks Canada field season in 1976, Wallace (1977) estimates that 25% of L'Anse aux Meadows had been fully excavated. Additional ecological studies were carried out by Parks Canada at L'Anse aux Meadows during the 1970s including but not limited to geological and vegetation studies, bird, fish, and sea mammal inventories, and soil analyses (Wallace 2000).

5.4 Brief Overview of Post 1970s Work at LAM

L'Anse aux Meadows remains a National Historic Site and is still managed by Parks Canada. While there have not been any further excavations at the same scale as field seasons described above in the 1960s and 1970s, further archaeological work has continued at the site. These excavations have included different focuses such as zooarchaeological (e.g. Kristensen and Curtis 2012) and environmental archaeology (e.g. Ledger et al. 2019), plus an examination of colonialist views of LAM (e.g. Crocker 2020; Lewis-Simpson 2020).

During the 21st century, additional researchers outside of Parks Canada have conducted research at L'Anse aux Meadows, typically associated with Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador. An example is the research focusing on birds as part of Newfoundland Recent Indian and Beothuk diets in LAM (Kristensen and Curtis 2012; Kristense et al. 2009). The research focuses primarily on the Indigenous populations of LAM, without any emphasis on the Norse, which had been previously rare excluding *Native Occupations L'Anse aux Meadows* by Birgitta Wallace (1989), a document which remains unpublished. The most recent fieldwork at LAM is being undertaken by MUN archaeologists Drs. Forbes and Ledger with the BALL (Biocultural and Archaeological Legacies at L'Anse aux Meadows) project, which is currently ongoing. The BALL project focuses on examining legacy data, obtaining new radiocarbon dates and

reconstructing local environmental change through the analysis of plant and insect remains preserved in a peat bog adjacent to the Norse site (Ledger et al. 2019; Speller 2022).

Besides additional fieldwork, recent articles have also examined LAM's connections with colonialism, Indigenous erasure, and white supremacy (Crocker 2020; Lewis-Simpson 2020). Crocker (2020) analyzes how the recurring theme of the Norse in Newfoundland's historiography and its prominent role in our pre-Columbian history has marginalized and minimized pre-Colonial Indigenous histories. Lewis-Simpson (2020) addresses the connections between Vínland and white supremacy both in the past and present, and champions for Indigenous inclusion in archaeology. The article ends with a call to revisit previously excavated Norse sites with new methods and different theoretical approaches, specifically an investment in community engagement and Indigenous archaeology (Lewis-Simpson 2020).

The history of archaeology at LAM continues as field work and reinterpretations proceeds at the site. Current evaluations of LAM have shifted to include different methodologies such as environmental archaeology and cutting-edge dating techniques (e.g. Ledger et al. 2019; Kuitems et al. 2021). The Norse and European centric focus of the site is also being questioned, with a renewed interest in Indigenous stories and perspectives. Research at LAM is heading in new directions and learning the history of the initial excavations in the 1960s and 1970s can help contextualize the site and its current interpretations.

Chapter 6: Discussion

This chapter is the main discussion of this thesis and delves deeper into the themes of nationalism, colonialism, and the commercialization of heritage. First, I examine Scandinavian geopolitics and how it relates to ownership of historically Norse spaces such as Greenland and L'Anse aux Meadows. I then focus more specifically on the thread of colonialism within L'Anse aux Meadows. Finally, I discuss the economic changes that occurred in the 20th century in Newfoundland and Labrador and the impact of heritage sites and Parks Canada on rural areas of the province, such as the Northern Peninsula.

6.1 Scandinavian Geopolitics and Ownership of Norse Spaces

Despite Danish archaeologists' prior experience with Greenlandic Norse contexts, which are more archaeologically similar to LAM than other mainland European Norse sites, none participated in the LAM excavations. The absence of Danish scholars is notable in the Actor-Network Map (Figure 5), which does include researchers from three other Scandinavian nationalities: Norwegian, Swedish and Icelandic. To understand this story, it helps to remind ourselves that the Norse settlements on the North Atlantic islands of Iceland and the Faroes were mostly populated by Norse migrants that originated from Norway as well as peoples from the British Isles (Als et al. 2006). When the Norse continued to expand westward, areas of southern Greenland came to be settled primarily by Icelanders, and the Norse who came to LAM likely came from these Norse Greenlandic colonies (Wallace 2008). By 1262, all the Norse North Atlantic settlements came to be incorporated into the Norwegian Kingdom (Imsen 2013; Wylie 2015). From the late 14th to the early 19th century, changing political arrangements united Norway and Denmark into a single state, which also included Sweden during the 126 years of

the Kalmar Union (1397-1523). When the Dano-Norwegian union was finally broken in 1814 with the Treaty of Kiel, overseas territories remained with Denmark (Feldbæk 1990). This complicated history led to both Denmark and Norway claiming ownership over historically Norse arctic spaces. Conflicts over the ownership of historically Norse spaces continued into the 20th century. Thus, the debate about who 'discovered' L'Anse aux Meadows, a Norse space in the North Atlantic, must be viewed within the context of the tensions between Scandinavian nations regarding ownership of Norse places and history.

According to Madsen and Appelt (2010:45-46), the strong reactions by both the Norwegian and Danish media about the 'discovery' of a Norse site at L'Anse aux Meadows can be partially attributed to unresolved issues regarding the territorial rights to Greenland. Denmark had previously held precedence over medieval Norse sites in the North Atlantic, including in the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland, due to each of these islands' statuses as dependencies of Denmark following the Treaty of Kiel. The Treaty of Kiel (Feldbæk 1990) and the Erik the Red's Land conflict (Skarstein 2006) mark salient points in this story, but more subtle effects of these political tensions can also be seen in how North Atlantic Norse archaeology developed. While LAM geographically is part of Newfoundland and Canada and was thus never officially under the Norwegian or Danish crowns, it is still a Norse site, and thus a part of Norse history. During the media coverage following the 1961 field season, Danish and Norwegian researchers felt a sense of ownership of the Norse site at LAM, simply because of its place as part of a wider network of historical Norse spaces. While the negative media attention and comments by Aage Roussell, including those about Anne Stine Ingstad's credentials, dissuaded the Ingstads from inviting Danish archaeologists to participate in the subsequent field seasons, these comments and

the responses by the media need to be seen as part of a larger story about Scandinavian geopolitics.

Prior to the Ingstads' work in LAM in the 1960s, Helge Ingstad was already a public figure in Norway, having served as the previous governor of Svalbard and Eastern Greenland and as an explorer and author (Skarstein 2006). His books, beginning with *The Land of Feast and Famine* (Ingstad 1933) or *Pelsjegerliv* ("Trapper Life"), were popular in Norway and focused on his travels to typically northern and 'isolated' (from a European perspective) areas like the Canadian Northwest Territories, Svalbard, East Greenland, and Alaska (Ingstad 2017). It is likely Helge Ingstad's previous reputation as an explorer of northern spaces, and his fame as an author, that caused him to become the de-facto public figure and liaison with MUN and Newfoundland provincial government officials instead of his wife, Anne Stine, the lead archaeologist. In the letters between the provincial government and MUN, Helge Ingstad is often discussed and viewed as the excavation leader, with Anne Stine mentioned significantly less often (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001). Later, when provincial officials are pressing the Ingstads for a full scientific report on the excavations, correspondence is directed to Helge Ingstad, despite Anne Stine being the lead archaeologist for the site and the reason the 1962 permit was granted (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[69]. Helge continued to be the public face of L'Anse aux Meadows during the conflict with Aage Rousell. Comments by Roussell and the Danish media prior to the 1962 field season, which focused on Helge's amateur status and the risks to the site, ignored Anne Stine's involvement and her qualifications as a trained archaeologist (Ingstad 2017). The narrative of Helge 'discovering' L'Anse aux Meadows, which excluded Anne Stine, continued following the excavations, with Helge receiving an honorary

[69] Entry #30 in Ingstad Letters from MUN's Raymond Gushue to NL Premier Joey Smallwood on March 30, 1962.

doctorate from MUN in 1969, ten years before Anne Stine received hers from the same institution (Ingstad 2017). Helge Ingstad's role as a Norwegian 'hero' shifted focus and credit away from Anne Stine, leaving her qualifications, experience, and value to the excavations overshadowed.

6.2 The Complex Thread of Colonialism in the Story of L'Anse aux Meadows

The Norse were the first Europeans to set foot in the Americas, and therefore, LAM was the first site of European colonization (Crocker 2020). The excavators at LAM were primarily European archaeologists from Scandinavian countries. The excavations occurred during a period of change for Newfoundland and Labrador, which was transiting to a Canadian province, which included the arrival of Parks Canada and their regulations and control over NL's historical places. The story of LAM, therefore, involves actors from Scandinavia, Canada and Newfoundland, entangled in colonial relationships that affected the construction of the narrative of Norse heritage at the site. This complex story has yet to be explored in detail.

As the site of the first European settlement in North America, L'Anse aux Meadows is firmly part of the colonial history of the continent. Excluding Norse Greenland, the Norse at L'Anse aux Meadows, as the first Europeans in the Americas, likely were involved in cultural contacts with Indigenous groups (Wallace 2008). The Icelandic Medieval literature describes cultural contact between Indigenous groups and the Norse in *The Saga of the Greenlanders* or *Grænlendinga Saga* and *The Saga of Erik the Red* or *Eiríks Saga Rauða* (Smiley 2001). The Saga of Erik the Red suggests the Norse meet a group of Indigenous people who arrive in hide canoes and trade with the Norse for red cloth in exchange for furs and skins (Smiley 2001). The Indigenous people are scared away by the Norse's bull but return three weeks later and attack

(Smiley 2001). Several Norse and Indigenous people are killed during the confrontation, and the relationships between the two groups remains confrontational throughout the rest of the saga (Smiley 2001). In the Greenlanders Saga, the first contact with Indigenous people involves the Norse attacking and killing a group of Indigenous peoples, who return in larger numbers and attack the Norse, killing Thorvald (Smiley 2001). During a later expedition led by Thorfinn Karlsefni, the Norse are said to have traded dairy products for furs with Indigenous peoples (Smiley 2001). The Indigenous groups returned the following year to trade, but conflict over the trade of weapons led to a battle between the Norse and Indigenous groups (Smiley 2001). Despite the differences between the two Vínland sagas, both contain trade between the Norse and an Indigenous group, which later devolves into violent conflict. The sagas should not be used as definitive historical sources, as they were written hundreds of years after they were set, and as they contain much fantastical elements, such as for example ghosts (Smiley 2001). Archaeological evidence of cultural contact between the Norse and Indigenous groups at L'Anse aux Meadows itself has not been documented. While the Norse and several Indigenous groups utilized the site, a more detailed chronology of occupation is required to understand if the Norse were at L'Anse aux Meadows at the same time as some of the First Nations or Paleo-Inuit groups known to have been there in the past. This is a question that current work on the chronology of the site may contribute new insights.

Here it is worth nothing that the Vínland Sagas are political texts reflecting the 13th and 14th centuries when they were recorded. Both the *The Saga of the Greenlanders* and *The Saga of Erik the Red* were not written down when the events of these sagas take place, but several hundred years later based on oral stories (Smiley 2001). This implies not only that details could have been changed as those stories were told from generation to generation before being written, but also

that the political and religious climate of the 13th and 14th centuries influenced the versions we read today. During the events recounted in the sagas, Christianity was being introduced to Iceland and other Norse settlements in the North Atlantic. Several Icelandic sagas cover the conversion of specific individuals and of Iceland, such as for example the *Kristni saga* (Gronlie 2017). By the 13th-14th centuries, Iceland was fully christianized, and thus the sagas written during this period contain elements of Christian mythology. Scholars have explored the characterization of female characters in the sagas as Christian archetypes (Jesch 1991, Quinn 2005), such as for example Freydís and Gudríd being representations of Eve and the Virgin Mary (Cavaleri 2008). The Vínland sagas also include mention of "vín" and "helgir fiskar", which translate to wine and holy fishes, respectively (Smiley 2001). This is further evidence that the sagas were not impartial descriptions of the Norse voyages throughout the North Atlantic, but were greatly influenced by contemporary politics and religion at the time of their composition. This is similar to the 20th century excavations at LAM, which were influenced by the external context and researchers involved.

The Norse in North America, and the stories related in the sagas, have an enduring legacy in modern times which includes their association with colonialism and white nationalism (Crocker 2020). This thesis has discussed how the medieval sagas descriptions of the Norse in North America were romanticized by North Americans of European descent, especially Protestants, to extend white settlers' history in the so-called 'New World'. This provided an alternative narrative to the cultural and literal genocide of Indigenous peoples, and somewhat replaced the first European in North America, traditionally understood as having been the Catholic Christopher Columbus, with Northern European Leif Eriksson.

The insertion of the Norse into the history of North America was also utilized in Newfoundland, including prior to the archaeological work and confirmation of LAM as a Norse site (Crocker 2020). The Norse connection to Newfoundland is mentioned in early history books of Newfoundland, such as *Newfoundland, the Oldest British Colony: Its History, Its Present Condition, and Its Prospects in the Future* by Moses Harvey (1883) and *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records* by D. W. Prowse (1896). Prowse's *A History of Newfoundland* opens with the chapter "The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America," which focuses on Newfoundland as the site of Vínland in the medieval Icelandic sagas, and states that the Norse were in Newfoundland prior to Columbus (Crocker 2020). Shortly after Confederation, when Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada, *Historic Newfoundland* was published by the province's Tourist Development Division and Leo English (Crocker 2020). The booklet opens: 'Come to Newfoundland! It is the cradle of white civilization in North America' (Crocker 2020: 106). The possibility of Vínland and Norse settlement 500 years prior to Columbus or John Cabot creates a more extended history and, therefore, a precedent for European settlers in North America. In the case of Newfoundland, it also created a longer European settler history compared to the rest of Canada following Confederation, as Newfoundland and Labrador was the youngest Canadian province (Crocker 2020). A Norse presence as a part of the history of Newfoundland has thus contributed to overshadow the Indigenous peoples of the province, as the statement that the Norse 'discovered' North America is incorrect given that Indigenous peoples have lived in the Americas for thousands of years prior to the Norse arrival (Crocker 2020; Lewis-Simpson 2020).

The arrival of the Norse in the early 11th century also provides an alternative narrative to the early history of European Newfoundland, compared to the later colonial history and the

treatment of Indigenous people. As pointed out by Crocker (2020), narratives about the Beothuk having been killed by disease, by the Mi'kmaq, or as a result of their inability to adapt to change, can be and have been used by settler Newfoundlanders to deflect culpability from the early Europeans who settled the island (Crocker 2020). Although both the Vínland sagas describe violent encounters between the Norse and Indigenous groups, there is no archaeological evidence for such violence at L'Anse aux Meadows. Similar to the romanticizing of the Norse presence in the Americas, Newfoundland's interest in Vínland and the Norse part of its story reflects a preference for a narrative that extends settler history deeper into the past and helps cement European legitimacy in North America. The Norse also provide an alternative early European history of the province, which conveniently excludes the extinction of the Beothuk.

During the initial excavations in the 1960s by the Ingstads, Newfoundland and Labrador had no provincial or university archaeological departments, nor did it have legislature for archaeological sites. This led to foreign researchers being heavily included in the consultation and excavation of LAM. Newfoundland and Labrador's colonial relationship and history with the United Kingdom is reflected through the letters between MUN and British archaeologists and their initial choice of British instead of American or Canadian scholars to work on LAM. Indeed, in letters written by MUN and NL government officials in 1961, British archaeologists were considered to assist in the excavations and contacted for advice, including such famous names as Mortimer Wheeler, Grahame Clark, and Stuart Piggott (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[70]. This is unsurprising given Newfoundland and Labrador's connection with Britain, stemming from its history as a British colony and later position as a Dominion of the United Kingdom (Cadigan 2009). During the 1960s and 1970s field seasons at LAM, the excavations were led by

[70] Entry #5 in Ingstad Letters list compiled by MUN's E.R Seary in 1961.

Scandinavian archaeologists, with local residents assisting under their supervision. The archaeology of LAM has historically been completed by archaeologists from colonial countries and is now controlled by a government of Canada organization, Parks Canada.

6.3 The Economic Role of LAM and the Heritage Industry in the Northern Peninsula

During the excavations of the LAM archaeological site and through its status as a National Historic Site in the following decades, LAM has impacted the local and surrounding communities economically. Tourism and employment opportunities for the local community have provided increased economic stability to this rural region throughout the latter half of the 20th century, a particularly turbulent period of Newfoundland's history with resettlement and the cod moratorium.

The turn of the 20th century was a time of cultural change in Newfoundland and Labrador. In 1934, the Commission of Government was sworn in, ending responsible government, and for 15 years, Newfoundland and Labrador held no elections, and no legislature was convened (Cadigan 2009). In 1949, the vote for Confederation to join Canada made Newfoundland and Labrador the tenth Canadian province, enabling access to the federal government's services. While parts of Newfoundland had been modernized during the Second World War, such as the key airports constructed by the Canadian military in Gander, St. John's, and Botwood, and the American military bases Fort Pepperill (now Pleasantville in St. John's), Fort MacAndrew in Argentia and the Ernest Harmon Airbase in Stephenville (Fraser 2010), rural areas of Newfoundland such as the Northern Peninsula were not as largely impacted by the modernization from WWII.

The Northern Peninsula was part of the French Treaty Shore until 1904, meaning that the area was primarily intended for the seasonal French fishery, which strongly discouraged any permanent settlement by the British in the area (Hillier 2001). Although the French presence on the treaty shore declined throughout the 19th century while the settler population increased, the areas included in the treaty shore, including the Northern Peninsula, had no government services and were not represented in the Newfoundland legislature until the 1880s, much later than other parts of the island (Hillier 2001). Before Confederation, on the Northern Peninsula and in Labrador, social services like healthcare were primarily provided by charitable organizations like the Grenfell Mission (Connor 2019). Beginning in Labrador in the 1890s, the Grenfell Mission expanded into St. Anthony in 1901 with the construction of a year-round hospital (Higgins 2020). For the residents of L'Anse aux Meadows during the 1950s and 1960s, access to medical care was either through a hospital boat, the Albert T. Gould, which was run by the Grenfell mission and would travel to different outports, or required them to make the full-day journey to the St. Anthony hospital (Appendix I). L'Anse aux Meadows did not have a road until 1967, meaning transportation was through boats in the summertime and dog-sled teams in the winter (Appendix I). The households in the community of L'Anse aux Meadows did not have electricity or indoor plumbing in the 1950s and 1960s (Appendix I).

Residents of rural areas of the province, like those who lived on the Northern Peninsula, were typically self-sufficient in terms of food production. Residents of L'Anse aux Meadows would catch, hunt, and gather the majority of their food, only purchasing staples such as sugar, flour, and butter, as well fishing equipment, from merchants in Quirpon (Appendix I). Families would grow gardens with root vegetables such as cabbages, turnips, carrots, and potatoes, and children would pick local berries (Appendix I). Hunting animals such as moose, caribou, seals, rabbits,

birds, ducks, and geese was an important part of the livelihood of residents and still is today (Appendix I). Marine sources of protein were also an important aspect of people's diets. Cod was sold to the merchants as a family's primary source of income, but other seafood like salmon or whelks, known locally as coocoo's, were kept for consumption (Appendix I). The fishery was the primary source of revenue in L'Anse aux Meadows in the 1950s and 1960s, with entire families participating. Men would typically catch the codfish, while women and children were responsible for drying and salting the cod to preserve it.

Following Confederation in 1949, modernization efforts by the provincial and federal governments began affecting rural areas throughout Newfoundland and Labrador. A key example was the Centralization program and resettlement of rural communities throughout Newfoundland and Labrador. A focus of Joey Smallwood's government at the beginning of Newfoundland and Labrador's history as a Canadian province was to provide government services to all the province's residents, including transportation, education, electricity, and health care (Martin 2017). These services would be expensive and challenging to provide based on the province's layout, which involved numerous tiny outports; in 1949, the province had 573 communities with less than 30 families. However, the Centralization program provided financial assistance for families to relocate to larger centres of their choosing, where they could access improved government services (Martin 2017). Between 1954 and 1975, 258 communities were resettled and abandoned, and around 27,500 residents moved to larger centres (Maritime History Archive 2010). While in larger centres, people had access to improved government services such as better education and healthcare. But the Centralization and Resettlement program also placed some families under financial duress, even with the monetary incentive from the government, and not all residents wanted to move to Growth Centres. To receive funding for resettlement,

communities required a 100% acceptance rate or 90% in later years, which meant some residents felt compelled to move due to pressure from other community members. Also, Growth Centres typically did not have the available space that resettled families would have previously used for gardens or livestock, and residents would not be familiar with the good fishing or berry areas in the new location. While resettlement efforts were mainly in the islands of Placentia Bay, Bonavista Bay and Notre Dame Bay, communities on the Northern Peninsula were also resettled, including Three Mountain Harbour, Lock's Cove, Current Island, Southwest Croque, and Grey Islands in the North (Maritime History Archive 2010). Growth Centres on the Northern Peninsula included St. Anthony and Port au Choix (Withers 2016).

Living in rural communities in Newfoundland became increasingly difficult following Confederation, especially after the Cod Moratorium in 1992 when the cod fishing industry was shut down to preserve the northern cod population (Schrank and Roy 2013). The moratorium caused 30 thousand people in the province to lose their employment, especially in outport communities where the fishing industry was a large employer (Higgens 2009). The loss of the codfish industry has directly caused depopulation in many rural outport communities in Newfoundland due to a lack of employment in rural areas (Schrank and Roy 2013). Employers, such have fish plants, have declined since the 1990s, with 221 fish plants in 1990 (Schrank and Roy 2013) reducing to 92 in 2021 (Government of NL 2021). Loss of employment has caused populations in rural communities to decline, especially among younger people who move to larger population centers within the province and Canada.

During the L'Anse aux Meadow's excavations in the 1960s and 1970s, while the archaeological research focused on the scientific and historical value of the site, the profitability of a Norse site in North America was also a recurring theme, primarily through the possibility of tourism. The

uniqueness of L'Anse aux Meadows as the earliest European site and only Norse site in North America provided financial value for relevant stakeholders through future tourist revenues. It is thus unsurprising that, in 1961, when members of the Newfoundland government and MUN officials were deliberating Helge Ingstads' future field seasons, letters between archaeologist Adrian Digby and the Minister of Provincial Affairs Miles Murray mentioned the perceived financial value of the archaeological site through tourism, as demonstrated by the two excerpts below:

> 'It would be a great pity if important archaeological relics of this character were to find their way either to the mainland or to Europe, and the mere presence of the site would be a tremendous tourist asset. You will have half the citizens of the U.S., trying to prove that they were descendants of the Vikings who landed in Newfoundland!' (Letter from Adrian Digby to Miles Murray October 2nd, 1961, #21 in Ingstad Letters, Newfoundland and Labrador 2001).

> '…his [Helge Ingstad's] discovery will be of tremendous importance … not only for the history of Newfoundland, but for the whole of North America, and you will certainly get many archaeologists and tourists coming to the country to see them. This … has obvious though small economic advantages. There is of course a danger that this site may in fact be Indian'. (Letter from Adrian Digby to Miles Murray October 16th 1961, #22 in Ingstad Letters, Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001).

The latter part of this excerpt reminds us of an issue that was recurring throughout the early years of the Ingstads' excavations: that the province had not received a scientific report of the

fieldwork conducted by the Ingstads (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[71]. Following the field season in 1962 involving several Scandinavian researchers, the provincial government was anxious to receive the full scientific report to authenticate the site as Norse, a condition of the Ingstads' permission to excavate further. By 1964, the provincial government was reluctant to spend more money on the excavation and preservation of L'Anse aux Meadows without the Ingstads' scientific report and universal acceptance by the academic community that the site was Norse. Whitaker wrote to Helge Ingstad on June 3rd, 1964, stating, '...the Provincial Government would not be very keen on spending any significantly greater sums of money until its [L'Anse aux Meadows' archaeological site] status as a Viking site has been universally accepted' (Memorial University of Newfoundland 2001)[72]. It is thus evident that the province viewed funding the Ingstads' excavations as an investment based on the scientific and economic value of the site's connection to the Norse, which also made it the site of the 'first' Europeans in North America.

During the Spring of 1966, David Webber, curator of the Provincial Military and Naval Museum and the future director of the Historic Resources Division of Newfoundland (Maunder 1991), and J.H. Beardsley from the Early Sites Foundation, visited the site of L'Anse aux Meadows for an inspection and to provide recommendations to the province on its maintenance, protection, and development (Webber and Beardsley 1966). The report provides insight into the maintenance and preservation of the site, including the wooden structures and managing Black Duck Brook, but it also proposes a Provincial Reserve by L'Anse aux Meadows called the "Viking Park." This "Viking Park" would include establishing public facilities by the archaeological site for

[71] Entry #224 in Ingstad Letters from MUN's Raymond Gushue to Helge Ingstad on November 30, 1965.
[72] Entry #182 in Ingstad Letters from Ian Whitaker to Helge Ingstad on June 3, 1964.

"parking, picnicing, camping, and possibly accommodations" (Webber and Beardsley 1966, 1). The "Viking Park" recommendation also includes extending the existing highway to reach L'Anse aux Meadows (Webber and Beardsley 1966). While the "Viking Park" was not constructed, Parks Canada's role in the community did provide the local infrastructure to attract tourism and local employment anticipated in the 1966 proposal.

Parks Canada and the tourism stemming from the site's status as a National Historic Site provided economic benefits to rural parts of the country, including at and around L'Anse aux Meadows. In 2009, visitor spending for Newfoundland and Labrador's National Parks and National Historic Sites was over 143 million dollars, and Parks Canada spent 82.9 million dollars on labour in the province (The Outspan Group Inc. 2011). In 2020, Parks Canada had 258 employees in Newfoundland and Labrador, some of which are located in rural parts of the province (Government of Canada 2021). Parks Canada's role in parts of rural Newfoundland and Labrador has provided both a source of employment directly through the federal government, as well as economic advantages to the surrounding communities through tourism. Clayton Colbourne recounts in his interview that through his job with Parks Canada, he could remain in his hometown of L'Anse aux Meadows, unlike his family members who left the community to find employment elsewhere (Appendix I).

Archaeological tourism can aid mitigate economic problems in rural areas that were severely impacted by changing economies following the cod moratorium (Gaulton and Rankin 2018). Tourist interest in L'Anse aux Meadows and Parks Canada's presence in Northern Newfoundland has brought benefits to the local community in terms of infrastructure with new roads, employment opportunities directly through Parks Canada and indirectly through the local tourism industry that continue to make it possible to practice a traditional way of life that is

disappearing from Newfoundland. It is clear that the archaeological site of L'Anse aux Meadows has contributed to maintain the economic viability of its namesake community and the surrounding region in an area that has experienced increasing hardships throughout the 20th century with centralization, resettlement, and the cod moratorium.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

In recent years, there has been a call for additional research at LAM, using methods such as non-invasive remote sensing and geoarchaeological analysis, and for the decolonization of the site's story (Lewis-Simpson 2020). The research done for this thesis, which is a part of a larger archaeological project focused on LAM, contributes to this by helping the academic community and general readers access and better understand a key part of the archaeological story of the site. L'Anse aux Meadows is an archaeologically significant site for many communities, due to its uniqueness, the fact it has been home to different peoples over the last few thousand years, and that it plays a vital role in the economy of the Northern Peninsula region of Newfoundland. In a situation where source material about the 1960s and 1970s excavations is either not available, not written in English, and/or mostly contained in biographical works about specific researchers, having a 'fuller account' of the early history of the excavations written in English helps understand this story by placing it within its wider historical and political context.

This thesis provides an accessible history of the site by including visual tools (an Actor-Network Map and a timeline of events) that help readers navigate the complex sequence of events involving Scandinavian researchers as they participated in or commented on the early LAM excavations. Information about the excavations, such as artifacts and features, are outlined in this thesis, which also incorporates key elements needed to understand the context in which the field seasons unfolded, including the conflicts between researchers, especially between the Ingstads and MUN officials and the NL government. Interviews conducted with Birgitta Wallace and Clayton Colbourne enrich this story about the archaeology and recent history of the region, while also helping to preserve it for future generations.

This thesis did not explore all the possible facets of the history of archaeology at LAM, as that would be much too large an undertaking for a Master's thesis. Expanding on the methodologies used in this project could help expand the story of the LAM excavations and preserve other aspects of this history. For example, it would certainly be worthwhile to conduct additional interviews with researchers involved in the excavations or Parks Canada employees. Furthermore, research into the Parks Canada archives that are currently located in Dartmouth (Halifax, Nova Scotia) could greatly enhance understanding of the history of the Parks Canada excavations at the site during 1970s, and how this influenced how the site continues to be perceived and managed today. It would also be beneficial to do a more in-depth analysis of how archaeological research at LAM was portrayed and received by Scandinavian countries during the Ingstads' excavations in the 1960s. This would of course be better achieved by a researcher speaking or with a background in Scandinavian languages, or with the help of a translator.

Additional avenues of research on this topic, which could not be explored in depth in this thesis, include the process by which LAM received a UNESCO World Heritage designation in 1978. Research into the Parks Canada archives and Scandinavian media could reveal additional information on the nomination process and the effects of this designation on local communities. More in-depth studies focused on the role of specific archaeologists involved in the LAM excavations besides the Ingstads, such as the Icelandic researchers during the 1962 field season or Bengt Schönbäck who led several Parks Canada excavations in the 1970s, may reveal other aspects of the story. These are all examples of research avenues that could build on the work done in this thesis, and perhaps allow an examination of important issues such as the commercialization of heritage in the province of NL and in Canada, and the loss of sovereignty over historic and natural sites.

While this thesis is valuable as it provides an accessible history of archaeology at L'Anse aux Meadows and serves to preserve a part of this history (e.g. with the interviews with Birgitta Wallace and Clayton Colbourne), in many ways it is only a starting point. The full story of the L'Anse aux Meadows excavations is complex and goes far beyond the history of the site's Norse occupants during the early 11th century, and that of the Scandinavian researchers involved in unearthing it. By telling a part of this story, this thesis contributed to unveil how the broader story of nationalism, Scandinavian geopolitics, and colonialism in North America influenced local, scientific and public narratives about the site. This research was done as part of a larger project that uses relatively new methods and approaches (e.g. environmental archaeology/palaeoecology, Bayesian modelling) in addition to traditional archaeological excavation; one which is still ongoing. There is much that remains to be known about L'Anse aux Meadows. As research at the site continues to develop in ways that engage local and descendant communities as well as researchers from varied backgrounds and nationalities, it is bound to continue playing an important role in many peoples' lives and to inspire fascinating stories.

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Appendix I: Interview with Clayton Colbourne

Juliet Lanphear: Alright, okay. This is September 7th; I'm doing an interview with Mr. Clayton Colbourne at L'Anse aux Meadow's interpretation site. So, when and where were you born?

Clayton Colbourne: I was born in 1950, October 28th, 1950.

JL: Perfect. And was it in actual L'Anse aux Meadows, or in one of the communities nearby?

CC: It was in L'Anse aux Meadows.

JL: Okay

CC: [Delivered by a] midwife.

JL: Perfect. And you grew up here?

CC: Grew up here.

JL: Lived here your whole life?

CC: And lived here all my life. Not a good traveller.

JL: (Laughs) No, it's beautiful up here.

CC: Worked for Parks forever, since 1973 in different capacities.

JL: Yes, you said you've worked since 1973.

CC: Yep, 1973.

JL: So were you involved with the building of the sod houses?

CC: Absolutely.

JL: Yeah

CC: From start to finish, that's why I got this job as a matter of fact as an interpreter. Because I didn't dream that I would get this job. Because I'm doing the same as, you know, people with close to PhD's. When we got the buildings finished in 1979, the super, Robert McNeil asked if I would like to try my hand at interpretation, so I said yeah I'll give it a shot, and here I am.

JL: So I actually have a few pictures here, do you know who…

CC: Yep my brothers.

JL: Oh it's your brothers! (refers to picture C1)

CC: My brothers yup. Gower and Wayne.

JL: Gower and Wayne, okay. That's cool.

CC: And that's the sort of fish we used to catch in the brook, you see that? Big fish.

JL: This is another one. (refers to picture C2)

CC: Yeah, that's me right there.

JL: Oh, that is you? OK, I thought it might be (refers to red-headed boy on the right).

CC: The ugly one's me.

JL: Right here, yeah.

CC: And this is my brother Wayne.

JL: That's Wayne? OK.

CC: This Winston Hederson from Hay Cove and a few more of the guys from Hay Cove. So Hay Cove and L'Anse aux Meadow kids.

JL: So your family is from L'Anse aux Meadows, right?

CC: Mom was born here in L'Anse aux Meadows. And dad is from a little town close to St. Anthony. So they're both local.

JL: Yep, absolutely. So, was anybody in your family involved with the excavations prior to the 1970s?

CC: Yep, my oldest brother Winston was. And dad worked a little bit in the late 60s as well.

JL: Yep.

CC: But again, you know like they're not archaeologists or anything, just amateur workers. But yes my family were involved in the diggings.

JL: Yeah, cause there was a lot of local people.

CC: Yeah, that participated, yeah. Well, according to Brigitta Wallace. With a bit of training, you can become pretty good at excavations. Yeah, I guess anybody can learn to do anything if you put your mind to it.

JL: Absolutely yeah. One of the Icelanders he didn't have any actual like university education in archaeology. He learned just by working on sites.

CC: Trial and error yeah, hands on.

JL: It is one of the jobs where you can learn just by training with someone on the site. You know very hands on.

CC: Yep, well Birgitta had enough confidence in my abilities that when they built the furnace building in 2000, because it was supposed to be put in a different location than it's actually built in, close to the beach there the platform with the aboriginal finds, it was supposed to be placed there. But she gave me, and I was surprised, the job of excavating a certain area and we got into it, me and a friend of mine, we got into aboriginal fireplaces, so they stopped the project cold and then placed it over in the compound where it is now.

JL: I know you're a little young, but do you have really any memory of the three Icelanders at L'Anse aux Meadows?

CC: Vaguely vaguely, I do not know… I do not have info, you know, to really elaborate.

JL: Yeah.

CC: All I remember is that they placed their tent in a different location than the Ingstads had their tent. I don't really know what went on, whether it was friction between them or what. I don't know really. I can't, I can't elaborate really.

JL: Yeah, do you know a Mildred Anderson?

CC: I certainly did.

JL: OK.

CC: Certainly do, went to school with Mildred. Mildred is a cousin of mine. And of course she cooked for the Ingstads, you know, for years actually.

JL: So I have a question for you. Do you… what changes do you remember from… because the Ingstads didn't show up till 1960?

CC: 1960

JL: So before they showed up and then after once the excavation started, did things change a lot?

CC: Absolutely

JL: Absolutely, yeah?

CC: Absolutely, well it changed drastically I guess is the word because I mean there were no roads here, no electricity. And that's the discovery. The road was put in 1967 and I'm willing to bet it was put in because of this discovery. There's no, there's no real reason otherwise. Because I mean, fishermen were salting their fish. And you know, there's no fresh fish processing at all. We didn't need, you know, roads to really get by.

JL: Yeah.

CC: Well, right now, yes we do. Electricity, I mean everything was battery operated, like radios were battery operated, and of course there was no indoor plumbing.

JL: No. So how did you get around before the road?

CC: Well we travelled around by fishing boats in summertime, homemade fishing boats and by dog sledding in the wintertime.

JL: Okay.

CC: So that was a mode of transportation.

JL: Yeah, cause from the pictures it was like there was dogs everywhere.

CC: Absolutely. Well journey you know days was limited. You know, to go to St. Anthony was a full days journey. You know to and from St. Anthony. And course people had to travel to hospital or whatever, so, it wasn't at all easy.

JL: Nope.

CC: Especially in stormy weather.

JL: Yeah, true.

CC: But people, people got by. You don't want something you've never had.

JL: Yeah, exactly.

CC: So that's the way it is. So we just carried on with our simple lives. And didn't know much of it outside world, so we cared less.

JL: Exactly. Yes, that must have been interesting. A lot of the archaeologists were Europeans and stuff, so all of them coming in.

CC: Well, you know, it's a bit strange, at first, I must admit. You know, being isolated and not seeing anybody and then all of a sudden, they're strangers in your in your backyard, so it's a bit strange for me personally, maybe as only 11 years old when it started, but as time went on we got to understand what was going on. We get to know the Ingstads quite well.

JL: Yeah

CC: They were friends with our family, and spent a lot of time at our house. As a matter of fact, my mom used to bake bread for them. Over the years they were, you know, they were good friends of our family, and not just my family, but I mean more so the Decker family. Uncle George Decker he was the guy who pointed out the mounds to start with when Helge arrived here in 1960. Yeah, he was the big chief.

JL: Yes, that's what I've heard, yeah.

CC: Well he died in 63, of course.

JL: Yes, yeah I've read that.

CC: Well, you see he'd come up one day. And of course, no roads, so he took his wheelbarrow, and said that little tree down here by the old excavation. He said to his sons I'm going to cut down that tree. He took his axe and the wheelbarrow. And his sons missed him gone, he was gone long time so they went up to look for him and he was down on the bog. And didn't get up. He died in route to St. Anthony.

JL: Oh okay.

CC: Yeah, there was a there was a hospital ship in the harbour, The Gould, the Albert T. Gould owned by the Grenfell mission.

JL: Okay yeah.

CC: So they took him on board the Gould and enroute to St. Anthony he died.

JL: Okay. He had a heart attack?

CC: Only 63. Yes a massive heart attack. But [he] was the fellow [who] pointed out the mounds to Helge Ingstad.

JL: Yeah, was it on his land or?

CC: Well, yeah, it was his land in a sense, you know. Everybody had their own little plot of hay field right, and that was Uncle George's hayfield or grassland we called it. We didn't call it a hayfield we called it was a grassland. So, he just possessed it, you know. Now, as to having granted, I don't think so. Maybe maybe, but I don't think so. Loretta would probably know more about that than I do, right?

JL: Oh actually, Paul told me this story. Paul Ledger. He was the British guy with me. There's some story about a walrus bone in somebody's basement.

CC: Yeah, my brother's.

JL: OK.

CC: My brother Gower. He was digging out his basement with shovels and he found a skull bone and one of the tusks of the walrus right in the ground.

JL: All right, so now I was going to ask you a bit of questions about the excavations during the 70s, so that's when you were working with Parks Canada.

CC: Yeah yeah I started 73. When I started it was just menial jobs, you know, labor, work, whatever. They had an old school house they bought from the, two room school house, that was bought by Parks Canada from the local community. And they turned it into a reception center. So one of my jobs was to scrape the paint off of it and, let me say mediocre job. And I was three years afterward with the survey teams, chainman, which you get it, that's a menial job. No great skilled involved in it. And then in 1978-79 I was on the reconstruction of the sod buildings. In 1980 I got the job as an interpreter. 'Cause I mean. I've been, I've been fortunate regards to a job with federal government.

JL: Absolutely, yeah.

CC: Brothers had to go away, cause I was able to stay.

JL: So you were there… You were part of the staff during the 70s. That's when Bengt Schönbäck.

CC: Bengt Schönbäck yep. He started first, I didn't work with Bengt Schönbäck, I worked with Birgitta on one of the summers in 76.

JL: OK.

CC: So Birgitta was the boss, he was gone, Schönbäck, by then. And he didn't get along with Anne Stine, [she] didn't like him very well. Well, he was in he was, you know, I shouldn't say this. But I mean according to her, he was incompetent. He dug over one of her… Like the fireplace, which is the fireplace was, really, I mean according to her, so I don't know. I'm like I said I can't, I can't verify that, others might disagree. And that's what she wrote in her book, that he was incompetent.

JL: Yeah, I remember seeing in the Grand Adventure, she wasn't very happy with him.

CC: No no no. Well Benedicte, especially she was, she was… No, Anne Stine wrote A Grand Adventure didn't she yes. No, Benedicte.

JL: I think she [Benedicte] compiled it, but from like their notes.

CC: Yeah, Benedicte wrote The Grand Adventure, an autobiography on her on her dad and mom's life.

JL: Yeah because that one's quite new.

CC: Eh?

JL: Yeah, cause that one is fairly recent.

CC: Yeah, that one is quite new and quite shocking I mean. To me, I mean, there were things in that book that I didn't realize went on.

JL: No

CC: So, but I mean you can't, you can't blame the lady for being honest.

JL: Yup, yup.

CC: I mean write it or say it like it is, don't cover it up.

JL: Yep, and this thing about archeology, once you do something you can't undo it so.

CC: No, no, that's right, absolutely. Well, like I said again, you know my sympathies are with the Ingstads because I knew them quite well.

JL: Yes, yeah.

CC: Bengt Schönbäck I didn't know him really that well. But Birgitta, I mean, me and Birgitta are good friends. I think she's a very honest person and a very smart person.

JL: Yes, because she stayed on with Parks Canada, didn't she?

CC: Yeah, she's still. Working as far as I know, she's well, I don't know in what capacity. But you know she worked here in '64 with the Ingtads and then onto to finish her excavations and then of course she was working with Parks Canada. From the beginning I think, you know cause Parks Canada took over in '72. And I think Birgitta worked with them.

JL: Yes, I think a lot of people think of her now as like the expert on L'Anse aux Meadows, just because so many years.

CC: Well, she ought to be, yeah.

JL: Yeah.

CC: I mean and you know most of our interpretation that we give even now that's from her. She's the expert on the site.

JL: Yeah, absolutely.

CC: It's like the buildings. I mean, you know. For example, saying things like, you know, finding middens by the doorway, you know, and she could tell from the person who flung the garbage, whether they were right or left handed. I mean, that's quite the expert you know. Or that's like the big building, you know she's saying that more than likely is Leif Eriksson's house. Cause, you know, chances are, you know, chances are that'd be someone of high status to have a building of that size, right? You know, it couldn't be a thrall.

JL: No. Well, they may have lived in the house too. But it wasn't their house.

CC: Well, that's true. But for example, according to her it's bigger than a chieftain's Manor in Iceland. And twice as big as the one Erik the Red had for himself in Greenland. And Eric the Red was the leader of Greenland, so. A big house like that suggests that it must be some high status and Leif Eriksson was of high status. So she's saying whom else could it have been but him?

JL: Let's see if I got any more pictures.

JL: I have a question, so there's a family that lives in L'Anse aux Meadows, the Blake family.

CC: Blake's live in Straitsview actually.

JL: Oh is it, okay.

CC: Wait, Carson Blake is from Straitsview. He worked there right from beginning, actually.

JL: Yes, Carson Blake. I'm assuming he's probably dead now?

CC: He is yeah, he died in the 80s.

JL: OK.

CC: But his son Cyril lives down in Straitsview.

JL: So Cyril?

CC: Cyril Blake.

JL: OK. Thank you. Do you know Ford Blake?

CC: Ford? Yeah I know Ford quite well. He owns Skipper Hots.

JL: Yes, is he related?

CC: Yep, yeah they're related yeah. That's Ford's uncle, Carson.

JL: OK.

CC: So Ford's dad is Carson's brother.

JL: I thought so as they had the same last name.

CC: Eh?

JL: I thought they'd be related because they have the same last name.

CC: So Uncle George and the Icelander right? (Referring to picture C4)

JL: Yep, that's [Kristján] Eldjárn.

CC: Yep, I recall seeing him, but I mean again, as to, you know, I don't know much about them.

JL: They, they all spoke English but they didn't from what I've read they kind of talked to each other and they didn't seem to talk to anyone else very much.

CC: Oh yeah that's what I gather too, they were to themselves, more or less right?

JL: Absolutely.

CC: But I mean, that's how it would happen to academic sometimes. They distanced themselves from each other.

JL: He ended up being the President of Iceland.

CC: Eh?

JL: He was the president of Iceland, I know. That's a change, yeah.

CC: Wow, I wasn't aware that. Good on him.

JL: They had a Prime Minister as well. So the president didn't really govern the country they were more like a figurehead, but still.

CC: He landed himself a high position.

JL: I know. He had a TV show too in Iceland. I haven't been able to find it, but he talks about like um, artifacts and Icelandic archaeology, and so when he ran everyone knew who he was 'cause they're like, oh, you're from the TV show.

CC: Very good. He's a regular Magnus Magnusson.

JL: I know.

CC: Magnusson apparently had his own… he worked with BBC. Had his own television show.

JL: There was a photographer here during the 60s right?

CC: Yeah it was Hans Hvide Bang.

JL: Yes

CC: That was the first time photographer and afterwards… No, that's wrong. Allen Bloomberg was the first guy, then it was Hans Hvide Bang. And then of course Nicolay [Eckhoff]. That's the three I remember. And Nicolay come here 64. Same year Birgitta.

JL: Yeah, because there's some great pictures because I was like oh wow, there's so many pictures I was. Like oh, they had a bunch of photographers come in.

CC: They had their own, you know, photographers and they took some great pictures.

JL: They did. So you knew the Ingstads in 60s right?

CC: Yep, 60s well, '60 he arrived here in the fall you know and found the mounds that were pointed out to him by Uncle George. So I can't recall meeting him in '60 but '61 for sure, you know, and that's when he started working. He'd come back with an archaeology team, right, and his wife Anne was the leader. But like I said, we got to know him quite well over the years or we thought we did anyway. Like I said about what she, Benedicte wrote in that book was a bit of a shocker, right? Cause she wrote things that we weren't even aware of right.

JL: No, I don't think a lot of people knew.

CC: But I loved that explicitness about it, really. She didn't try to fool the world into thinking her, that her parents were you know, different any other human. That put their spin of humanity on the whole thing. Cause we thought they were Gods, you know.

JL: Yeah, cause that must've been really stressful for her.

CC: Yeah, it was absolutely. Well. I mean, he was away most times but she was she was home, you know? Yeah, especially after Benedicte, but then Benedicte wasn't her first baby cause she had several miscarriages apparently.

JL: Yes, the books said that.

CC: Prior to Benedicte, you know, surviving. She had tragedy herself and she, Benedicte, cause she lost a child by flying fish.

JL: What?

CC: They were on the beach and flying fish cut the child's throat after.

JL: Oh wow.

CC: She had another young youngster that died, young as well. Wasn't easy for her.

JL: No, I know her husband died.

CC: And her husband died. I don't know the year, but I know he passed away. He's fairly young and he was a medic, actually he was a doctor. But as to knowing much about him, I don't. She never wrote about him. She never wrote about him in her book.

JL: No, he's just mentioned in passing.

CC: She mentioned in passing, yeah. Well, I guess she was more into writing her parents autobiography. And she did a good job in my opinion.

JL: Oh yeah, absolutely.

CC: So like I said, you know she told us and the rest of the world other side of the story 'cause we didn't know, we weren't aware of it.

JL: No cause they published like academic material about the excavations, but that is different.

CC: Yeah, yeah yeah, that's true. Yeah yeah.

JL: Helge wrote a couple other books beforehand. That's what he did, he used to write about his travel experiences.

CC: Well, he wrote several books actually. He wrote the first one he wrote was Land of Feast and Famine. Course that was about his stay in Canada in the 1920s with the Dene in Northern Canada. And he wrote one about the Apache, and the Sierra Madres in New Mexico. I got most of his books. Then he wrote about Alaska, are you familiar with that one? The Nunamiut.

JL: Yes, I know a bunch of the stuff he recorded actually is the only stuff that they have now.

CC: Absolutely yeah. Well, I mean he seemed to have put much, a lot of store in native people's lives. Yeah, he sympathized with them as a matter of fact. On the other hand, he figured that they do, they were doing the right thing now keeping themselves distanced from most civilizations.

JL: Yes. He never seemed to like big cities.

CC: Yeah, I wouldn't mind living that way myself. But he wrote another book I have many that he personally autographed called Land Underneath the Polar Star. That's pretty good read.

JL: Yes, I just got that one. I haven't read it yet though. That's the one in Greenland?

CC: In Greenland yeah. And he wrote another one about his stay in, Svalbard or something? The Island off Norway. I'm trying to remember the name they gave it, Spitsberg. Yeah, he was governor there for a while, of Spitsberg and in Eastern Greenland for a time.

JL: Yes

CC: Well, he wrote about that. Well, and several more books that I don't know, you know, probably not translated into English right.

JL: I know the big ones are because he wanted obviously sales. He wanted people to read them. So a lot of them were translated, which is great.

CC: Well he had a great life, I mean no doubt about it. I mean very rich, driven. But I guess you know, according to Benedicte, it was at the expense of his wife. She suffered because of it apparently. But she was a fine lady. But she didn't mingle with the locals like him. I mean he could fit into any social class or, as would Anne, she was born in a privileged family and she didn't have that ability apparently to fit into most… you know fisherman's houses. But her and mom were good friends just the same. I mean, I must say. And mom wasn't very good at conversation cause she didn't have much schooling access.

JL: I think Helge Ingstad, any, besides big cities, I think he'd fit in anywhere.

CC: He'd fit into any social class, you know. He'd stand with lawyers in New York at ease and they would stand with people in Lapland, you know that apparently that he tried to help them when it when civilization was coming through there. You know roads going through their country and the Laps tried to stop it because I mean they were herding their reindeer right? So, so he always fought for a little guy apparently. Even though he was pretty privileged himself.

JL: He was.

CC: Pretty successful at whatever he did. He was a bit of a recluse too, you know, when he was young. I mean, as you probably know he would go up in the mountains by himself. And spend probably days that you know just with a tent.

JL: He was up in Northern Canada for like 2 years so.

CC: Oh absolutely well, he spent one winter, this was in the Land of Feast and Famine, entirely alone, just him and his dog team, and these were the barrens. Trapping wolves and hunting caribou. He loved it. He loved that type of lifestyle. Quite a man.

JL: He was.

CC: Quite a legacy. He apparently climbed up on the Great China wall when he was 97. Would that I had that much tenacity.

JL: Because he was 101…

CC: He was a 101 when he died, yup. I knew another Norwegian that lived long to it, well I didn't know him. We had our picture taken with him the last year we worked on the sod houses in 1979. You know who I'm talking about? Herman Smith-Johannsen actually.

JL: Oh yes.

CC: He was a 103 when he visited us, we all had our picture taken with him. I got an album over there now. He was 103 and his daughter was taking him back to Norway to ski. Can you imagine? He lived to be 111 and a half. I read an article on him afterwards. I mean, that's quite an accomplishment.

JL: It is absolutely yeah. My great grandmother lived to be 106.

CC: Go on, by.

JL: She grew up in an orphanage in St. John's.

CC: 106

JL: Yep, 106.

CC: Something, isn't it. Well, you know it's not uncommon to hear talk of Newfoundland women living to be 110.

JL: Yeah, I know.

CC: Some reason Newfoundland women live a long time.

JL: They do.

CC: Must have the right genes. But my mom didn't live to be 100, but she 87, 89 pardon me. But dad, he died young.

CC: So who is the group leader?

JL: Vero [referring to Dr. Véronique Forbes]

CC: OK

JL: She's in charge. She's our supervisor. Yeah, I think they'll definitely be back with a lot more people next summer.

CC: Yeah, well. There's lots of potential, I mean a lot of the outside perimeter has not been searched, especially there where you guys are to now right.

JL: Yep.

CC: Where we dealt mostly in the 70s was, you know, below the buildings and along where we found the Aboriginal finds.

JL: Because that's when they found the um, is that when they found the pin? Or was that earlier?

CC: No, they found the pin in 1968. That was found in in the side of the House, Hall A.

JL: Yeah.

CC: By Anne Stine group actually. Yeah, but what we found of Norse was mostly wood artifacts in the sphagnum below the building.

JL: Yeah

CC: Well, I say us but, I mean I was only there one summer right so? And I mean that summer I worked there and he did a little bit on that bog below the old buildings and then they extended their search over on the other side of the brook. There where they found the Aboriginal fireplaces. Tent rings, piles of chert. But by the furnace they found, I don't know if you were aware of it, they found a beautifully made Dorset lamp.

JL: Yes, I have a picture of that actually (C5).

CC: No I don't know where that is, must be in The Rooms in St. John's.

JL: That? (Referring to image C5)

CC: Yeah. I mean I can't understand why that's not on exhibit, to tell you the truth. I know its native, but I mean...

JL: It's beautiful though.

CC: It's beautiful, beautifully made Dorset lamp. That was found on the back of the furnace building. See what they claims, some claims is above the Norse strata, and he figures it was placed on the roof. On the roof of the furnace. When the furnace building collapsed it fell off right?

JL: OK.

CC: That's what they claim, so. I guess because of the uncertainty, that's probably why they don't have it on display. Yeah that takes you back. (Referring to Picture C5). That picture.

JL: Yeah, cause that's Eldjarn, that's Helge. He's an Icelander but that's Rolf Petre. He was from Sweden, and he was there in 1962 as well.

CC: OK, there's a lot of people like I said, I don't recognize you get it because I was just a kid, right?

JL: And they were only there for one summer.

CC: Like I said, you know, we were looking. We don't fully understand what was going on. We're more interested in getting the chocolate bars that they'd give us. It was quite a journey.

JL: Did most of them camp. Or would they have stayed at people's houses?

CC: No, mostly they stayed in tents along the brook, in big canvas tents, even had a cook tent. That's where Mildred and my sister afterwards used to cook for them as well. After Mildred gave up actually. One night I can remember, Anne had to sleep in a lawn chair because water came right into the tent. The brook, you know, after a heavy rain got swollen so the water ran right into the tent, so she had to go over to Loretta's Grandmother, Aunt May.

JL: Yep.

CC: So, another time I remember the tent ripped right in two with the wind, tore in two. So they brought it up to mom the next day in the wheelbarrow and mom sewed it back together with her singer sewing machine. Good memories. Well, I mean, this open, you know, so open. I don't know protection down there by the by the brook is much the same as where I live, right? It's not a pleasant place in a storm I'll tell you that. But Anne, she didn't enjoy the weather. I know that. She used to say it's so cold in your country, I wish I was home in Norway.

JL: Its colder than Norway?

CC: It's colder here than Norway. Norway's you know, even though it's farther north, they got the Gulf Stream and we don't here, in this part of the island so it's pretty frigid.

JL: Yeah, with the wind and stuff.

CC: Yeah, with the wind, yeah. Well it's a lot worse than St. John's, climatic wise.

JL: In some ways yeah.

CC: St. Johns is apparently equivalent to Maine, Maine, in in the states right, weather wise. But it can be mauzy all the same, you know foggy and drizzly I guess because the Gulf Stream and Labrador meet offshores.

JL: It's not too cold down there, but it's always foggy.

CC: All I've ever seen in St. Johns, you had little bit of freeze right at the bottom of the harbour, but the harbor doesn't freeze. Like us, we freeze to Labrador.

JL: No, we don't freeze.

CC: No, but here, everything freezes here. Ponds freeze 3 feet or more, ocean freezes.

JL: You get polar bears up here.

CC: Well, yeah, we get Polar Bears. But I mean there from the north anyway, they come with the ice flows, from the polar ice, following their food, the seal. Sometimes they come ashore, of course, and you give them a bit of trouble. They're beautiful animals, but they can be pretty dangerous.

JL: They're pretty big.

CC: I know someone who got bit by one and lived to tell the tale.

JL: Really?

CC: Down in Quirpon.

JL: Oh wow.

CC: His name was John Pynn. He was a captain on a collector boat in the North. And one day him and his friend went into shore and there wasn't much going on so he went up to Little Island. Didn't know the bear was there. And his buddy had a 22 Magnum luckily. So the bear come up

to John and John said he was paralyzed. He couldn't do bloody thing the bear comes up and grabs him right by the belly.

JL: Oh.

CC: Sunk his teeth in his belly. And held on and trying to drag him off right, and his pal got a couple rounds into the bear with the 22. So he let go. But John got the teeth marks in his belly. That's quite an experience.

JL: That's a story, yeah.

CC: Well I call it a fascinating story. John, anyway, he gave up the boats after. Guess he had a bit of trauma after that.

JL: Yeah.

CC: I would.

JL: I've never seen one but.

CC: You've never seen a bear, a polar bear?

JL: No.

CC: Well, they're quite magnificent no doubt about it, but they can be dangerous, right? I mean, most of those bears have probably never saw human being. And so I mean when they do see when they figure, looks like a seal.

JL: Yeah, I'm bigger than you.

CC: I'm bigger than you yeah. Oh yeah. I've seen a few, but not a whole lot. I mean, you know probably half a dozen in my lifetime. Did Loretta tell you about the time it bit, went down though her car?

JL: Yes

CC: Oh she was telling you about that.

JL: Yes she told me that story.

CC: She had a vinyl roof on her car and the bear put his claws right down.

JL: Yeah, she also told me the story about the timbits.

CC: Oh, yeah?

JL: To get it [the bear], to get it turned around in the cage.

CC: Oh yeah? What's that, I didn't hear about that.

JL: She got a call and they had a polar bear but they had to give it the tranquilizer darts, so they asked if they can do it in the lot here so they showed up with a box of timbits to get the bear to go to a certain part of the cage.

CC: Oh OK, yeah yeah.

JL: They get the needle in it and then they tranquilized it and put it up in Belle Isle.

CC: Yeah, well, I mean it's what they do, they give a free ride up to Belle Isle or Labrador. Yeah, couple years ago we brought one down from up around central somewhere. Cause they want to bring it North. And they brought it over home, by where I live. And they had difficulty getting the bear, used the bangers and the shotguns but the bear didn't want to leave. Until finally, it's swum to the island. The flows were just off the island I guess. Yep, and was only a young bear but still.

JL: Yeah, they're big.

CC: Kill you with one claw.

CC: Yeah, they got me on the wall several places over there [referring to pictures on wall in Interpretation center]. Let me show you.

CC: I got quite the whiskers there, see that?

JL: Oh wow.

CC: That's where we're digging in 1976. My name is there, see.

JL: Yep

CC: There's Ford.

JL: Oh wow.

CC: This is Carson, the fellow you were talking about. My uncle Doug. Yeah, this is Loretta's dad, Lloyd. And this is the fellow who found the spindle whorl Tony Beardsley.

JL: OK.

CC: Another character who worked a long time too, Cam Hedderson. Job Anderson, Ford Blake. Nicolay. Never met him, did you?

JL: No, I haven't met him.

CC: This fellow was a photographer in 1964.

JL: OK

CC: And here is Birgitta. You know they did work together afterwards.

JL: Yes, I think a lot of the pictures are his, from later on.

CC: Yeah Nicolay yeah. Well he had a book, we got a book of his work underneath the guide desk. Yeah, and here me again.

JL: Oh Clifford Colbourne?

CC: Yeah, Clifford, my brother Cliff, he was a foreman.

JL: OK.

CC: That's my uncle and Glenn Bartlett. This is another fellow from just down the road.

JL: Oh it's Dale.

CC: There's another one of my brothers right here. My oldest brother, this is Clifford right here. This is Winston. This is me on the far side. We had quite a time, though, getting the sod buildings done.

JL: Yeah.

CC: And then of course I got the big job. I'm right there, see?

JL: There's you?

CC: That's me there, yeah. By now I was a big shot. This is one of the guys who started the guide program. Wayne Elms, from Quirpon. You knows Wayne, do you? He works here now.

JL: Yes, we saw him when we were down last month. So, when did they build this building [current interpretation center]?

CC: This building here?

JL: Yeah

CC: 84. Before that we had a two room school house. It was converted into a reception center. They didn't have any of the original artifacts, just replications right. And I think they had that stone lamp in that exhibit.

JL: OK.

CC: And memory serves me correctly. I think that Norse/Inuit lamp in the old place.

JL: Yeah, 'cause in the 80s they would have had the reconstructions [sod houses] and then they would have all the displays

CC: Yeah okay. Yeah we did the sod buildings finished in 1980 but they still never had this area. So the exhibits were put in this building in 1984.

JL: OK. So in the 70s, was it just the smaller building, the two room schoolhouse?

CC: It was a two room schoolhouse that was turned into or converted into a reception center.

JL: OK. And it would just for you go for tours. Like the public would.

CC: Yeah, absolutely. We used to do tours, I mean at that time when I started in 80 interpretations would drive right up to the side building. Roll right down to the building, but so you know. It was quite more convenient for our visitors that's for sure. Right now, I mean it's not easy.

JL: No

CC: I mean, you know, like the people that, with walking issues, I mean you got to, you know, of course there's a wheelchair accessible.

JL: Yeah, it's a lot of stairs.

CC: Absolutely. But again, I don't make the rules?

JL: Nope.

CC: But uh, things have changed, like I said, sometimes positive, sometimes negative. That's bureaucracy for you.

JL: Yep. So I guess once they realized this site was Norse in the 60s, they probably thought we got to get some roads in here so [they] can, you know, get some tourism.

CC: Absolutely. Well again, like I said, why did the visitor center get put back here rather than closer to the site it was because they wanted it to sort of blend into. They didn't want a modern building, you know, on the archaeological site itself they wanted to make it look more, you know more natural.

JL: Yeah.

CC: Of course, they said they wanted the same viewscape as the Vikings saw a thousand years ago, but they're going to have to do a lot of changes. Like where I live over here I mean that's eventual inclusion. Because they said they wanted that same viewscape. But that land that I live on today was underneath the water thousand years ago.

JL: Yeah

CC: They're going to have to sink that point in order to the same viewscape. Put the walrus back. Yeah, and the whales. But I mean again. You know, ideas protecting things for future. Generations across. That's a good thing.

JL: I guess it brings a lot of jobs up here, the site.

CC: Well, absolutely I mean and to me it's been my livelihood, like I said. And enabled me to stay here whereas if I didn't, I have to go away. Like the rest of my siblings, you know. But yeah, it's been good, economically. Good conservation wise as well, because I mean we would have destroyed everything, like the woods. I mean, we'd have got it all cut down. Cause we were cutting all the outside perimeter you know blatantly and like me when I was a kid. I mean in the bay, shooting little ducks with 22. No law there or anything. And forking salmon out of that brook with a prong. I mean, today I realize that, I mean that's not a good thing. Those attitudes took a while to change and today I mean everybody accepts that conservation is a good thing. Not a bad thing.

JL: If we take too much at once, it doesn't have a chance to replace itself.

CC: Well, I mean. Like with the cod fish. I mean that's why the cod fish all disappeared because of blatant overfishing. No rules, no license or anything when I was a kid, when I was young, I mean you could. You could bring in 15-20 thousand pounds three times a day, that's what we were doing. Throwing away all the small and keeping the large you know.

JL: Yeah, all the big industrial ships coming in.

CC: Well the big industrial ships did a lot of damage, there's only 12 mile limit. And then of course we impose a 200 mile limit, but still our own our own boats did the damaged then. And my brother used to fish on trawlers in Trepassey in the 1970s and he told stories to us, you know, they'd be dragging around the spawning grounds and the fish were, you know, so full of roe that

you'd be standing in cod roe half up your rubber boots, in those days. Can you imagine the damage that our own fleet inflicted? Can't blame that on Russia.

JL: Nope. My dad used to work in a fish processing plant back in the 80s and the just the quantity of stuff they used to do.

CC: Yeah, absolutely. So where abouts did he work?

JL: In St. John's.

CC: In St. John's okay.

JL: Yes, since my grandfather was originally in the Navy, he was American.

CC: Oh okay.

JL: He was stationed in Argentia.

CC: Oh, I see, you're partly a Yankee.

JL: I am yes. And they were all excited, they thought they were going to Argentina and then got here and were like this is cold. So he stayed and then he was in the Navy but then he retired and he used to work at a fish processing plant and then he got my dad a job there.

CC: I hope you find something [referring to MUN led further archaeological work], like I said, to broaden our knowledge of the site, because there's got to be something else besides what they found.

JL: Well, the Norse didn't tend to throw a lot of stuff out because it was difficult to make, so you're not just, you know you're very careful.

CC: I know they didn't. Like you said, he didn't leave much behind for us to find, that's for sure.

JL: But with Environmental archaeology.

CC: Native Americans were the same way. I mean, Native Americans couldn't afford to leave important things behind. So I mean just its just tent rings and fireplaces. So yeah, of course things they couldn't take with them.

JL: The spindle whorl was probably lost

CC: Lost yeah.

JL: Because otherwise why would they throw away perfectly good spindle whorl, it's difficult to make.

CC: Well, I mean could be easily replaced too I mean it's a little bit of soapstone and fashion it. The bronze pin like I said that was found down at the bottom of the forge, among the muck in the forge. They might even looked for it apparently. I mean something like that would be important, it's like losing a button off your favourite dress.

JL: But with environmental stuff there will be stuff like Vero is going to look at the beetles so...

CC: Yeah that's right.

JL: Hopefully… its not like they're going to take that with them.

CC: Yeah guaranteed

JL: So it's a chance.

CC: Well, again like I said, you know, I don't know much about archaeology but today with today's technology, Lord knows. I mean the sky's the limit, right?

JL: Yeah, cause they might get a drone next time. Have a little look around cause then they can take pictures and easy to see little tiny changes because that'd be cool.

CC: Fellow using the drone here 2 days ago.

JL: Oh really?

CC: He was doing it on the point there.

JL: It's an interesting site, L'Anse aux Meadows.

CC: Yeah, yeah, it's interesting. And like I said, Lord knows might be things there that been overlooked.

JL: Absolutely yeah.

CC: Bodies.

JL: Oh! That would be a discovery.

CC: Skeletal remains. They were found in Port aux Choix perfectly preserved so they could find find them in the bog at L'Anse aux Meadows perfectly preserved again.

JL: If they found a body that would be a big thing.

CC: Well, if it's true, about Freydis, I mean she wouldn't want to take the bodies home, right? So there must be something to the story, I mean, why else would it get told.

JL: They wouldn't take it back with them though.

CC: Well, I mean why would she bring evidence back home to Greenland? I mean, after doing a terrible deed. She did, I don't know, it doesn't say what she did with the man in the sagas. Just said, she threatened her men when we get back that same fate will befall them in the sagas. After the episode with the axe, but I mean the sagas are storytelling. Stuff like that especially. Mightn't be a whole lot to it.

JL: They're still definitely interesting.

CC: Oh yeah. Yeah, absolutely, absolutely. Well again I mean, it was like… You know me, I think me and you talked about this earlier the first time you were here, but William Munn, a St. John's businessman. Yeah, I mean he just went by the geographical descriptions that given the sagas and the currents the way they flow. You know, certain point to point and he figured out that they landed here. And sadly you can't hear his name mentioned nowhere. I don't know why.

JL: He knew, way back yeah.

CC: Munn was mentioned in first exhibits we had here but I don't think I can't see it nowhere now.

JL: I think he's by the door [a section of the display in the L'Anse aux Meadows interpretation center by the front door writes about Munn], he's mentioned once.

CC: Little, little booklet there in that in that display, with the first pamphlets that he wrote you see that display case there by the door.

JL: Yeah, that's it though.

CC: But I mean Ingstad went by Munn's theory.

JL: And then he went talk to people which was smart.

CC: Eh?

JL: Ingstad also went and talked to the local people.

CC: Absolutely well. I mean, that's the best solution is to is to ask questions and you know, then you've got a good basis on which to start. But he was a clever man anyway, Helge Ingstad so. But Munn, it's too bad he didn't investigate himself, right? If he'd come up here and looked at those mounds, chances are issue would have been different.

JL: Yep

CC: Cause he, like I said, he even named the place, he called it Lansie Meadows. That's what he wrote in his book, Lansie Meadows. Did you ever read the book?

JL: I've read articles that mention him at the beginning and they'll say, cause sometimes when they talk about the discovery, they'll mention that he mentions it but never actually went up there.

CC: Yeah. I think the story must be in The Rooms in St. Johns, it got to be.

CC: Next question.

JL: Yeah, I'm mostly done actually. Pretty much, yeah. Do you have anything else to tell me about… anything to do with L'Anse aux Meadows, like the excavations?

CC: Well, like I said, I think we covered about all of it. Like you know, like I said, I guess the biggest part of my life in a regard was when the Ingstads were here, in regards to the history of it right? I mean my folks were just simple fisherman and that's well known about so. I'm just grateful that like I said I've been able to meet the Ingstads and partake for years in what I do.

JL: Yeah, you said most people fish up here for a living?

CC: Well, not so much now as was used to or I mean back in the day it was all fishermen even the women participated in one form another like Mom. I mean, mom was always the one who salted the fish or dried the fish or whatever. She was part of the land crew, and that's typical. I mean all of them like that. You know, the men caught the fish, but the women that most to do with the curing. It's a family affair. But right now, I mean, people, you know, that do fish. They have other jobs besides. Yeah, I mean in L'Anse aux Meadows there's only one crew that I know and but they, both two brothers, two twin brothers. Like my two cousins and they have other jobs

besides fishing, so yeah. Most fishermen here now it's just part-time. No question the fishery is limited, you know compared to what it used to be.

JL: Yes, absolutely.

CC: Yeah.

JL: Can you fish salmon up here?

CC: Not anymore.

JL: OK, you're not allowed to.

CC: Used to fish salmon. I mean like my folks were never commercial salmon fishers, when the Norwegian couple was here, Helge Ingstad, he had a nylon salmon net. First one we ever saw, actually. And Dad used to operate it for him off the shore here. And you know you get those big salmon, mean way to catch fish actually. And after a while everybody got in on the act.

JL: Yep.

CC: But nylon nets got so bad that they had to, you know, impose a moratorium on them.

JL: Yeah.

CC: Well cut it out altogether and it's been, excuse me. It's been a few a lot of years ever since salmon fishing's been abolished.

JL: Yeah yeah, yeah.

CC: But the only salmon fishing now is you know, angling on the brooks.

JL: Yeah you need a license.

CC: Still, you still in Labrador, like the native Labradorian's still, you know, have access to salmon fishing, but in Newfoundland you don't, not commercial.

JL: No.

CC: So there's farmed salmon of course. Still actually lots of salmon. Well, what we get from the store is from British Columbia anyway.

JL: Some of it's from the Alaska area too.

CC: Well, still. Things are pretty viable like crab fishing here in Newfoundland now.

JL: Yeah.

CC: That's like codfish and I mean codfish is, you know, one time you might get 5-6 cents a pound for it, but now they're getting probably dollar a pound so. They can make good money, right? Then there's other species.

JL: Yeah, like shellfish, people are getting into shellfish now.

CC: Yeah, like Coo Coo's, or whelks. So there's lobster and whelks, and crab. Lumpfish, now lumpfish, they were the most idiotic way to fish ever. Ripping the roe out and throwing away the fish. That was dog food for us. We used to feed it to our dogs. Yeah, when we were back in the

dog team days, feed them to the dogs. And then they commercialized it, and that was the end of it. With us with the Coo Coo's we used to catch them for ourselves, for our own use but never for market. But since they commercialized it, went from boom to bust. Man can destroy anything, everything.

JL: Yeah, we do.

CC: Yeah, well luckily, we got laws now.

JL: Yes.

CC: I mean that'll, that helps. Of course there's some poaching, but not a whole lot. It's like salmon and these people try to get away with, you know, putting a net across the brook still and try to get a few salmon then. Warden catches you then you pay the price right? So there's gotta be law.

JL: Well, yeah, otherwise it'll be…

CC: Oh, we'll have nothing left.

JL: Yeah if you fish all of them, if you fish too it'll take a long time to come back or it won't.

CC: When I was a kid there was no law, that's why I would go down that that broke there and like I say catch salmon in the pools. And well, Mom said they used to fill up wheelbarrows when she was a little girl. Come up with a wheelbarrow and fill them up, a wheelbarrow. Fill it with salmon, can you imagine the damage. They were doing this to the spawning salmon.

JL: Yeah. Do people hunt up here too or is it?

CC: Oh yeah.

JL: Moose?

CC: Moose, Caribou, seals, rabbits, birds, ducks, geese, you name it. Hunting is a big part of our livelihood. Well, I mean that's what I grew up with, you know, hunting and fishing.

JL: Yeah, I know people who hunt moose back in St. Johns, but it's not, it's not as big.

CC: No well I mean with St. Johns, I mean you, you know most people have jobs in factories or stores or whatever I mean. Especially the younger generation. They're not like us in outports. You know, like it's in our blood, right? Yeah, we grew up with it. Like me, I mean there's no road and no electricity, no stores close by, so you know the biggest part of our, biggest majority of our food was what we got ourselves. Even gardens, we had our own gardens growing potatoes and cabbages and turnips.

JL: Yeah, I've seen the gardens.

CC: Yeah, see lots of gardens along the highway, still plant little gardens. Well the soil is there, I mean it's just free and so people utilize it.

JL: So, there wouldn't have been a grocery store back in the 60's?

CC: Well, the closest store to us was Quirpon.

JL: OK.

CC: And the merchants were set up there to buy fish, and that's you know, the fellows that worked for the merchants had grocery stores. So, we had, you know, access to flour, butter and sugar. Of course, you know fishing clothes and whatever, basic necessities, in other words. A lot of the meats we, like I said you know like, it was from like what they hunted themselves, birds and animals, mammals.

JL: Yeah, like you would grow stuff like carrots or cabbages or stuff.

CC: Well, yeah mom and dad had a big garden, grew all their main root vegetables. So cabbages and turnips and carrots and potato. So the rest of it like broccoli, stuff like that we didn't know what that meant. And of course berries, harvested close to a dozen varieties of berries there so.

JL: Yeah, they're everywhere.

CC: We harvested every one, you know. What they couldn't freeze him, they preserved in Mason Jar. So, we made do. It wasn't a rich living, but it was a living none the less.

JL: No, sounds like a good way to live.

CC: And everybody worked and even the young people worked hard. Like they had us, you know, fishing in the summertime. So if there wasn't school we were either fishing or cutting wood or up in the gardens or out cutting grass for the cows. We had a few, you know stock right, cows and sheep, goats, chickens and ducks and things.

JL: I have chickens, actually.

CC: Do you?

JL: We keep them so they lay eggs.

CC: Perfect, absolutely.

JL: They're fun actually.

CC: Well, I mean something that keeps you occupied too, right? Cause you got to have a sense of responsibility. Nothing more civilized then seeing it, like I said. It takes you back to the earth right. And the simplicity about it, that's what I'm saying.

JL: So the schoolhouse they converted to be the, like the reception area, was that the schoolhouse that the community was using before that?

CC: Yep.

JL: So did you go to school there?

CC: Yep.

JL: Okay.

CC: Yep, and it's not, not only was it the school but it was church as well, cause we didn't have a church, per say.

JL: Yeah.

CC: So services were held in in the school as well, you know on Sunday, every Sunday morning you had to go to church right.

JL: Was it an Anglican church?

CC: Well, it was United, and Church of England.

JL: Yeah, okay.

CC: So Anglican yeah. So, it serviced Hay Cove and L'Anse aux Meadows, cause they used the school too.

JL: OK.

CC: In the conjunction.

JL: Because down in St. Johns there's a lot of [Catholic] churches because they're Irish

CC: Yeah, cause up here is mostly, you know, English right?

JL: Yep.

CC: So, I mean, it's mostly United, or better, Protestant say versus Catholic.

JL: So, is there a different school now here?

CC: Pardon me?

JL: Is there a different school here now in L'Anse aux Meadows or?

CC: Well, there's one in, oh yeah, you know everybody round here, the children, goes to Gunner's Cove now.

JL: OK.

CC: There's still one in Gunner's Cove, the integrated school right [integrated schools refers to schools no longer being separated by religious denomination which was the norm in Newfoundland until the 1990s]. Oh, I guess most schools now are like that.

JL: Yeah.

CC: Rather than one denomination.

JL: Yeah, I think they changed it right before I went to school because my [schools] weren't Catholic schools, but the school I go to was, my high school, was my mom's old high school that used to be a girls' Catholic High School and my junior high used to be the boys' Catholic High School. Cause all my uncles went to that school.

JL: I think we're done.

CC: OK.

JL: We're good, thank you very much.

Appendix II: Interview with Birgitta Wallace

Juliet Lanphear: Are you recording? Yes. Okay, it's working.

Birgitta Wallace: As long as I don't have to listen to my own voice.

JL: No, that's a job for me. I get to listen to my own voice.

BW: Yes.

JL: Alrighty, so this is an interview with Birgitta Wallace, November 11th, 2021 in Halifax. So I thought I'd start with just a little bit of background about you. So where did you grow up?

BW: I grew up in a small community in Sweden about 2 hours west of Stockholm and I got interested in archaeology as a child, by my father. And so I went through high school and Uppsala University.

JL: Ok so Uppsala University, perfect. So did you study archaeology at Uppsala University?

BW: Yes, archaeology with minor in literature and anthropology.

JL: Perfect and then you mentioned yesterday you later went to Kansas?

BW: Yes, at one point, after a couple of years of study, I by chance applied for a scholarship by the American Scandinavian Foundation [where] you had no choice in where you ended up. They had year scholarship [one-year scholarships] so I got one. Much to my surprise. And I was not going to take it because there were emotional strings in Uppsala at that time, but my mother said if you don't take that chance I will never forgive you and it was very rare that she interfered in things like that. So I went. And scholastically it was a huge disappointment. I for one thing had to take courses in sociology. And I wasn't too enthusiastic about that. But the anthropology just made me look a little bit differently at the archaeology, and I liked that. But the second day I met somebody whom I ended up marrying. So I was stuck. And we actually went to Uppsala both of us. And I continued, but he had to start from the beginning there, [as] Uppsala did not recognise any of his credits. So back we went. And then eventually ended up in Pittsburgh, where I promptly applied for a job at the museum. Not that they had any jobs, and they told me that, so I volunteered, and after one year of [a] pretty steady job in there volunteering, they gave me a job.

JL: And this was before you went to L'Anse aux Meadows?

BW: Yes, this was before. And actually the first two field seasons at L'Anse aux Meadows, I was seconded by the museum just for their field seasons.

JL: Ok. And so I know you mentioned this before, but how did you first get involved with archaeology?

BW: The family went out in the woods a lot, not camping but picking mushrooms, picking cranberries, all of that in the fall. But my father took me away from the chores and we just [strolled] through [the woods] and you know, there are burial mounds practically everywhere. The runestones and hill forts [and] there are all kinds of antiquities like that. And he took me around to them and that was really defining. He took me to an exhibit at Statens Historiska

museum in Stockholm [now known as the Swedish History Museum in English]. And I still remember it. They had an exhibit of [a] Bronze Age mound, and if you pushed buttons it opened and you could see [inside]. And there was a very famous burial of what was then called, I think, a Kitchen midden burial. And that also made a big impression. So from then on I wanted books on the Stone Age and read a lot of that kind of thing. And was always interested except through a short period in high school when I really wanted to do fashion design. That didn't pan out. So I always really liked it [history and archaeology].

JL: Perfect. So now I'm going to ask you a few questions about L'Anse aux Meadows. So how did you actually first hear about the excavations?

BW: It was an Inter Scandinavian Congress in uh, I don't even remember where it was, I think Uppsala of all places. And I had coffee with Anna Stine Ingstad. I had already gone to Carnegie Museum at that point. And we were talking [about] my first job at Carnegie Museum, or not the first one, eventually I was assigned to go around to everything alleged Norse in North America, and I was talking to Anne Stine about that. And she said, "why don't you come [to L'Anse aux Meadows]? I'm going back next summer and why don't you come and spend some time there?" So I proposed that to the museum and they said, fine, we'll pay for you to go and I did, and then a little later, I had my first baby but I came back in 1968.

JL: So what was the first year you were actually at L'Anse aux Meadows

BW: [19]64.

JL: 64 OK.

BW: A long time ago that is. That's unreal. And I loved it. And I love Newfoundland. And I thought, oh, I would like to move here. But my husband was [in] no way moving to Canada. They don't like Americans [the Ingstads}[he said]. So that was that. But in coming back in 68, I mean, it was just as exciting in Newfoundland. In 64, you know, there was no road.

JL: Yep

BW: And it was terribly remote. And my then husband couldn't understand why he didn't hear from me [by] letters, but they got mail twice a month. It was just another world completely.

JL: Yeah, most of my interview with Clayton is actually about the changes from the start of when they started the excavations to the end.

BW: Yeah

JL: And the road and just how different it is now. And how quick it happened.

BW: Yeah it did, the site actually contributed. We [the archaeological site at L'Anse aux Meadows] were the first people to have electricity, that was the site. Not the village. They [the Andersons] had electricity with a generator when they needed to run the washing machine or something like that. But that was it. The same with the telephone. There was no telephone. You had to walk over to Straitsview. And then a lady used the radiotelephone, so when we found the spindle whorl in 1964 Anne Stine wanted to get that message to Helge, that was a major thing. But I'm glad to have experienced that because, well, it was sad in one way because people had very little, including clothes. But they were so open and welcoming, give you anything. We went away from there with little gifts. Felt really bad, but those people have been friends ever since.

JL: Yes, Clayton speaks very highly of you.

BW: Oh, he does?

JL: He thinks you're a genius.

BW: Oh, yes, I agree with him, completely. Yeah, no, I will come to that, but the way working with those people also. You know much of the digging was done by people in the village. And they were among the best workers I've ever had on the site manually. Also in understanding what was what, in spite of the fact it was pretty foreign for them.

JL: So, yeah, when you were there in the 60s, I know it was a lot of local people working there. But who else was there? The years you were there, so Anne Stine and Helge would have been there.

BW: In 64 Junius Bird [long-time Curator at the American Museum of Natural History] was there and he brought with him the son of a friend of his who was active in there was such a thing as called Early Sites Foundation. It was in New England. It involved, what's his name he was a Harvard professor studying the Irish, now I forget his name [Hugh Hencken]. And Junius Bird and…

Véronique Forbes: It's not Elmer Harp?

BW: Not Elmer Harp. No, he wasn't involved in that because he was into Indigenous peoples and these people were interested in Europeans coming to North America. So Junius had worked in [Labrador], some reputedly Norse houses, which turned out to be Inuit. Well, that. So and Junius had his wife with him. The boy was Tony [Anthony Beardsley], he's now a lawyer in Ellsworth Maine. That was it.

JL: And then how many field seasons, like how many years were you at L'Anse aux Meadows in the 60s?

BW: Just 64 and 68.

JL: 64 and 68, okay. Perfect. And the spindle whorl, what year was that?

BW: 64

JL: 64 OK.

BW: That's one reason the excavations continued after that. They were considered finished already in 62. Then they did go back in 63, yes they did, because the Early Sites Foundation told the Smallwood government they wanted to sponsor an archaeologist to come back in 63. And when Helge heard that, because Helge had said we're done, we are not coming back, then he wanted to come back too. So in 63 there were almost two parallel excavations, one led by Anne Stine and one indirectly by Junius. He employed two graduate students, Charles Bareis and Jon Winston. I don't offhand remember where they were [from], but one was American and one was Canadian [Later details from Wallace: Bareis and Winston were then students at the University of Illinois. Charles Bareis later became a professor at the University of Illinois at Champaign]. And they did a lot of test digging. They came up with a lot of Indigenous material. So, but then, was there anything going on in 66? I'm not sure. In 65 also because of the spindle whorl. And

then another year in 68, and 68 was the final. [Later comments by Wallace: 1966, 1967, and 1968, but not 1965. In 1965 Wallace spent some time with the Ingstads in Oslo].

JL: OK, and then when was the bronze pin found, was that later?

BW: 68. Not the last day of the excavation, I said in one place [and [the Ingstads] said in later Ingstad publications], but during the last week of excavations.

JL: Ok. Because I know those two are very important because they were [Norse].

BW: Yes, well the Bronze pin more so yeah.

JL: Okay, so now I was going to ask you about the three Icelanders who were there in 1962, so that would be Kristján Eldjárn, Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Gísli Gestsson. Did you meet any of the three of them?

BW: Later. No, not Þórhallur

JL: Not Þórhallur, okay.

BW: But Gísli and also Eldjárn. There were little hints about Eldjárn because I stayed with Max Anderson and Eldjárn had stayed there. And then in 67-68 Þór Magnússon was in Pittsburgh. Carnegie Museum had a wonderful program whereby they gave sort of an internship or whatever - no, you better call them guest scientists. And Þór applied to that and was there. He didn't do the full six months, only three months because he just had his little boy at that point. And he knew at that point I think that he was going to replace Eldjárn at the National Museum [referring to National Museum of Iceland]. He didn't say that, of course, but he talked a lot about Eldjárn. So I and Anne Stine, [and] my sister [who is also an archaeologist in Denmark] and I were in Iceland in 1965. And because my sister and I had got the bright idea we were going to travel, we were going to rent a car or a Jeep and go all around Iceland and look at sites. And when Anne Stine heard that she said, "Oh, can I go with you" because she felt she had to do that and she didn't [want to travel on her own]. So we did and we went to Reykjavík first to the National Museum to promptly inform Eldjárn [about] what we were doing. He thought we were crazy and he was really worried. But he sat down to write letters of recommendation to all the places. We said, "oh yeah, we are going to stay in, you know, in pensions for overnight". He said, "which ones?" You know, in those days [they] didn't exist in Iceland. So he wrote letters to the priest in Holár, in other places, saying "please see to it that these young ladies get a place to stay". Because, you know, you stayed in schools in those days. So we did. We did our trip up to Akureyri. And talk about roads in those days. The road was the same as the original road in L'Anse aux Meadows. But we had a great time, we rented the Land Rover so we could go to Þjórsárdalur. And none of us had ever driven such a thing, but my sister was a pretty good driver and she had heard my husband explain to her how you double clutch, so it was really [exciting] when we drove out of a gas station in Reykjavík where we had rented it. Would she be able to do it? But she [could]. She drove us, in those days you had to drive through the river there, you had to drive through it. Anyway, and [Eldjárn was glad] we came back, completely alive. So we were invited into Eldjárn's suite, who then lived in the actual museum, in the basement there. There I got to know him a little bit.

JL: Was that the first time you met him?

BW: That was the first time I met him yes.

JL: Did he ever talk about when he was in L'Anse aux Meadows?

BW: Yes, he did, we corresponded a bit about it. Right after he became president, which was very shortly after that. But he was disgusted with me because I didn't put the diacritics on the letters because I only had an American typewriter [referring to the accents in the Scandinavian alphabets]. I couldn't do it, but he really admonished me for that.

VF: The accents?

BW: Yeah, I wrote in Swedish because he wrote in Danish. Yeah, he could be very like that. But so, when did I see him? I was in touch with him now and then. Because he always had questions. He was really unsure that this was a Norse site.

JL: Even after the spindle whorl and the bronze pin?

BW: Yes.

JL: Okay.

BW: Yes he suspected that Helge may have brought it. And the most significant was that in 1982, there was an inter-Scandinavian Conference in Iceland, it was a perambulating thing. And there was, I don't know if it was the opening or the closing, it's probably the opening of it. He was to give a speech from Þingvellir standing up there where the speaker once stood. And he issued more or less an order that I should go with him from Bessastaðir in his car to Þingvellir. And it was a long ride, I don't know if it was one or two hours. And he brought up the spindle whorl: "was I sure it was *in situ*? Hadn't Anne Stine brought it?" And he really asked the same question many times. And I don't think I managed to convince him completely. So, he listened to [when] I gave a talk, and it was the first time I think I publicly (or it was about the same time as I did other places too) talked about what was called the smithy, what was really the furnace place. And he was in the audience at that and he didn't like that at all. He did not believe that. I could see that on him, he didn't say anything. This is only two weeks before he died, actually. And the same way that spindle whorl, I just had that feeling, he didn't say it, he was very, sort of, private about it.

JL: Do you think he had trouble believing L'Anse aux Meadows was a Norse site because it was in North America? Or because there wasn't a lot of evidence? Or did he have issues with the way it was being done maybe?

BW: Yeah, that was it, yeah.

JL: The last one?

BW: He had really issues with the way it was being done and interpreted and the major thing I think was he had real issues with that there was no public, no actual professional presentation of the data until 1971. And I know when Helge's book 1965 *Westward to Vinland*, he was really disgusted with that book. I know that through Helge because Helge and Anne Stine had just received a letter from him [Wallace later comments: this happened just as I visited the Ingstads in Oslo in 1965]. Talking about the book, Helge had sent it to him and expected real enthusiasm and he didn't get it at all. It was very dampening, saying well it's really nicely presented or something like that and they were furious. But it's true. There is no professional description and

he had real problems with that, and he had problems with issues that he too was told he couldn't take photographs.

JL: Okay.

BW: And that was one thing he had mentioned during.

JL: Yeah, cause he thought they should have published like a scientific report.

BW: Yeah he thought something was shady with it, when it was done that way. You know we all react that way when we hear a lot about the site through only popular [media] and we don't get the actual thing.

JL: So you mentioned you had met Gísli Gestsson. Did you know, did he ever talk to you about the site, L'Anse aux Meadows?

BW: Yeah, he just kind of shook his head.

JL: Okay.

BW: Another time. My sister and I went to Stöng with him. And so we had spent a day or more with him, a great guy and he just laughed at it.

JL: OK. Do you know why they asked Icelandic archaeologists to participate and why those three specifically?

BW: Yes. You can see from the correspondence on file, both at the National Museum in Copenhagen and in St. John's that the people who were in charge of the archaeological permit would not give Helge a permit unless he had a Norse archaeologist with him. And St. John's tried to get Meldgaard, but Meldgaard was busy with other things so he couldn't come. And they asked a number of people. And they couldn't come, but Eldjárn could. And then Eldjárn was the one who picked the other two, I think.

JL: Yes, cause I think Þórhallur was a literary historian.

BW: Yeah, yes he's saga person. Yeah, right. And Gísli of course had dug a lot of houses.

JL: So I was going to ask a few questions, you may not know the answers about the excavation in 1962, so.

BW: Yeah.

JL: Do you know what parts of the excavation the Icelanders were working on?

BW: Yes, yes I do, I brought a map.

JL: Oh you brought a map, okay.

BW: Well briefly, they began in what is now Hall A and they dug a series of trenches. They're not on this map, this is only the Parks Canada trenches. But they covered the Southern part of the house, right here and they're all in Anne Stine's book in her overall, you can see the Icelanders and they are here. I should have brought her book down and it was fairly large area and they covered both walls and what surprises me they did not recognise them as walls.

JL: Okay.

BW: They just thought it was natural which is really surprising to me.

VF: Can I? Could it be because there was an adaptation to the different sods?

BW: No, they did look very much like Icelandic. The layers you know in the, once in A (Hall A) in particular are really clear. But maybe their profiles were not so straight. That could, maybe they had bad weather. No, he talks about the weather in his diary. I'm not sure about that, but then, the so called Smithy.

JL: Yes, which I think is called [Structure J]

BW: And that became exciting because there really was something. And you know all this slag and things. But he didn't recognise that it was a wrecked furnace and maybe [that's] not so strange because in 62, not that many furnaces had been excavated in Norway and Sweden. [That] came about the same time. The furnace, and when you get that clay that really formed the furnace, but with a stone frame at the bottom. That shape wasn't so recognised anywhere, or if it was, it was in Norway and not in Iceland, and nothing had been found in Iceland like that at that point, except one place at Bergþórshvoll [where] they actually had come upon a clay cone [Wallace later clarifies it was the remains of a furnace at Bergþórshvoll in Iceland; originally found during an excavation in 1927 &1928, Eldjárn did a follow-up excavation in 1951]. I don't think they realised to this day that that's a furnace. But then they found that Dorset lamp. And they also found a lot of Indigenous material. So they thought this is shaky. So what we are finding is probably [Paleo-Inuit], they always called it "Eskimo". And that got worse the following year. But then they found the Dorset lamp. But there is one big [misunderstanding] about that Dorset lamp that should be corrected. I had tried like crazy but got nowhere with it. The way it was found and you can see there is a photo in that book [Eldjárn's diary]. It's above the Norse [roof] or above the Norse collapse. So it's not found in original *in situ*. It's not, because the lamp itself is earlier. [Further clarification by Birgitta Wallace: Other researchers, e.g. Bill Fitzhugh, continue to associate this lamp with the Norse. It is not, as it was found above the collapsed roof of the smithy, just below the modern sod, and a C14 date on material inside it came out "modern." Jim Tuck and Robert McGhee classified the lamp as late Dorset. Wallace describes its presence at L'Anse aux Meadows as somewhat mysterious and hypothesizes it could perhaps have been brought by the Naskapi/Montagnais [Innu] when they camped on the site] You know the Swede, Rolf Petré, was there. I forgot about that. And Rolf was the one who found a lot of Indigenous material in D [Hall D]. So there it [the lamp] is right below the soil.

JL: Do you know where it is now?

BW: Yeah, on exhibit, I think.

JL: Oh, is it? OK.

BW: It was up in the lab here for a long time when they didn't want any Indigenous material in the exhibit, but now I'm pretty sure it's not there.

JL: Yeah, Rolf Petré was there with them.

BW: Yes, yeah.

JL: He worked with them a lot.

BW: He did. This Norwegian [Frode Skarstein in his book "Helge Ingstad," Oslo 2010] dug up a lot of correspondence between Eldjárn and Petré. Maybe not a lot, but anyway. Eldjárn is asking about the [Paleo-Inuit] objects, Rolf too thought they were [Paleo-Inuit] because he didn't have a clue. But Rolf Petré was considered a very good field archaeologist.

JL: So with the smithy or the furnace hut did Eldjárn, was he leading those parts of the excavation at that point?

BW: Well he describes it very clearly in his diary that he expected Anne Stine to be there the whole summer and she went home the week after he came, and more or less leaving it to him because it turned out she had a nervous collapse after that. So he was, from what I understand, he had very little information what was expected, about the previous work, and think he felt, “oh, what do I do?” And then it came to a real, this is the Norwegian [Frode Skarstein] who has this information. It came to, a real disaster when he found a whetstone, not the Norse type, but one probably used for sharpening stone items. [Further background provided by Birgitta Wallace at later date: “disaster struck when Eldjárn found a whetstone in Anne Stine's back-dirt from hall F. In correspondence with him, Anne Stine saw it as a grave criticism of her work and the correspondence became quite antagonistic. This particular situation was documented by the Norwegian writer Frode Skarstein in his book "Helge Ingstad.""] You can see it from the shape and it was found in the back dirt from Hall F. And so Eldjárn actually ended up finishing the excavation on Hall F, Anne Stine had begun it, and he more or less just finished it up. I don't quite know how much remained of it, she had dug profiles and I don't think that there was a whole lot left.

JL: And this was Hall F or Hall A?

BW: Hall F

JL: Hall F, okay, perfect.

BW: And yes, he excavated another area in that, one of the big cooking pits.

JL: Okay.

BW: The one closest to the Smithy. Rolf Petré excavated the one close to Hall F.

BW: But when he, Eldjárn, wrote Anne Stine afterwards telling her he had found this, she felt that he was telling her that she was no good, Anne Stine suffered from real complexes when it came to excavation because she was very inexperienced at that point. And she, after that, she didn't want to speak to him. And the one reason she wanted to go to Iceland with my sister and me was because then she didn't have to face him by herself. It was good that she came because she realised, he was not so bad. But she was deadly afraid of Gísli and Eldjárn.

JL: Okay.

BW: So her reaction of Gísli was, “oh, that awful sour man”. For anyone to say that, about Gísli, he [was very laid back] just sort of [had] big smile all the time. Yeah, so that was that, but that came from that find of that one artifact.

JL: Do you think the Icelanders, so Eldjárn or Gísli, had any influence on the methods being used during the excavation or theoretical approaches?

BW: They both used the same methods.

JL: Okay.

BW: Which was the old [method], the one used at [the first excavation at] Hofstaðir, the old and true. Dig, you have walls here you can see the walls and dig the floor inside, you cut off the inside of the walls. They both used that method.

JL: Do you think in 1962, when they were there, they had any hypotheses for the site?

BW: Well, they had to prove that Helge was right that it was Vinland. And in 64 Anne Stine really talked about that and said Helge goes around saying "we have found Vinland, of course we have it." Can't say such a thing. She was very recognising that this was bad thing. And she said yes, she thought it was Norse, but she wasn't sure either. But she knew when they found iron nails that, you know, it was European. And so that was what, Eldjárn, of course, he wasn't sure [that the site was Norse]. I don't understand to this day, why he didn't recognise that A was a house. It's true, that one of the walls, what I say is the eastern wall [was partially missing] [Birgitta Wallace clarifies later: the northern portion of the eastern wall was missing, but the other walls were there, especially the southern wall. And the walls of House B and hut C remained to over 30 cm above the ground.] He should have seen it. It's my opinion.

JL: Yeah. He seemed very convinced it wasn't a Norse site when you read his journal.

BW: Yeah. And that had an influence on the rest of Scandinavian archaeologists.

VF: Even in Norway?

BW: Even in, let's see they were, yeah they were and Anne Stine had not had her Magister [Masters] degree very long, not dug a whole lot. I think Björn Hougen was a little hesitant. And Mårten Stenberger was, I knew that because I worked with him the summers of 65-66. [Wallace later stated: "Mårten was my professor and I had a special program with him, bringing a group of grad students to work at Eketorp on Öland in 1965 and 1966, Mårten was known for his IA house excavations in Sweden, Iceland, and Greenland. He finally believed me when I said that LAM was not recognised as Norse because people who would know had not visited the site. The next summer, 1967, he did, in company with Norwegian prof. Björn Hougen. Then both officially acknowledged the authenticity of the site. It made Anne Stine extremely happy and gave her more self confidence."]

JL: How was the relationship between Eldjárn and the Ingstads?

BW: Tense.

JL: Tense, ok.

BW: Not from his side, but Helge was not fond of him. And Anne Stine was scared of him. I mean it remained even after our trip and the visit. And you have Frode [Skarstein], that Norwegian. What did I do with the book there [referring to Skarstein's book]? He found it or was shown I guess by Eldjárn's son some correspondence between Anne Stine and Eldjárn. He has the letter reproduced I think. Was about Hall F. It is in Norwegian from Anne Stine and Danish from him. If you go to Reykjavík, you will see the letter.

JL: Yes

BW: I don't quite remember the content of that correspondence anymore, but it was, he was worried that he had had no instructions. And that she had taken off like that. Yeah he was not very pleased with that. And that of course in the future confirmed his belief that this was not what it was supposed to be.

JL: So do you think that Eldjárn had any influence on how the excavations were conducted? Or was it mostly what Helge wanted?

BW: No, I don't think they had any influence. If anything, it was a negative one.

JL: Okay

BW: I've heard [others] say oh, they didn't understand what they [the Ingstads] were doing. To a degree, it was true.

JL: Do you have any further comments, stories, questions?

BW: No. Don't think so.

JL: OK, we are done. Do you have anything? [addressing VF]

VF: No

JL: No OK. We're finished, thank you.

BW: You're welcome.

Appendix III Interview Photographs

Figure 12: C1 in interview with Clayton Colbourne who identifies the boys as his brothers Gower and Wayne Colbourne (Photograph copyright to the National Museum of Iceland).

Figure 13: C2 in interview with Clayton Colbourne. He identifies himself on the left with the red hair, and his brother Wayne Colbourne and Winston Hederson from Hay Cove in the photograph (Photograph copyright to the National Museum of Iceland).

Figure 14: C3 in Clayton Colbourne Interview. Photograph of Kristján Eldjárn and George Decker (Photograph copyright to the National Museum of Iceland).

Figure 15: C4 in Clayton Colbourne Interview. Photograph of Kristján Eldjárn, Helge Ingstad, Gísli Gestsson, and Rolf Petré who is holding the Dorset lamp found in the 1962 field season (Photograph copyright to the National Museum of Iceland).