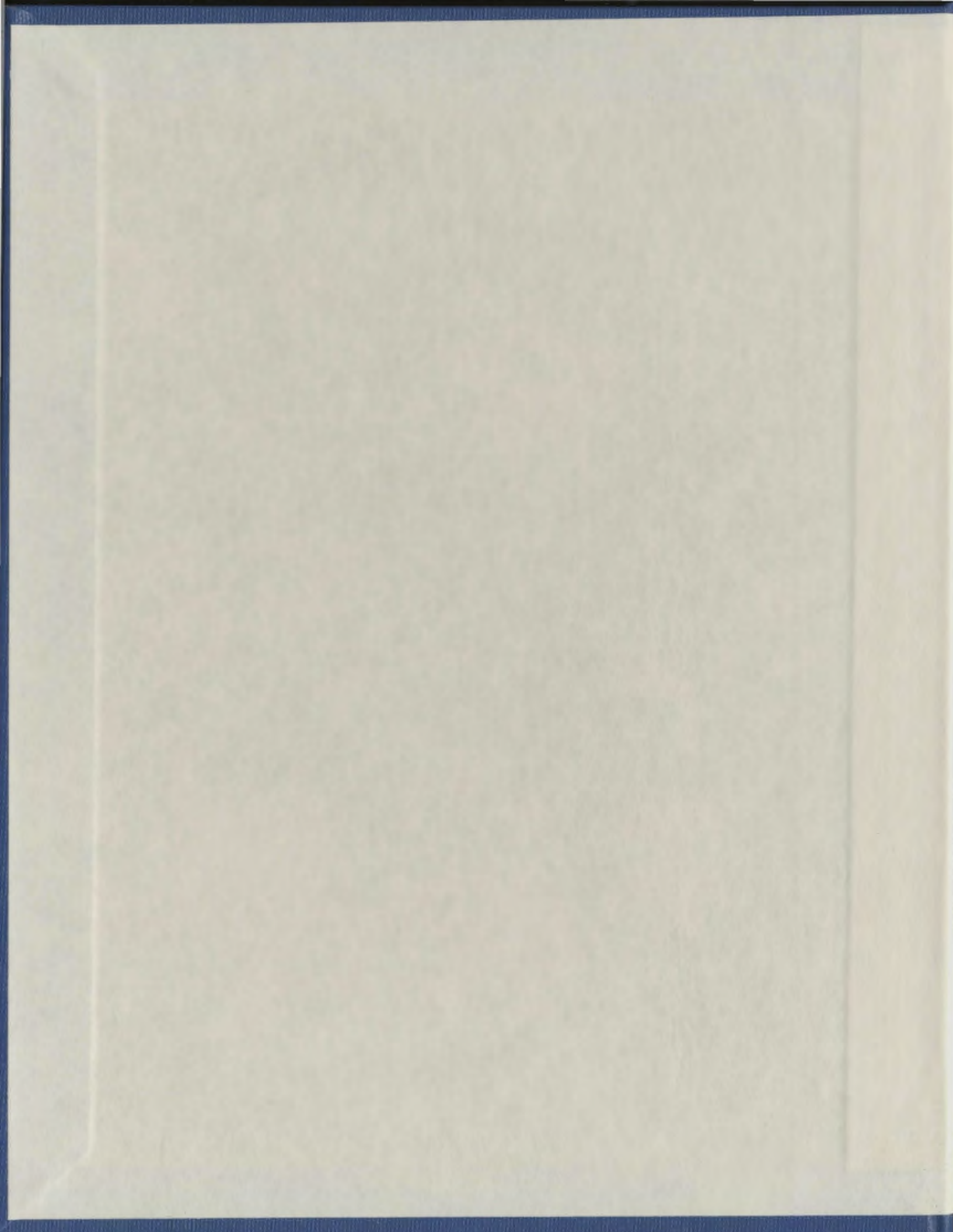


CREATING A COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY IN MAIN

AMELIA E.M. FAY



Creating a Community Archaeology in Nain

by

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Abstract

Community-based approaches have become increasingly common within the discipline of archaeology, employing a variety of different research methods. This thesis explores how a community archaeology framework can be adapted and applied to research involving the community of Nain in northern Labrador. With increased interest in the north, the newly appointed Torngat Mountains National Park Reserve (2007) and recently formed Nunatsiavut Government (2005), Nain is experiencing an influx of researchers and government interest due to its location as the northernmost community in Labrador and its prominence within Nunatsiavut's structure. As such, Nain is an ideal community in which to explore the potential for future involvement in archaeological research and collaboration with university researchers.

This thesis presents the results of interviews with community Elders and general opinions on the practice of archaeology in the region and future involvement with the community. The creation of a website, *North of Nain Archaeology*, provides information on current researchers and their projects within the region and will hopefully increase interest in the potential for collaborative projects in the future.

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Preface

Many researchers face the challenge of how to write and represent their data effectively.

An increased interest in the use of narratives and archaeological interpretation *as* narrative provides researchers with an opportunity to experiment with different forms of writing and presenting their research (Clarke 2004; Hodder 1989; Joyce 2002).

Following this, I frequently use the first person pronoun within my writing. I believe it is important for the narrator to be present within the text, especially when writing about research experiences (Chapter 5: Reflexivity) and when explaining how the research was conducted (Chapter 1: Introduction). This thesis represents my own research experiences working within the community of Nain where I became an integral part of the research by conducting interviews and sharing stories with community members. As narrator of this thesis I wanted both the voices of my participants and my own to be present.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Where it All Begins

Inuit Elders in Nain are sometimes sceptical of archaeologists. The scepticism stems from decades of researchers entering their community with their own agendas, ignoring the needs of the community and leaving with the information they collected never to be heard from again. I encountered this when I stayed within the community and interviewed them. Although my agenda was to work *with* and *for* the community, I faced many challenges in attempting to set my research apart from other projects in the past.

Historically archaeological research has followed the standard research procedure of entering a community or locale and conducting fieldwork followed by a quick departure with the artifacts and information. More recently, this would be followed up by a bland 'plain language' report but, most often, the information is written for a Western academic audience. Recent critiques of this process identify archaeology as a colonial enterprise that systematically excludes local communities from discovering their past and from the interpretations constructed during this discovery process (Moser *et al.* 2002:221; Smith and Wobst 2005). These critiques, aligned with my own perceptions of archaeological practice, inspired me to do this project.

This research was designed to resolve the scepticism and concerns of both community members and myself concerning archaeological research. The overall objective of this

thesis is to integrate traditional knowledge with archaeological knowledge and to present the synthesized information in an accessible format for both the local and archaeological communities. I became interested in exploring how archaeologists can work with local communities to gain insight into the past and how oral histories can best be incorporated in archaeological research. I also wanted to consult with the Inuit on their views of current and future archaeological practice.

Motivated by a community-based theoretical approach, this research aimed towards a multivocal interpretation of the past and the creation of something tangible, in this case a website, in order to bring these two forms of knowledge together. In pursuing this, I worked with interested community members and institutions in Nain, Labrador (Figure 1.1), gathering oral histories to combine with the existing archaeological record. This thesis presents the results of this research to the academic audience, while a website designed with the community's input presents the results to a much wider audience.



Figure 1.1: Map of Labrador

(Source: adapted from www.heritage.nf.ca/images/labrador_fullmap.gif)

My initial research questions were to examine what kinds of oral histories are important to both the Inuit and archaeologists, how the modern Labrador Inuit perceive the practice of archaeology and how they would like to see archaeology conducted within their communities. In pursuing these, I set out to interview Elders in Nain about their past and their perceptions of archaeology. As a follow-up to my interest in the perceptions of archaeological practice, I conducted a survey to collect the information from a larger sample of the population. This thesis presents the results of these interviews and surveys along with my own reflections on the research experience and aims to provide a framework for future archaeological research with the Labrador Inuit.

1.2 Summary of Chapters

This thesis explores a range of issues surrounding the incorporation of oral histories into archaeological research, the utilization of the concept of community archaeology as a theoretical framework and reflexive research practice. These topics are addressed in successive chapters, and then discussed in the last chapter.

Chapter 2 explains what community archaeology is and outlines potential methodological approaches for collaborative practice as identified by Moser *et al.* (2002). Not all seven of the areas she sets out are necessary for a community archaeology approach. The theoretical influences behind the concept of community are discussed, especially the notions of postcoloniality, the 'Indigenous'/decolonizational, feminism and

multivocality. All of these are interrelated in their common goals. Other community archaeology projects are reviewed throughout the chapter, in the discussions of methodological approaches and then later with specific reference to arctic and Labrador examples. This chapter provides a background for the theories that guide this particular research project, and presents them as necessary tools for any community archaeology project.

Chapter 3 provides the necessary background information on the community of Nain in order to place its current situation in context for the reader. Several important historical events have shaped the community, namely Moravian mission presence, confederation/relocation, the inception of Inuit self-government (Nunatsiavut), and subsequent land claims.

Chapter 4 focuses on the interviews conducted with Elders in Nain. It begins with a description of the fieldwork methodology. Choosing to do a non-traditional archaeology project, I utilized methods from anthropology and folklore to design my interview schedule and survey questionnaire. Following the methodology is an introduction to the participants. I interviewed ten Elders, each of whom were highly recommended and well respected within the community. I include brief biographies and photographs within the text so that the reader can identify the participants and be able to put a face to the name during the later sections of the chapter. Analysis of the interviews identified some key recurring themes, and these are presented using excerpts from the

interviews to ensure that their words take precedent over my own. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the usefulness of these oral histories, and the collection of others, for archaeological research.

Chapter 5 presents my own personal narrative of the research experience as an example of reflexive practice. Reflexivity urges one to examine one's own positionality and recognize one's impacts within the research process. Understanding that interview-based research is a joint production of both narrator and listener addresses the fact that I played a key role in the production of the interviews. This chapter discusses both my fieldwork and post-fieldwork experiences, from living in Nain to the writing of this thesis, examining both the successes and the failures of my research.

Chapter 6 discusses the importance of making research accessible to the communities within which we work. My decision to create a website was based on the interests of the youth in Nain, and the economic feasibility of this format. This chapter also includes a discussion of the usefulness of the internet for archaeology. A description of the features and outline of the "North of Nain Archaeology" website concludes the chapter.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis by bringing together the interrelated themes of community archaeology, the benefits of collecting oral histories, reflexive practice and accessible research. This research project and the methods I chose to utilize act as a pilot study for the usefulness of community archaeology within Nain and beyond. Having

established a good working relationship with various community members and institutions, and identified some of the community's needs and desires for the future of archaeology in the region, it should be possible to conduct research that will meet these needs and wants, and continue to build and create collaborative research.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

"Community archaeology represents an opportunity. We need it, not because it is politically correct, but because it enriches our discipline." (Marshall 2002:218)

My theoretical framework is rooted in recent conceptualizations of "community archaeology". It is based on the premise that archaeology is a colonial enterprise (Smith and Wobst 2005) where "local communities have been systematically excluded both from the process of discovering their past and in the construction of knowledge concerning their heritage" (Moser *et al.* 2002:221). With this awareness, many archaeologists have been striving towards a more inclusive, multivocal approach in their practice. The belief is that the incorporation of different cultural perspectives and diverse interpretations can only add to archaeological constructions of the past.

This chapter explains what community archaeology is, using the strategic collaboration objectives suggested by Moser *et al.* (2002:229) as a framework for discussing the many possibilities for a community archaeology and how one can design a project using all or only some of their proposed methodologies. It will also identify some of the key influences behind community archaeology. Finally, the chapter concludes by outlining some of the previous research in this field, specifically the arctic examples which have been influential in my own research design.

2.1 Community Archaeology

As a relatively new concept within the discipline, community archaeology takes a different approach to archaeological practice. The development of this approach stems from both an ideology that reflexively acknowledges the socio-political nature of archaeological research and an interest in making archaeology more accountable, relevant and interesting to local communities (Clarke 2002). For some, this approach is also inspired by the feminist assertion that archaeological practices and interpretations should be more meaningful in human terms (Marshall 2002; Spector 1993). Although there are many aspects to a community-based project that set it apart from traditional archaeological research, the most distinguishing characteristic is the relinquishment of at least partial control of the research project to the local community (Marshall 2002).

Designed with the interests of local communities in mind, community-based archaeological approaches provide opportunities for involvement in the research process and make sure the results are accessible to the community (Fitzhugh *et al.* 2002). Clarke (2002) describes a community approach as one with both a political recognition of the rights communities have concerning research about their lives as well as a complete restructuring of the typical power relations. This shifting or restructuring of the power relations within archaeological practice also recognizes how the knowledge and experiences of non-archaeologists can be beneficial to archaeologists and their research (Moser *et al.* 2002). Anawak strengthens this argument by stating that although

archaeologists can identify artifacts from years of education and practice,

“It remains to be seen how much more could have been known or how much more refined their studies could have been if they had enlisted our elders to work side-by-side with them to challenge and share each other’s perceptions.”

(Anawak 1989:49)

Those who have participated in these collaborative or community-based approaches emphasize the benefits of various perspectives and interpretations and state that the overall result is better archaeology (Moser *et al.* 2002).

2.2 Community Archaeology as Collaborative Research

Moser *et al.* (2002:229) identify a strategy for collaborative research in their Community Archaeology Project at Quseir by identifying seven research objectives that should be considered when designing a collaborative project. It should be noted that the authors offer these objectives as a guideline. Using their suggestions as a framework, I will discuss each individually in the following sub-sections.

2.2.1 Communication and Collaboration

Working with the community throughout the entire process rather than just informing them of the results or the research plan creates a dialogue that leads to a truly collaborative interpretation. In order for this to occur, the archaeologist must surrender some of the authority and control over the project, since the community will be much

more interested in the answers if they have a say in the questions (Moser *et al.* 2002:229). Involving local heritage groups and associations as well as creating and maintaining social bonds with the community aid in this process and further strengthen the community's interest in the research. Evers and Toelken (2001:11) describe collaboration as an "interactive standoff" with both sides working within their own cultural constructions and research agendas while trying to consider those of their partners, and thus realizing that there may be no middle ground for agreement. However, the collaborative process is far more difficult to incorporate in masters or doctoral research where the emphasis is on individual research and the ability to design and answer your own research questions; working within the academic framework as a student makes purely collaborative research unrealistic. Funding and time play a key role in a student's research design, and these two factors mitigate against a truly collaborative research project. That being said, steps can be taken to include the community and collaboration wherever possible, especially at the doctoral level where more time can be invested with a community to form the necessary social networks for successful collaboration.

2.2.2 Employment and Training

Providing training and employment for community members is very important. It is not only beneficial, by providing individuals with employment, but it also maintains the collaborative process by having community members on staff at all stages of the project. This enables the community to continue with the presentation of the research long after

the archaeologists have left. Moser *et al.* (2002:232) suggest that the main obstacle to employing local individuals is lack of funding. Securing funding for members of the local community is a difficult task; in most cases the money comes from external sources. For instance, in Labrador many young students are hired through youth employment programs funded by the government. Few individuals can or should work for free, especially in communities where employment opportunities are hard to find. Providing community members with education and training through such collaborative projects enables them to seek further participation and employment on future projects.

2.2.3 Public Presentation

One of the most important aspects of a community archaeology project is public presentation. Ensuring that the information is available outside of the academic community is crucial; the information must be accessible, informative and interesting to the local community and the public in general. Public presentation can take on many forms, such as museum exhibits and displays, community presentations and workshops, as well as websites and interactive CD-ROM. Large-scale projects like the one in Quseir can focus on exhibits and larger, more expensive formats while smaller, low- budget projects can disseminate their findings through a website or presentation. Public presentation in archaeology has expanded with such community-based initiatives, and the realization that archaeology needs to be made more meaningful in order to survive as a discipline (Jameson 1997; Little 2002; Smardz & Smith 2000; Zimmerman 2003).

Chapter 6 will discuss public presentation further.

2.2.4 Interviews and Oral Histories

Community archaeology attends to the interplay between archaeological remains, written accounts and oral traditions rather than treating them as irreconcilable forms of knowledge. With this in mind, a central component of a community approach should be dialogue with local people about their heritage (Moser *et al.* 2002:236). Incorporating oral histories into the archaeological analysis allows for different voices in the interpretation and can often provide insights into areas that the researcher might have otherwise ignored or misinterpreted. Nicholas and Andrews (1997) argue that although archaeology is often defined as having a reliance on material culture, as part of the broader field of anthropology, it should not lose sight of the people. Thus, it should not be constrained by arbitrary distinctions that place oral histories solely in the realm of socio-cultural anthropology. Following Mason's (2000) differentiation, oral history refers to the memories of individuals who either experienced or witnessed the events, while oral traditions extend beyond living memory. There has been much debate regarding the appropriate use of oral traditions in archaeological research (Echo-Hawk 2000; Mason 2000; Whiteley 2002) and more specifically regarding the use of Traditional Ecological Knowledge or TEK (McGregor 2004; Wenzel 1999). Oral histories and oral traditions can be more useful in historical archaeological research than prehistoric, as the knowledge is more reliable. Arima (1976) examined informant recall amongst an Inuit

population and found that it is highly reliable within living memory and somewhat reliable at a generation's remove, or about a century after the event. At this point stories experience some loss of the original content and the beginnings of "formalization into legendary narrative" becomes apparent (Arima 1976:35). Stories that involve conflict, suffering and death may be altered to either tone down or emphasize certain points, whereas emotionally neutral issues escape this alteration (Arima 1976). In many cases, the accuracy depends on the specific event or events that concern the archaeologists. Using oral histories or oral traditions requires the discretion of the researcher, who must know how much weight or value to put on them and how to incorporate them into the remainder of the research.

2.2.5 Educational Resources

Educational resources relate to public presentation in that both reach out to non-archaeological audiences, such as youth and communities. Moser *et al.* (2002:238) identify site visits and children's books as two of their project's most important educational resources. These are becoming increasingly common. An excellent example from Labrador is the children's book *Anguti's Amulet* that educates children on the archaeological process by creating a story about a specific artifact (Loring & Rosenmeier 2005). This particular example is appropriate for both children and adults because it places the artifact and archaeology in a human context. Creating a story makes it more meaningful and engaging than a traditional site report or academic paper. Other

approaches have included actual educational programs, where students receive credit for participation. Stenton and Rigby (1995) helped develop the Tungatsivvik Archaeological Project in Nunavut, a community-based project with community-directed heritage goals. This project involved the incorporation of the Environmental Technology Program, a diploma program through Arctic College in Iqaluit, by using the Tungatsivvik site for a heritage-training component (Stenton & Rigby 1995). Mackenzie and Stone (1994) have addressed archaeology and cultural heritage concerning their local educational systems. A central theme of these papers is the need for revised curriculum and ways of not only presenting the past to young people, but also involving them in the process. Providing youth and others with the necessary education and training increases their involvement in current research and their future participation with other projects. Loring has noted that many of the youth that participated in his projects in Makkovik and southern Labrador have gone on to pursue higher education, and one has since become the first Labrador Inuk to graduate with an archaeology degree (Loring pers comm. 2007).

2.2.6 Photographic and Video Archive

Photographs and video of the entire archaeological research project, from excavation to the lab, provide a permanent record of the research process. They can be made available to individuals who were unable to participate in the project, as well as future generations. The project at Quseir incorporated both forms in their project design, including video interviews with site employees (Moser *et al.* 2002:240). Another large-

scale project at Çatalhöyük explores the use of video as critical archaeological process (Brill 2000). Brill argues that filming the archaeological experience through on-site interviews removes the 'scientific codes' commonly found in written texts and contributes to the promotion of differing approaches to site reports, diaries and personal site narratives (Brill 2000:230). Filming the archaeological process not only assists with the narratives and interpretations of the site, but provides a detailed, moving image of the actual archaeological work, something that could be of interest to the general public.

2.2.7 Community-controlled Merchandising

Archaeological investigations have the potential to have a significant impact upon tourist development. It is therefore important to consider the role of heritage-related merchandising in the local economy (Moser *et al.* 2002:241). Although some community archaeology projects are not at the stage where merchandising is appropriate, projects like the one in Quseir show how this can be incorporated into the collaborative strategy.

Archaeology has long been linked to tourism through famous sites such as Stonehenge, the Egyptian pyramids and L'anse aux Meadows, although how archaeology can work with the tourism industry has only recently been discussed (Robb 1998; Stone and Planel 1999; Slick 2002). There can be benefits to local communities should they want to combine archaeology and tourism, and a community archaeology approach is one way to go about it.

These seven methodological aspects of “community archaeology” provide insights into the implementation of this approach. Although in many cases it is not necessary to incorporate all seven, using some of them, and the ideas behind these approaches, will lead to greater cooperation between researchers and local people. The present research incorporated three of these aspects: communication and collaboration, collection of oral histories, and public presentation. Later chapters discuss how these concepts were implemented in my research.

2.3 Theoretical Foundations

Community archaeology encompasses theoretical approaches that were first proposed by postprocessual archaeologists. It builds on interrelated discourses in postcolonial and feminist theory, including the notion of multivocality. I will briefly describe these influences and discuss their relation to community archaeology.

2.3.1 Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial theory has greatly influenced community archaeology. Edward Said (1978, 1994) and Gayatri Spivak (1987) are key postcolonial thinkers who have provided archaeologists with the conceptual framework around which postcolonial archaeology has developed. Gosden describes postcolonial theory as “a series of discussions about the sorts of cultural forms and identities created through colonial encounters” (Gosden

2001:241). These cultural forms are not separate identities of colonizer and colonized, but a mixture of the two creating a hybrid or creole culture (Gosden 2001). The recognition of this hybrid culture is important for the researcher as it points to the agency of the native society in the structure of their socio-economic relationships (Cabak & Loring 2000). Community archaeology is a postcolonial approach not because it necessarily focuses on colonial encounters archaeologically, but more academically as it concerns itself with the colonial encounters of modern research practices. This leads into the next section, decolonization and 'Indigenous archaeologies'.

2.3.2 Decolonization and 'Indigenous Archaeologies'

Differential access to power is a key feature of colonial relations, and for the most part the relationships between archaeologists and the general public continue to be unequal (Jackson and Smith 2005; Smith and Wobst 2005). Knowledge is power, and the politics of knowledge are pivotal when considering the authority archaeologists have when constructing interpretations of the past (Bond and Gilliam 1994; Foucault 1980). Tuhiwai Smith (1999:56) describes most academic research as occurring "through imperial eyes", where western ideas are not only considered the most rational ones, but also the only ideas truly appropriate for interpreting the world, social life and other human beings. This way of thinking has permeated many disciplines, not just archaeology. Decolonizing archaeology will involve a shift in power relations, where archaeologists take other forms of knowledge into consideration and incorporate them

into their theory and practice. Sharing control over the research design, publication and dissemination of results is essential for the decolonization of archaeological practice (Jackson and Smith 2005).

The notion of decolonizing archaeology has often specifically referred to 'indigenous' archaeologies (Atalay 2006; Smith and Wobst 2005), and although this movement in archaeology is important, I think that confining the decolonization process solely to 'indigenous' archaeology leaves out many of the relations archaeologists have with non-Indigenous groups and limits the usefulness of the concept. A broader concept of community archaeology, such as the one proposed by Pope and Mills (2007) regarding the Newfoundland Archaeological Heritage Outreach Program (NAHOP), makes that adjustment. Its goals are the same but it encompasses a wider range of archaeological research by removing the 'indigenous'/archaeologist binary and placing it within the context of collaborative practice.

2.3.3 The Feminist Critique

Archaeology is often conducted and written in such a way that it becomes detached and distanced though its use of objective methods and its object-oriented focus (Spector 1993). This procedure tends to remove the human aspect from archaeology, and reduces research to the study of objects rather than the study of past peoples and their culture. Spector (1993) became disenchanted with this approach, and began to explore a

more empathetic archaeology, one that considers the people that made the artefacts as well as the people who are descendents of, or are interested in, these past peoples and cultures (Spector 1993). Similar to *Anguti's Amulet* (2005), Spector (1993) builds a story around a single artifact, an awl, and the creation of this story places the archaeological research at Little Rapids in a human context. It also stimulates curiosity about the site, and the people who once lived there.

Kirsch (1999) argues that central to feminist qualitative research are questions regarding representation, a responsibility towards participants and readers as well as making the research accessible and beneficial to a wider audience. This holds true for archaeological research even though it is not necessarily qualitative in nature. Spector (1993) similarly argues for removing the power from the production of knowledge by incorporating other perspectives and voices. She involved the community during her work at Little Rapids, and made the research and results accessible outside the academic community.

2.3.4 Multivocality, Narrative and Ways of Writing the Past

All of the above theorists have mentioned the importance of incorporating other interpretations, perspectives and voices in research. The notion of multivocality, multiple narratives and dialogue has only recently entered archaeological discourse; postmodern and feminist ethnographers have explored such experimental narratives much more

extensively (Behar and Gordon 1995; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Enslin 1994). Hodder (1989) sparked interest in the examination of archaeological writing when he explored the changes in archaeological site reports over time. Older reports allowed the presence of a narrator, the use of the first person and placed the report in the context of a particular place and time, but this gradually shifted towards the passive voice and distant, decontextualized accounts. From this examination, he argued for the importance of narrative and dialogue in archaeological writings, and he and others have since followed this up (Hodder 2000; Joyce 2002; Pluciennik 1999; Terrell 1990). Both Hodder (2000) and Joyce (2002) state that archaeological narratives begin long before the writing process and that alternative voices need to be included throughout the entire process, from excavation through write-up. Community archaeology incorporates multivocality through its collaborative process, by working with others each step of the way and by incorporating oral histories. However, in order for the results to be multivocal archaeologists need to ensure that the multivocal approach continues in the write-ups and presentations (Joyce 2002).

In sum, postcolonial, indigenous, feminist and multivocal discourses are interrelated because they share similar goals: removing the colonial attitude of archaeological research, making the research more interesting and accessible to others, and ensuring that many voices are heard by removing the authoritative tone from archaeological writing. Community archaeology incorporates these goals by engaging in

collaborative research projects and ensuring appropriate dissemination of the results following research.

2.4 Previous Research

Community-based projects have been underway in the Canadian Arctic since the late 1970s, some of which have already been discussed (McCartney 1979; Bielawski 1984; Nagy 1994; Hart 1995; Stenton and Rigby 1995; Henderson 1997; Loring 1998a; Hood & Baikie 1998; Armitage & Ashini 1998; Loring & Ashini 2000; Friesen *et al.* 2000; Friesen 2002). Unfortunately, these Arctic examples are not as widely cited in the community archaeology literature as community-based projects from other regions, such as those from Australia and New Zealand (Marshall 2002; Greer *et. al* 2002; Clarke 2002). A notable exception in Labrador is the Voisey's Bay project (Hood & Baikie 1998), which involved the collaboration of aboriginal groups, the archaeological community, government and mining companies. Loring has also been a strong advocate for community-based approaches in Labrador (Loring 1998a; Loring & Ashini 2000; Loring & Rosenmeier 2005). The Pathways project at Sheshatshiu provided an opportunity for Innu Elders to interpret archaeological features and assemblages, thus incorporating Innu values and perspectives into the construction of history (Loring 1998a). Community archaeology projects like this liberate the research from the confines of academia, celebrate multivocality and embrace both humanist and scientific

perspectives (Loring and Ashini 2000:183). The differences in these projects illustrate the various ways that community archaeology can be interpreted and executed. As community archaeology continues to gain momentum in the discipline we will see even more unique and diverse approaches in terms of methodological practice. In the meantime, these varying examples provide insights into what was successful, and what needs further consideration.

2.5 Chapter Summary

Community archaeology represents a shift in archaeological practice from its colonial, authoritative roots towards inclusive, collaborative research. Moser *et al.* (2002) outline seven methodological steps for community archaeology: communication and collaboration; employment and training; public presentation; interviews and oral histories; educational resources; photographic and video archive; and community-controlled merchandising. Although not all seven are required for a community-based approach, an ideal project would incorporate the majority of them. The main criteria for a community archaeology project are collaboration throughout the research process and ensuring that the results are given back to the community. However, the methods of dissemination are as variable as the methods for conducting the project.

Community archaeology builds off postcolonial, indigenous, and feminist critiques of archaeological practice and attempts to create a balanced relationship between

researchers and the communities with which they work. It attends to the concept of multivocality, as it includes the interpretations and voices of many others through the collaborative process and unique methodological strategies.

There have been many examples of community archaeology in the Arctic, though they are less frequently cited in the Anglo-American literature than those from other regions. Labrador has a few notable examples, including Voisey's Bay during the mining negotiations and the southern region's Pathways Project.

Community archaeology attempts to remove the colonial aspect from archaeological research and writing. It provides opportunities for local involvement during the entire research process, making archaeology more accessible and interesting to the public at large. This type of approach is necessary for the future of archaeology as questions concerning who owns the past or who has the right to interpret and represent the past continue to arise and as local communities begin to demand a larger role in the process.

Chapter 3

Background

"In the mission stations there was law and order, in the colony there was fun and licence" (Rev. J.E. Hutton 1912)

In order to understand the situation in Nain today, it is essential to review the important historical events that led to the creation of Nain as a prominent community along the Labrador coast. This chapter is divided into four parts: Inuit-European contact prior to 1771; Moravian influence (1771-1949); Confederation and relocation (1949-1960); and the Present, from 1960 onwards. These four sections are organized around the more influential events in Nain's history. Although many themes crosscut these categories, (for example, Moravian influence did not end abruptly in 1949), the use of these temporal breaks provides a useful framework.

3.1 Inuit-European Contact prior to 1771

Archaeological evidence shows that the north coast was extensively occupied in precontact times (Fitzhugh 1980; Kaplan 1980, 1983; Schledermann 1971, 1976a; Tuck 1975, 1976); however, the area of modern day Nain does not appear to have been a regularly occupied site. Prior to 1771, neither the Inuit nor their predecessors occupied this area extensively, as there were far better hunting and fishing areas along the coast

(Kleivan 1966; Eli Merkuratsuk pers. comm. 2007). The Inuit moved around seasonally to pursue a variety of local resources. During the winter months they lived in semisubterranean sod houses while during the summer months they were more mobile, living in sealskin tents. During the transitional months of spring and fall they would construct a *qarmat* either from the remains of previously occupied semisubterranean houses or from blocks of snow and ice with a roof of caribou hide (Scheldermann 1976b). This adaptability and mobility allowed them to procure the many seasonal resources of the coastal Labrador region.

Although the Moravians established their first mission in 1771, there were various European and Inuit interactions prior to the Moravian arrival. Until the 1980s the common belief amongst researchers, although some disagreed (Fitzhugh 1976, 1977), was that the Inuit did not settle in southern Labrador until around the time of European contact as extensive evidence of an Inuit presence does not occur until the sixteenth century (Kleivan 1966). At this time, southern Labrador was being exploited by Basque whalers, French fishermen and others (Auger 1991; Tuck and Grenier 1981), giving the Inuit reason to venture south in search of trade goods. This position was challenged in the 1980s which has been further supported by some recent archaeological investigations (Brewster 2005; Martijn 1980; Stopp 2002), though contradicted by others (e.g. Whitridge 2004).

The first encounter between the Inuit and Moravian missionaries occurred in 1752

when John Christian Ehrhardt and a small crew went on a reconnaissance mission to the Labrador coast (Hiller 1967). Unfortunately, the mission was not a success as Ehrhardt and six others went missing, their bodies found a year later. Hiller (1967) notes that the potential murders from 1752 become less extraordinary when placed in the context of conflict that riddled the Labrador coast during these early contact years. Ehrhardt's mistake was his inability to distinguish himself from the other European traders with whom the Inuit had conflicts. Conflict between Inuit, Innu and European groups along the south coast of Labrador was common until 1763, when Labrador fell under British rule and interest in improvements to Inuit-European relations to further fishing and trade increased (Kennedy 1985). Hugh Palliser, Governor of Newfoundland (1764-1768), agreed with the Board of Trade that a transient ship fishery be allowed on the Labrador coast, in which English ships would visit only seasonally and no permanent settlement would be allowed (Hiller 1967). Although impractical for many reasons, including the inability of the British to prevent the French from trading with the Inuit and Innu in the Straits, the key problem was that Palliser had no idea how to interact with the Inuit or improve their relations with the British (Kennedy 1985).

At the same time, Moravian missionary Jens Haven was working in Greenland, learning Inuit language and culture so he could embark on a Labrador voyage. Haven met with Palliser and it was agreed that the establishment of a mission would be beneficial to both the British and the Moravian cause: "First, as an agent of the

Government, he was to make the Eskimos loyal citizens; secondly, as a Moravian Missionary, he would preach the gospel..." (Hutton 1912: 132). Though the British supported Haven and were pleased with his abilities to interact with the Inuit and create peaceful trade, they were sceptical of his suggestion for a mission station in the north (Hiller 1967). Eventually, with the help of Mikak, an Inuit woman captured by the British, the Moravians received their first land grant of 144,000 acres in May of 1769 (Hiller 1967, 1977; Hutton 1912). With this grant, 14 missionaries (11 men and 3 women) set out for the north coast, eventually settling in what is now called Nain in 1771 (Hutton 1912).

3.2 Moravian Influence 1771-1949

The Moravians' initial goal was to create settled communities that would act as religious and economic barriers, separating the converted Inuit from the Euro-American traders and the "heathen" (i.e. unconverted) Inuit (Kennedy 1985). What they had not anticipated was the difficulty of gaining converts due to the Inuit's mobile economy. In order to increase the likelihood that the Inuit would stop at Nain, and to prevent contact with non-Moravian traders, the Moravians began to engage in trade. In the summer, the Moravian ship would bring European goods such as flour, tea, and other grocery items, returning to Europe in the fall with fish, furs and other Labrador products (Hutton 1912). Though the Moravian involvement in trade has been criticized (Kennedy 1985), it was an effective strategy on their part in terms of keeping other traders and influences at bay

(Thoms 1971). Unfortunately, the “Moravians underestimated the implications that sedentary mission life would have on the economy of the previously nomadic Inuit” (Kennedy 1985: 267); they visited the hunting/fishing camps in the summer and encouraged the Inuit to stay at mission stations during the winter. This pattern happened to coincide with the religious calendar between Christmas and Easter, and the importance of these two holidays persists today (Kennedy 1985).

In order to reach out to the Inuit populations, the missions expanded, opening Okak to the north in 1776 and Hopedale to the south in 1782. This expansion continued along the coast over the next hundred years (Figure 3.1).

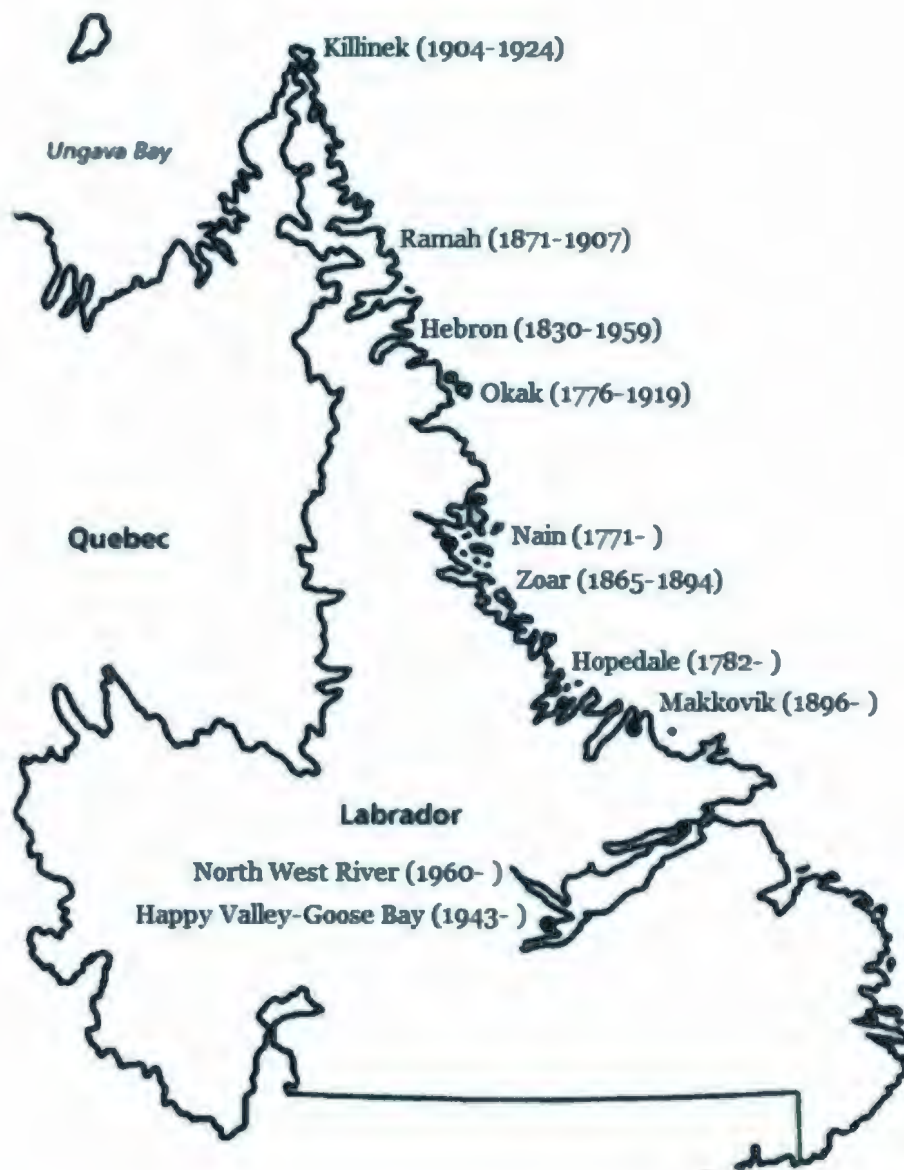


Figure 3.1: Map of Labrador showing mission stations and their operating dates.

(Adapted from www.heritage.nf.ca/images/labrador_fullmap.gif)

Although the mission was successful at improving Inuit-European relations, its main purpose of religious conversion took much longer to achieve. The first convert was a man named Kingminguse who was baptized Peter in Nain in 1776 (Thoms 1971). By 1800, the three mission stations had only 102 converts (Hutton 1912). Another difficulty in religious conversion was the presence and persistence of *angedkoks* (shamans) who either held to their own beliefs, convincing others to do so too, or who saw the similarities between their spiritual beliefs and Christianity and saw no reason to convert or officially differentiate between the two (Kleivan 1966). The years between 1779 and 1804 saw an increase in religious conversion known as the Great Revival by the Moravians (Hutton 1912). Though some suggest it occurred when Tuglavina, the last publicly acknowledged *angedkok*, converted (Hutton 1912), others have suggested that it had more to do with economic depression and increased dependency on the mission with the realization that the Moravians were not going to leave (Kennedy 1985).

Although the Moravians attempted to preserve certain aspects of Inuit culture, most notably language, many alterations in Inuit lifeways occurred throughout these initial years of influence. Rather than undertake the fall caribou hunt, when the skins were best for winter clothes, the Moravians encouraged the Inuit to fish for cod, as it was more lucrative economically in their eyes (Kennedy 1985). During these years, the demand for European goods steadily increased which created more debts at the mission stores and more pressure on the Inuit to acquire goods for trade. This period also saw the

shift from semi-subterranean sod houses to more European-style houses made from, and heated with, wood.

During the 1830s, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) moved into Labrador creating competition with the missionaries, especially in the northern region. Most early European settlers came to Labrador as employees of the HBC or other trading companies and were recruited from England, Scotland, Norway and Wales (Kennedy 1985). At first, missionary-settler relations were not good, but eventually the missionaries accepted the settlers, welcoming them into their parishes. This benefited the missions by boosting their numbers. Intermarriage between settlers and Inuit created unique bilingual and bicultural households (Kennedy 1985). By the beginning of the 20th century, the Moravians had begun to pressure settler families to move into the settled, mission station communities, leaving their bays and inlets behind. The influenza epidemic of 1918 forced a major reorganization of the northern coastal communities. Brought over on the Moravian supply ship the *Harmony*, the disease quickly spread through Hebron and Okak. In approximately five weeks, 207 of 266 people died in Okak, while 150 of 220 died in Hebron (Brice-Bennett 1999). All survivors felt the extreme loss, as almost one third of the northern Inuit population perished. The Moravian mission closed at Okak and people did not resettle the area until 1920. An outpost-trading store opened in nearby Nutak to service their needs but the mission never reopened at Okak or Nutak.

Although the Moravian influence is still strong in Nain and other coastal

communities, two important events occurred, not directly related to the mission, that had a huge impact on Inuit life along the coast: confederation and relocation.

3.3 Confederation and Relocation 1949-1960

Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada in 1949 and with that union came immediate social and financial benefits. Child allowances, and pensions for widows, seniors and the disabled brought more financial security, as did unemployment assistance. Education, welfare and health of the Aboriginal people in Labrador became a high priority of the federal government for its newest province (Brice-Bennett 1999). With these benefits came external government influence regarding how life should operate along the coast. With health issues such as tuberculosis having a severe effect on the far northern areas, a recommendation for relocation was put forward. The intent was to move people from Nutak and Hebron into existing settled communities where the infrastructure would ensure that they received adequate housing, health care, education and support. Government officials noticed a trend during the 1950s of people moving to southern communities, like Hopedale and Goose Bay, for work and foresaw the trend continuing with the perceived difficulties of earning an income by harvesting local resources. Relocating populations to industrial centres for work was intended to alleviate these problems (Brice-Bennett 1977). The Okak-area relocation began with the closure of the store at Nutak in 1956. Without a church, school or any medical facilities, and the

promise of new houses and jobs if they moved south to larger communities, the 140 inhabitants were persuaded to leave. Although the majority did not want to leave the Okak area because it was rich in resources, their realization of the difficulty of living there year-round without a store prompted the move. Most families relocated to Nain, while others moved to Makkovik or Happy Valley, and a few moved north to Hebron (Brice-Bennett 1977). This move expanded Nain from a population of 285 to 420 (Brice-Bennett 1999). The decision to close the Hebron mission and store was made in 1958. Once again, new houses and jobs were promised if residents were to move south to the existing communities. Informed of these upcoming changes at a meeting in the church, despite the fact that a community hall existed, the Hebronimiut felt unable to express their concerns as they felt it inappropriate to argue in the house of God (Brice-Bennett 2000). Makkovik was chosen as the receiving community of the Hebronimiut as it had adequate space for new housing. Unfortunately a delay in housing construction required the majority of families to winter in temporary shelters in Hopedale. It was not until 1960 that the resettlement program was complete, and the Hebron families had new houses in Nain, Hopedale and Makkovik (Brice-Bennett 1977). Nain saw a further increase in population during the following decade when many of the Hebronimiut moved from Makkovik to Nain to be closer to family and friends (Brice-Bennett 1999).

The implications of both the Okak and Hebron relocations were severe and are still felt today (for more on the effects of relocation see Brice-Bennett 1994).

“‘Resettlement’ came to mean dislocation, upset and a constant feeling of rootlessness, never truly belonging anywhere” (Brice-Bennett 2000:13). While the Okak residents’ resettlement to Nain kept them within a reasonable distance of their former hunting and fishing grounds, the Hebronimiut were far removed from their familiar territory. Not only did they feel the stress of a new lifestyle and area, but segregation from the rest of the families in Makkovik, Hopedale and Nain and the lack of a shared language due to regional dialects created an extreme sense of isolation. The loss of a sense of community and economic security combined with the severing of strong family networks led to alcohol abuse, contributing to family violence, accidental deaths and further breakdowns in family relations (Brice-Bennett 2000). “Elderly people are believed to have died sooner from the heart-break of being exiled from their homeland, and from being humiliated in the communities where they ended up living.” (Brice-Bennett 2000:13).

3.4 Present Period: 1960 Onwards

Since 1960 there have been many additional changes to the town of Nain and other coastal communities. These include the formation of the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) in 1975, the establishment of the Voisey’s Bay Nickel mine in 1994, approximately 35km southwest of Nain and most recently the creation of the Nunatsiavut Government in 2005.

The LIA was formed in 1975 to protect and promote Inuit culture, language and

traditional lands as well as to assist in the negotiation of land claims in the region. In 1977 the LIA filed a statement of claim with the Canadian Government for traditional land and sea ice rights in Labrador (http://www.nunatsiavut.com/en/lilca_overview.php). This started the lengthy land claim process along the coast that lasted twenty-eight years. While the land claim issue was in process, the LIA took part in other important initiatives, including negotiations with the Voisey's Bay Nickel Company.

The large nickel deposit at Voisey's Bay was first discovered in 1993 and construction on the mine site began in 1994. As both the Inuit and Innu have a long history of occupation in the region, Voisey's Bay Nickel Company (VBNC), a subsidiary of Inco Ltd., had to come up with a development strategy involving both of these groups in the discussion and planning phases. VBNC entered talks with the LIA and the Innu Nation to develop the Impacts and Benefits Agreements (IBA). This process lasted until 2002. Both the LIA and the Innu Nation considered environmental assessments to be of the utmost importance. Due to the remote location and diversity in flora and fauna compared to their other mining sites, this resulted in the largest and most costly environmental assessment in Canadian mining history (Inco Limited 2006). The IBA also set targets for aboriginal participation through employment, training, environmental monitoring, company monitoring and reporting. At initial mine start-up 50% of the mine and mill workers were Innu or Inuit and as of 2006, 55% of employees were from the local area and 90% from the province (Inco Limited 2006).

During the Voisey's Bay negotiations the LIA was still heavily involved in land claim negotiations with the Canadian and Newfoundland and Labrador governments. The Inuit Land and Settlement Lands (Figure 3.2) were finally settled in 2005 and the official transition of the LIA to the Nunatsiavut Government took place on December 1, 2005. With the formation of self-government came many benefits to the communities and peoples of Labrador as well as many responsibilities. Traditional land use rights were negotiated for the coastal areas, including Voisey's Bay and the newly formed Torngat Mountains National Park Reserve. The protection and preservation of the environment, as well as the language and culture, are of central importance to the agreement. The Labrador Inuit established a Constitution with two levels of government: Nunatsiavut Government (NG) that has jurisdiction over the Inuit at the regional level, and five Inuit community governments. The NG may make laws concerning education, health, and social services and has jurisdiction over its internal affairs, Inuktitut and culture, and the management of Inuit rights and benefits under the Agreement. The NG may also establish a justice system for the administration of Inuit laws (Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement 2004). The legislative capital for the NG is in Hopedale while the administrative capital is in Nain. Currently the transitional government is "passing necessary acts and laws, restructuring the various former Labrador Inuit institutions as the Nunatsiavut civil service, managing the investment of funds and completing a transitional work plan" (www.nunatsiavut.com; retrieved 2007).

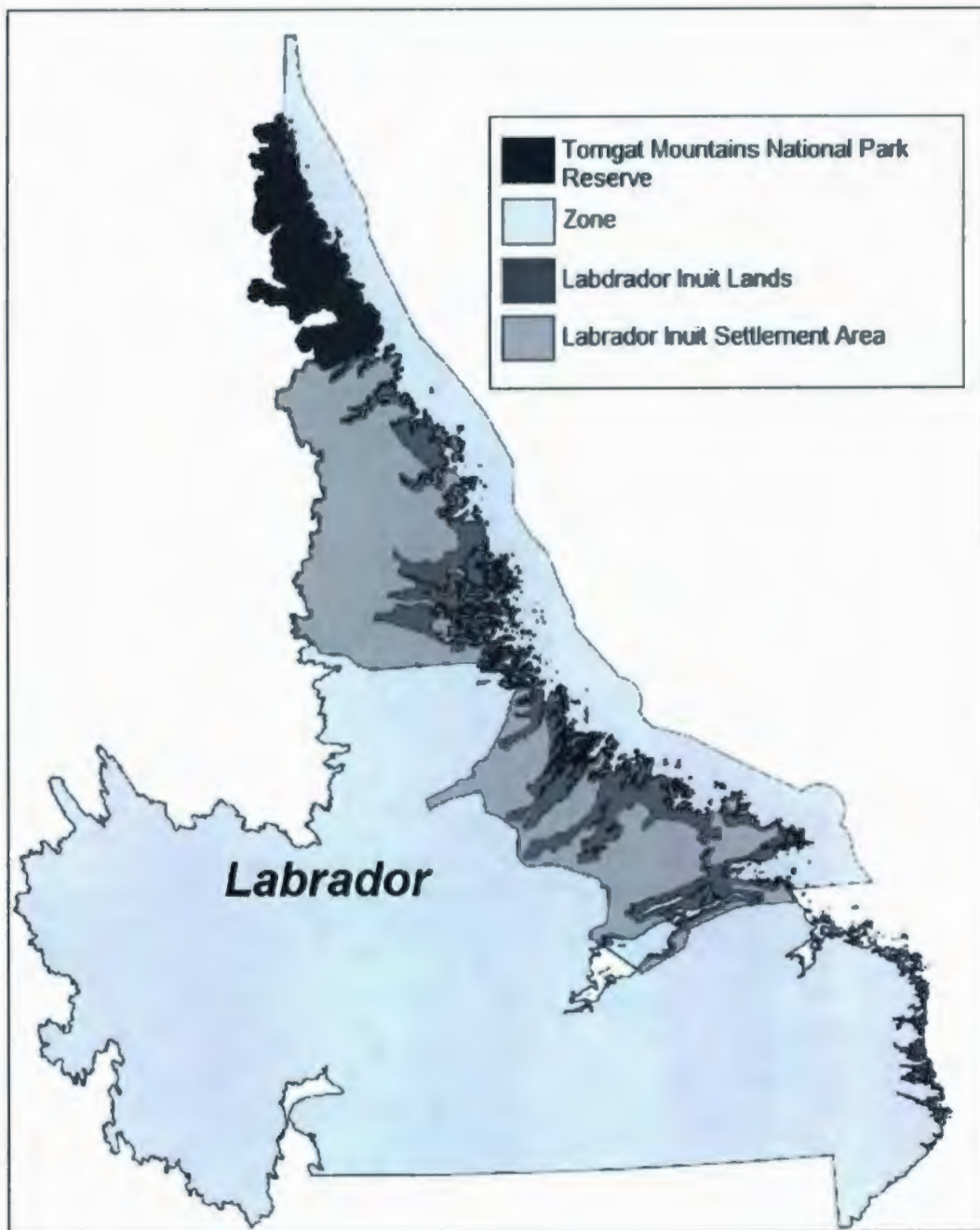


Figure 3.2: Map of the Land Claim agreement

(http://www.nunatsiavut.com/en/ilca_landclaimsarea.php)

Currently, Nain is both the northernmost community on the coast and the largest, with a population of 1,034 (Statistics Canada 2007). The median age of the population is 26.4, which indicates an extremely young population, especially in comparison to the provincial median of 41.7 (Statistics Canada 2007). This is noticeable when walking through the town as there seems to be a high number of children around, always eager to meet new people. The media often portrays Nain and other Inuit communities in a negative light and although there are social problems, they do not affect the entire town. Stan Nochasak, a former resident of Nain, offers an explanation:

“These people [traditional people] do not see their purpose in this time, are lost, don’t know what to do with themselves. They feel they don’t know who to go to. They can’t, we all can’t, control the world, the ever-changing times, let alone understand it. That’s why there’s so much alcohol drinking, drugs, suicides and young women having babies” (pers comm. 2007).

During interviews, many expressed hopes for the NG and the rebuilding of their community based on pride in traditional values and the resurrection of their language. It is on these points that organizations like NG, Parks Canada and the OKalaKatiget (OK Society) now focus, as Nain enters a very interesting time.

3.5 Chapter Summary

Nain has a long and rich history that has shaped its current position as one of the most prominent communities on the Labrador coast. From its initial establishment as a

formal community in 1771 with the arrival of Moravian missionaries, through confederation in 1949, government-imposed relocations, the finalization of land claims and formation of self-government, Nain has experienced many changes and will continue to do so. Nain acts as a gateway to the north and with the newly formed Torngat Mountains National Park Reserve Nain is seeing, and will continue to see, researchers and tourists in town on their way up the coast, as I first encountered it myself. Nain experienced outside influence through the Moravian missionaries and then the Canadian Government. It will be interesting to see what changes take place now that the Nunatsiavut Government is in control.

Chapter 4

The Interviews

"More and more Elders' voices being gone, not enough people tells their stories eh?"

Eli Merkuratsuk

The majority of my research involved conducting interviews with Elders in Nain regarding their pasts and their perceptions of archaeology. I chose a theme-oriented method of analysis rather than a narrative-oriented method because I wanted to link each individual's narrative to all the others by identifying their commonalities (Chase 2005). This chapter discusses my interview methodology, introduces my participants and discusses some of the key themes from the interviews. I present the data using what Chase (2005) calls the "muted supportive voice" by including large excerpts from the interviews (Chase 2005:665). This approach pushes the narrator's voice into the foreground while maintaining my analytical voice in the background. By presenting the interviews this way, I intend to allow for any reinterpretation by readers to focus on the narrator's words rather than my own authorship, though I understand that I have framed their words within a different context from the original (Tedlock 1995). Following the presentation of key themes, I discuss the archaeological interests of the community while addressing how archaeologists can link oral histories with archaeological research.

4.1 Interview Methodology

Interviews are an important methodological tool for anthropologists that can also successfully be utilized by archaeologists to add to their reconstructions of the past. There are different forms of interviews, including structured, semistructured and unstructured (Fife 2005). I chose a semistructured interview approach. Semistructured interviews are shaped by a set list of goals and objectives that the researcher wishes to acquire information on, and questions are phrased in an open-ended format (Fife 2005). This approach is the most suitable in this context because it allows the researcher to have some control while also allowing the interviewee to provide in-depth answers which may raise new questions for the researcher (Bernard 1988). This format also reduces both the authoritative stance of the researcher, and the stress of a structured question and answer format, which in many cultures can be offensive. In order to acquire the information necessary for the researcher various probes can be used throughout the interview to bring the focus back or to clarify any information (Bernard 1988; Schensul *et al.* 1999). Although I believe that a semistructured approach was preferable, at times it was difficult to execute as some participants were expecting a straightforward question-and-answer format. However, once a routine and comfort level were established, the interviews yielded information on many topics I would not have thought to ask about. My research assistant also asked interesting and relevant questions that greatly enriched the interview process. The interviews were recorded using a digital recorder and were then transferred

to a computer for transcription. The length of the interviews ranged from 45 minutes to two hours with the majority falling around the one-hour mark (see Appendix 2 for an example of a transcribed interview).

4.2 The Participants

I interviewed ten Elders from the community who were recommended as good resources by various individuals at the Nunatsiavut Government, Parks Canada and the OK Society. Of these ten participants only three were male. My speculations on this and some of the issues surrounding my choice of participants are discussed further in chapter 5. Four of the interviews were conducted in Inuktitut with Katie Winters serving as interpreter/translator. All interviews began with an explanation of the research and the importance of the interviewee's participation, as well as a run through of the consent forms prior to signing. This ensured that everyone understood exactly what the research was about, and what their rights were as participants in the project (see Appendix 1 for sample consent form and information sheet). The following brief biographies introduce the participants and provide some background information. A map of the region from Nain to Killinek (Figure 4.1) is included to show the places mentioned in the biographies and interviews. Only people that consented have their picture included.



Figure 4.1: Map of Northern Labrador indicating places mentioned by interviewees.

4.2.1 Eli Merkuratsuk

Eli was born in a tent in Okak Bay on August 14th, 1955. Eli remembers moving to Nain when he was a teenager to attend school. Prior to that, he and his family hunted and fished in the northern parts of Labrador. Eli is married and has six children; two of his daughters have worked on archaeological excavations with Dr. Whitridge in Nachvak Fiord.

4.2.2 Chesley Webb

Ches was born in Nain in the late 1940s but he lived with his family in Webb's Bay except when he had to attend the boarding school in Nain. Ches spent many years as a trapper before settling down in Nain with his wife Irene. Ches and his brother Joe owned the Viola Dee, a longliner that they charter. They have transported Dr. Whitridge and his crew back and forth to Nachvak from 2003-2006. Our interview focussed mostly on maps, including various locations and place names, as he is very knowledgeable in these areas.

4.2.3 Minnie Merkuratsuk

Minnie is Eli's mother. She was born out on the land, somewhere between Kangiqsualujjuaq (George River) and Hebron. Her parents hunted and trapped for furs and she spent much of her life traveling in that area. Her family would go to Hebron to celebrate Easter, which was where she met her husband Jacko. Together they had sixteen children, many of which Jacko helped deliver since they traveled so often. Jacko was too shy to be interviewed, but he did participate in Minnie's interview by correcting information and providing further details. This interview was conducted in Inuktitut.



Figure 4.2: Minnie Merkuratsuk with her husband Jacko

4.2.4 Jessie Ford (*nee* Lyall)

Jessie was born in 1932 in Tasiujak, just up the bay from Nutak (Okak area). Her family moved to Hebron, so Jessie spent her early years in the Okak and Hebron areas. At age thirteen, she left home to work with the Moravian Mission, ultimately working in Hopedale, Nain and Hebron. She moved south to North West River when she was sixteen to cook in the hospital. Later she moved back to Nain to work in the boarding school, where she continued to work after her marriage in 1954. Jessie also participated in a life-skills course in which she taught young people how to make skin boots and do bead work.



Figure 4.3: Jessie Ford

4.2.5 Christine Baikie (nee Lyall)

Christine was born in Nutak in 1930; she is Jessie's older sister. She lived in Nutak until she was twenty when she moved to North West River (NWR) and became a nurses' assistant in the hospital. She married Norman Baikie from NWR and they had six children. They lived there until 1978 when they moved up to Nain. Like her sister, Christine has a cabin on Black Island (30 km northeast of Nain). She still loves berry picking, sewing and knitting and is very crafty.



Figure 4.4: Christine Baikie

4.2.6 Sarah Ittulak

Sarah was born in Hebron in 1930, but she grew up in Nutak. Her father was from Nutak but they spent a great deal of time on Cut Throat Island. Sarah is good friends with Christine Baikie, and many of their stories involve each other. Sarah would help her father fish for cod with her younger brother as well as help her mother clean and prepare seal skins for boots. During our interview, Sarah's husband Lucas was skinning seals in their front yard and she had skins soaking in a bowl in preparation for drying outside on a frame. Sarah still makes skin boots though she admits she is not as fast as she used to be. This interview was conducted in Inuktitut.



Figure 4.5: Sarah Ittulak

4.2.7 Martha Okkuatsiak

Martha was born near Killinek in 1935. Her mother passed away when she was very young and then her father moved the family to Kangiqsualujjuaq, then to Ramah, Nachvak and Hebron. She got married when she was seventeen to Tom from Kangiqsualujjuaq in Nain. The only time they lived in settlements was during the fall when it was too dangerous to travel; in the summer they would be off in their tent and in the winter they would build snow houses. They moved to Nain during the relocation in the 1950s. This interview was conducted in Inuktitut.



Figure 4.6: Martha Okkuatsiak

4.2.8 Louisa Flowers

Louisa was born just outside Killinek. She learned how to clean and prepare seal skins from her mother while her older sister went out hunting with her father. Her family would travel to Hebron for Christmas and Easter to celebrate with other family and friends. She met her husband Edward on her way through Nain to work in Makkovik, and after relocation she joined her parents and Edward in Nain where she then got married. Louisa has six children and now that they are grown up they take her to the cabin on Paul's Island. Louisa and Edward also participated in the life-skills program. This interview was conducted in Inuktitut.



Figure 4.7: Louisa Flowers

4.2.9 Sally Voisey (nee Dicker)

Sally was born in Hebron around 1922. Her father was the storekeeper there, but he died from tuberculosis so their mother, who never remarried, raised her and her siblings. Sally married Jim Voisey from Voisey's Bay and had eight children, two of whom were girls. They lived in Voisey's Bay and Sally has great stories about her encounters with the Innu and how they taught her how to clean sealskins.



Figure 4.8: Sally Voisey with her dog Skipper

4.2.10 Hayward Ford

Hayward was born in Nain in 1936 but he grew up on Black Island and lived there until 1976 when he moved to Nain. He still has a house on the island. The Ford family had a large sealing station on Black Island, and Hayward spent most of his life hunting, fishing, hauling wood and taking care of the dog teams. He had eleven siblings and they would have fun by using sealskins to go sledding in the winter.



Figure 4.9: Hayward Ford

4.3 Key Themes

Since I followed a semistructured interview approach I used a general outline of topics that I was interested in to guide the interviews, and despite not asking everyone the same questions, all of my participants addressed these topics in some way. Thus, the topics emerged as key themes throughout all ten interviews. These themes relate to subsistence and household practices, traditional skills and knowledge, the importance of religious holidays and archaeology. Following Bennett and Rowley (2004), I will introduce the theme or topic within the theme and use direct quotes from the interviews to provide the information as it was told to me, in my participants' own words.

4.3.1 Subsistence and Household Practices

All of my interviews focussed on what kinds of activities people engaged in while they were growing up, where they lived and what their parents did. This meant that many of our discussions related to the subsistence practices and household chores of interviewee's families. Since the majority of my participants did not always live in permanent settled communities, many of their stories about where they grew up and what they did take place at a number of different places along the north coast. For many, their survival depended on their movement with the resources, fishing in the summer at various places and settling somewhere in the winter near good hunting, trapping and sealing locations.

"most of my life with my family we used to travel, used to live up there [north of Nain] most of the time, winter-time even up north...Cut Throat, Tasiujak, sometimes we used to live in Saglek, Hebron, both places, and Nachvak...all summer, doing some fishing of course, and hunting around...I can't really remember what time I moved to Nain..." (Eli Merkuratsuk)

"when I grew up I started fishing-cod fishing- and after fishing in the summer-time we'd go sealing, winter-time we'd trout and haul wood" (Hayward Ford)

"we used to camp out in tent in the summer because my father when we was living in Tasiujak he used to be like a fisherman eh?...we used to have to get up early, five o'clock in the morning little ol' kids to go jigging for cod fish because that would be the way of making money my father eh? We'd have to go jigging; our hands would be right blistered from jigging (laughs)." (Jessie Ford)

"Ramah was very, very beautiful. There were so many things to do. The men used to go out set nets and they used to go jigging and it was a place where you'd never go hungry." (Martha Okkuatsiak)

Seal hunting was a prominent interview topic. All of my participants mentioned it at least once during our interviews, while some, like Hayward Ford, spent the majority of the interview talking about sealing because that was their livelihood.

"The harp seals used to be popular, we used to get at them in the fall, in the net...down Cut Throat and down Black Island...and in them days, there was a lot of, lot of anything!" (Christine Baikie)

"We used to travel to Nachvak and we'd go there to go seal hunting and the reason why we'd go seal hunting is just to get the fur for making skin boots." (Minnie Merkuratsuk)

"My father used to go seal hunting and he used to get seals by net or with gun and they used to have a whole lot of seals at one time" (Sarah Ittulak)

"My older sister used to go out and help my father to go out hunting...one time she went out herself and she was out in a punt, like a

row boat...she went out herself and she come back with six seals. All by herself." (Louisa Flowers)

"A: How do you get the seals out from the nets and back on shore? H: We use a boat eh? A: And you'd pull the net? H: Pull the net, yeah. A: And then from the boat though, how do you get them up on shore? H: Haul them in. A: How much does a seal weigh? H: Three hundred pounds...some of them. That's a Harp seal. We used to use our teeth too. A: To pull?! H: Yep, by the nose and take them by the flippers and haul them in [Katie and I laughing with amazement]. I didn't like the feeling of their whiskers tickling on your nose [laughing]" (Interview segment with Hayward Ford).

Seal hunting was done not only for food, but also more importantly for the skins to make sealskin boots or *kamiks*. Processing sealskins was not an easy chore, and many described how their families would teach them by allowing them to practice on poor quality skins, ones that already had holes in them. Although the majority of my participants talked about skin processing as women's work, many men would also clean and skin seals too.

"And they [her mother and grandmother] were busy cleaning seal skins, making seal skin boots...well a whole lot of us to make boots for too eh?" (Christine Baikie)

"Yeah, I used to do it. I don't, I still clean skins but I don't make boots anymore. It's hard work making boots." (Jessie Ford)

"I was only ten years old I used to help my mother sew the seams of skin boots and I also used to help soak the seal skin for her to prepare for sewing...I used to make little seal skin boots for the dogs." (Louisa Flowers)

"I didn't like chewing the skin, boot leggings, that's how they put the legs on. You used to have to chew the edge 'til it was soft before you could sew it. I used to be right calloused here [around her mouth] chewing the boot legs." (Sally Voisey)

"I used to have to help my mother; I was along side her all the time while she was cleaning seal skins. When I wanted to learn I'd look at my mother and watch her sew and she'd teach me- there's a certain way you had to sew- so she'd teach me in that way. I must have been about eight or nine years old when I first start learning how to make kamiks." (Sarah Ittulak)

"I used to clean seal skins myself. I cleaned a hundred one winter...we all cleaned our own skins." (Hayward Ford)

Other parts of the seal were used too. The lower-grade meat was given to the dog teams and the fat was rendered down to make oil. Nothing was wasted.

"You'd render it [the seal fat] out, there was like number one and number two. Like what you'd render out in the sun was number one, it was light. And you'd cut up some and you put it in an old drum and you fry it or cook it and take it all out. That was number two, it was darker see. Never wasted a thing." (Hayward Ford)

"My mother used to make soap out of seals oil. I don't know how she used to do it, she used to let it melt out and then she'd put it in a pot and she'd put ashes from the stove in a bag and boil it along with that and then she'd put it all in and let it freeze off in the porch and cut it up in little square chunks. Bill said it looked right good and if he had something to eat it with he'd eat it [laughs]. She [her mother] said 'it's soap!' I don't know how she did it, it used to get right soapy like Sunlight soap. But she didn't use it for the clothes she'd use it for the floors. Used to make the floor right white." (Sally Voisey)

Another common topic was that of dog teams. Dog teams were extremely important for life on the north coast, especially for winter travel and pulling loads from hunting and trapping ventures while harnessed to a *komatik/kammutik* (sled/dogsled). People spoke fondly of their dog teams and their importance, while lamenting the use of skidoos and

other modern forms of travel.

"Yes, I really miss the dog teams, I've got fond memories of it. In my family we used to go travel all the time, in the storm too. The dog leaders used to know where to go in a storm. It was a bad weather storm eh and they wouldn't even listen to my father, he'd try and ask them to turn but the dogs really knew where to go, they knew the land too...in the storm they got right there, right to where we wanted to go, by the brook in the trees where we'd have a shelter, a tent or sometimes we'd have an igloo." (Eli Merkuratsuk)

[When asked if it was cold to travel by dog team] *"Yes, but we used to be dressed for it. I mean we used to travel a lot by dog team but if it was cold we didn't seem to find it cold." (Jessie Ford)*

"Yeah we used to go off in the late spring and we'd go by dog team and my father also used to tell me, or ask me to make kamiks [boots] for the dogs because when the ice was watery or icy so they [their feet] won't cut up. So I used to make little seal skin boots for the dogs." (Louisa Flowers)

"In the winter-time we'd be going on dog team, we'd go caribou hunting, we'd go get some firewood, do some other hunting...we used to travel there by dog team to go and celebrate Easter in Hebron." (Minnie Merkuratsuk)

[When asked if the dogs were ever allowed in the house] *"No, no way! Not in my house! [laughing]." (Sally Voisey)*

While dog teams assisted with the outside work such as hunting, trapping and traveling there was plenty of work to be done within the home. This was often delegated to the women, who not only kept up the home and raised the children, but would also go out and hunt small game to feed their families while the men were away. Without the conveniences of today, housework truly was a chore.

"But the boys used to have to help sweep the floor, sometimes help to do the dishes but they did a lot of outside work too eh, chopping wood up and stuff

like that. We used to have to carry water, the girls and the boys...but the boys didn't do too much housework...But, there's always lots of work to do, carrying water, ah carrying...wood, wash, washing on a washboard...Two or three big ol' long lines of clothes out when we hung it out...hang out the clothes in the winter and it'd be all stiff like a piece of board bring it in, hang it up in the house and dry it. We had to iron every item of clothes that you had, always lots of work to do, ironing, and...I often wonders how we'd kept going!" (Christine Baikie)

"We had to learn to sew and knit when we were right young eh? Right young. Because my mother and my grandmother was always, I mean with a lot of us they were making skin boots all the time and by the time you got ones made for someone somebody elses would be wore out. That's all we used to wear on our feet them days, skin boots when we were young so we used to do the knitting and the cleaning...scrubbing old wood floors...I can remember I was only six years old and I used to have to be down on the floor scrubbing old wood floors [laughs]." (Jessie Ford)

When they were not cleaning the house they were sewing or knitting as everything had to be handmade. Many of the interviewees grew up in large families and had to sew and knit to provide for their younger siblings.

"We hardly ever had time to have fun, we always had to be working eh? I mean we had to be knitting all the time when we were kids eh? I think I could knit when I was five years old! Making socks, and we...and my mother had ten kids eh? And me and Chris being the oldest we didn't go to school, we'd be knitting all the time...by the time we got a pair of socks for everyone made it would be time to start all over again because you couldn't buy socks and stuff them days. It all had to be home-made eh?" (Jessie Ford)

A lot of their childhood, and their parents' childhoods, were grounded in a hard work ethic, as they were raised to do everything themselves. Our conversations about this led

to discussions of today's youth, and their knowledge of traditional skills and the Inuit language.

4.3.2 Traditional Skills, Knowledge and Inuktitut

All of my participants talked about the change in lifestyle since relocation and its effects on the youth and their knowledge and abilities.

"Hardly nobody hunt them [seals] like they used to, and more young people, younger generation getting more into luxury style I guess...skidoos, speedboats, rifles, GPS's..." (Eli Merkuratsuk)

"It is very important for young people right now to try and learn their traditional skills 'cause some of the young people nowadays don't even know how to go out and even get some wood." (Louisa Flowers)

"I think the young people today should be taught how to sew, especially with seal skin, how to make clothing with them. Because all the young people don't know how to do those kinds of traditional things anymore, even my own children don't know how to work with seal skin." (Martha Okkuatsiak)

"Ah, the young people today they have to learn from their Elders and if they're happy doing it, if they're happy learning from Elders- like even learning how to speak the Inuktitut language- if they enjoy doing it they'll learn it, they'll learn it more. And they have to want to learn." (Sarah Ittulak)

Although everyone states that the young people in Nain need to learn traditional skills only Sarah Ittulak mentions the key factor: that they have to *want* to. As a way of getting youth and others interested in traditional knowledge a life-skills course was offered and many of the Elders I interviewed participated in the project by sharing their own skills

and knowledge.

"I used to teach them how to knit and that, and sew...and then another year I had- more than one year I suppose, two or three years- I taught how to make moose-hide boots and mitts and that. Adults though, that was who I was teaching then. Like Mounties' wives and teachers..." (Jessie Ford)

"Me and my husband here had taught life-skills, we taught them how to get wood and go off fishing and we taught them different animal tracks." (Louisa Flowers)

"I used to teach, for a couple of years...I used to teach young people life-skills program and I also taught even adults and I was getting paid by the department of social services for teaching them." (Martha Okkuatsiak)

Not only do many believe that traditional skills are vanishing, but also the Inuktitut language. Although Inuktitut is taught in the school (at both the primary and secondary levels), very few people are fluent within the community. This is of great concern to the Elders, and to the director of the Torngasok Cultural Centre, as the preservation of the unique Labrador dialect is a priority.

"Too bad all the names are disappearing too. Like my father used to know all the places in the country and the islands' names. Now today I ask him once and awhile and he can't remember. Disappearing. All the names are changing too." (Eli Merkuratsuk)

"Sometimes when they forget what kind of Inuktitut language or some words they come and calls me once and a while for help." (Louisa Flowers)

It is understood that as the Elders age and pass on this information will be lost. New initiatives taken by the Nunatsiavut Government and the Torngasok Cultural Centre aim to prevent this loss, but as Eli states much of the linguistic knowledge is already disappearing.

4.3.3 Religious Holidays and Social Bonds

Another theme that came up often was that of Christmas and Easter, and the importance of celebrating with family members and friends. Interviewees' talk of these religious holidays reveals how much influence the Moravian missionaries still have on the Inuit of northern Labrador. Attending church services and traveling great distances to celebrate these holidays speaks volumes about individuals' dedication to their religion.

"Christmases, they was good. We used to, like a lot of people would come from their sealing places, like a lot of the Inuit people that were gone all come in Nutak...singing Christmas carols and hymns and that eh? We used to have a real good time Christmas time and Easter time too. But we weren't so rowdy Easter time, we weren't allowed to be...we had to be sort of solemn and more quiet." (Christine Baikie)

"We'd get together at Christmas...we used to get together and have a feast and play games, especially advent...advent, Christmas, New Year's." (Eli Merkuratsuk)

"We used to come up here [Nain] for Easter, not Christmas but definitely Easter. We stayed home Black Island and we had our own Christmas tree and we had partridges, bakeapples...stuff like that." (Hayward Ford)

"We used to travel to Hebron to go and celebrate Easter and Christmas. We'd celebrate Advent more, a lot more than we'd celebrate Christmas. We'd hang our stockings Advent and during Christmas we'd exchange gifts more...so Advent was more of an occasion that we'd celebrate." (Louisa

Flowers)

"During Easter we were, we had to be very...well, we were very, very disciplined, we weren't supposed to go out running around, we had to listen to the Elders and had to listen to the chapel servants of the reverend that was there so we were very, very disciplined." (Minnie Merkuratsuk)

"Yeah, we used to have a lot of fun. It was really good, we used to have all kinds of food, we had ducks and just before Christmas because there was snow we used to bury them [the ducks] in the snow so they wouldn't spoil." (Sarah Ittulak)

"And the best church ever I was in to in all my life was Hebron church. Oh I love that church. I never, ever missed a church service while I was in Hebron. I used to always go, all the time. I thought that was a gorgeous, gorgeous- best church I ever saw in my life." (Christine Baikie)

The importance of spending the holidays with family and friends attests as much to the cultural values of the Inuit as it does to the Moravian religious influence. Strong social bonds were and still are very important to the Inuit. Many discussed the difficulties of being separated from their close family and friends during relocation and how that affected their perceptions and adaptations to community life in Nain and other communities.

"When there was relocation in 1959 everybody had already been relocated and I was still in Makkovik and because my parents were relocated here I came here." (Louisa Flowers)

"When we were being relocated a lot of the families were separated, put into different communities. Although we didn't want to move, we had to, we had no choice." (Martha Okkuatsiak)

"When we first got relocated we were, when we moved here we stayed with my husband's parents so we lived in one house together." (Minnie

Merkuratsuk)

Although not a crucial topic for my research, discussions of relocation and its impact were unavoidable. Asking people to talk about their pasts, where they grew up and where their families had lived automatically led to talking about the difficulties associated with relocation and how much they missed their homelands.

"My mother and father, they were very upset when they had to be relocated here, they couldn't settle down, they didn't like it here and all that." (Jessie Ford)

"Yeah, it still hurts but now that I'm getting a little bit older I'm getting, starting to feel more at, more at peace with it, although it really affected our lives. And I used to go up there though, just with my husband while, we used to go up there do some fishing and in the winter-time- because we got a cabin up there- I'm still okay, I'll be traveling again up there this winter." (Sarah Ittulak)

"Too bad they never built Nain at Hebron, it's a good place." (Eli Merkuratsuk)

The lack of recorded precontact archaeological sites in Nain suggests that it may not have been the best place to settle, while other places like Hebron, areas within Saglek Fiord and Okak have evidence of a very long history of occupation.

4.3.4 Archaeology

Near the end of each interview I would ask the interviewee what they knew about archaeology, specifically the archaeology of the Nain area and areas further north. After listening to their responses, I would continue by asking whether they would like to know

more about archaeology and how involved they thought the community should be in gathering this kind of evidence. This particular set of questions proved difficult as many responded with stories of graves and archaeologists excavating and removing burials. I had not realized that this was still the common perception of archaeology. Only a few said they felt informed of the archaeology that was going on in the region, and based on their current understandings of archaeology even fewer felt that it was an important exercise. When asked if she knew much about the archaeology that was going on in northern Labrador Minnie replied:

"No, not today. I hear of Kabluna's- the white people- coming in to do some archaeology work but not amongst the Inuit" (Minnie Merkuratsuk)

A few others, like Sarah, felt more informed either because of radio and newsletters or because of family connections such as children or grandchildren working on the summer excavations.

"I've heard of the archaeologists doing some work in Labrador because I always listen to the radio so whenever they're on the radio I hear them." (Sarah Ittulak)

"They've been collecting artifacts for a few years now eh? Once and awhile we goes up in a helicopter to visit them. I've seen how they do it, seen some pictures of archaeologists at work. My daughter worked there for two years with them one time." (Eli Merkuratsuk)

Many of the participants talked about seeing remnants of burials, sod houses and tent rings when they were growing up along the coast.

"When I was growing up in Hebron...I had older friends, and my older friends I'd follow them and we'd go to some burial sites. They were built out of stone and they weren't like in the ground. And my older friends would go to the grave sites, the burial sites and they'd steal- or they'd take- some beaded necklaces or some other items like ulu or stone crafts...and I never used to take any because I'd be scared. I heard when you take something from a burial site that you'll have bad dreams. And if you did take something you're supposed to whistle and blow, like this [demonstrates] so you won't get haunted or you won't have bad dreams..." (Martha Okkuatsiak)

"In the Nachvak area there were sod houses there but there were no burials, burial sites of any sort that I've seen anyway, but there were old houses, maybe they're still there even today." (Minnie Merkuratsuk)

"There's a lot of artifacts them days that were on the land, in the graveyards. They were visible in them days. Nobody ever thought about them as artifacts. I used to see them on the ground, in the land wherever we goes, I was only small then." (Eli Merkuratsuk)

When asked what they thought were significant or special places along the coast, ones that would be good for future archaeological research, I heard the same places come up repeatedly: Hebron, the Okak area and to a lesser extent Black Island.

"Nutak. And Hebron. Oh I loved Hebron too. Them two places [holds her hand to her heart]." (Christine Baikie)

"Okak...or Nachvak, or north of Nachvak... I wouldn't mind going up on skidoo and maybe some people from George River would like to see that too. They're close to Nachvak." (Eli Merkuratsuk)

"Hebron...and Nutak... We lived there, most of the time." (Jessie Ford)

"In the mouth of Napatok... that was my favourite place because I grew up there. Grew up around that area." (Louisa Flowers)

My attempt to find out what the Elders in the community thought of archaeology and how they would like to see archaeology conducted in the future was not particularly successful, since many believed archaeology was about searching for graves and therefore they did not see its importance or relevance to their history. This issue is discussed further in chapter 5.

4.4 Archaeological Interests of the Community

Realizing that I had no idea what the overall interests of the community were with regards to archaeology, even after my interviews with the Elders, I decided to canvas a larger audience, including a range of age groups. I went back to Nain in June 2007 for a follow-up visit and gave a couple of brief presentations on archaeology and my research to classes at Jens Haven Memorial School. During the question periods, I was able to get a sense from the students of their ideas of archaeology and their interests in the past. I also met with community members at the Atsanik Lodge and found out their thoughts. During this follow-up visit, I arranged for a short survey to be conducted and I have compiled the results into a table (Table 4.1). The majority of respondents said that they did not know much about archaeology in Labrador but stated that they would like to

know more about it. Age and gender were optional, although many chose to include it on their surveys. The variation in how they would like to be informed relates to age differences, as those that checked 'website' tended to be younger than those that chose 'news briefs'. Community involvement in terms of input in the choice of research projects and locations ranked fairly low compared to involvement through volunteer and employment opportunities. In retrospect, this category should have been subdivided further to reflect how many would actually be interested in volunteering, as I think the majority of those responses related more to potential employment. Although it had limited results the information I received aligned with what I had already gathered through my previous informal talks (see Chapter 5 for more on the survey). This research suggested that the community of Nain is much more interested in the recent past, from the contact period and onward, than the more remote past. This might be because they find the archaeology of their immediate ancestors more interesting than that of earlier precontact peoples (Fitzhugh *et al.* 2002). Yet it also might be due to that fact that the school system has not adequately informed them of their relation to the earlier precontact Inuit population, as that part of Labrador history is not taught in schools (Stan Nochasak pers comm. 2007). Either way, if archaeologists in Labrador want the support and involvement of the local communities, they must work with communities to identify common research interests.

Table 4.1: Survey Results

<u>Survey Responses</u>	Yes	Maybe	No	Total
1) Do you know much about the archaeology that goes on in Labrador?	10 (24%)	8 (20%)	23 (56%)	41 (100%)
2) Would you like to know more about it?	26 (63%)	13 (32%)	2 (5%)	41 (100%)
	Website	News Brief	Presentation	
3) If you were to receive more information, which format would you prefer?	9 (22%)	17 (41%)	15 (37%)	41 (100%)
	Community Involvement	Volunteer/Employment	Post-research Information	
4) How would you like to see archaeology conducted in the future?	17 (28%)	27 (45%)	16 (27%)	60 (100%)*
* The response number for question 4 is out of 60 due to the 'check all that apply' nature of the question.				

Although the Smithsonian's Torngat Archaeology Project (TAP) recorded and tested numerous sites during the late 1970s, little extensive excavation has been conducted (Whitridge 2004). This relates more to the logistics of conducting fieldwork in these remote locations than a lack of interest in the research. Of the research that has been conducted only a few individuals have focussed on this later period of interest (Cabak and Loring 2000; Hood 2008; Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Loring 1998b; Whitridge 2005, 2006; Woollett 2003). Aside from the research by Cabak and Loring (2000) that was conducted in Nain during the 1990s, the individuals interviewed are mostly unaware of the research that has been conducted outside of town and know very little about other research within the region. In order to increase interest in archaeology researchers must think of new ways of presenting their data and involving the community. Hiring local youth and putting on post-field season open houses are a good start, but it is not enough to keep up the interest after the researchers have left. In order to truly commit to doing community archaeology archaeologists should incorporate the sorts of collaborative approaches discussed in chapter 4, assuming that these initiatives are desired by the community. As Tuhiwai Smith (1999) states:

“Idealistic ideas about community collaboration and active participation need to be tempered with realistic assessments of a community's resources and capabilities, even if there is enthusiasm and goodwill.”
(Tuhiwai Smith 1999:140)

4.5 Archaeology and Oral Histories

I have already discussed the debate on the usefulness of oral histories in archaeology (Chapter 2). However, I have not yet mentioned how the oral histories I collected during my fieldwork can benefit archaeological research in Labrador. All of my interviews focused mostly on the life experiences of interview participants during the twentieth century and to some extent on the lives of their parents and grandparents during the late nineteenth century. Archaeologically speaking this is very recent and these oral histories might be construed as having more anthropological relevance than archaeological. Within the framework of community archaeology one can see that this distinction is not necessary, and is in fact irrelevant. These particular oral histories offer information on important places and resources along the coast. Their collection was timely and my hope is that these permanent records will be beneficial for future archaeological research. These oral histories build on those previously collected, contributing to an ethnohistorical continuum (Brice-Bennett 1997; Hawkes 1916). These interviews contain rich narratives of daily life in northern Labrador prior to confederation and relocation, as well as later experiences. The consultation aspect of the interviews and later survey regarding archaeology and future archaeological research will assist with current archaeological practices, as some information on community interests is now available to researchers to help shape their future projects. The exercise of collecting and recording oral histories also formed key bonds between the community and me (a student

researcher at Memorial University). It is also my hope that this may have changed perceptions of archaeology and archaeological researchers from the south.

4.6 Chapter Summary

The choice of a semistructured interview approach was the most appropriate for this project, and revealed key themes in the narratives of each of my participants. These themes included subsistence and the household, traditional skills and knowledge, religious holidays and social bonds, and archaeology. The narratives quoted at length here provide rich details about life on the Labrador coast. They are at times humorous and at other times sad reflections on the past. Although the stories cover a more recent time period than typically concerns archaeology, their benefits for future research and the design of current projects cannot be understated.

My selection of ten research participants for the oral history portion of this research project proved to be more difficult than I had initially anticipated (see Chapter 5). I am grateful for having had the opportunity to sit down with the individuals that did participate. Their stories have enriched my own perceptions of life in Labrador and the changes that have occurred over the past century as well as providing archaeologists with important data that can be incorporated into future projects. The collection of oral histories is very important, as this information will eventually be lost for future generations if not recorded.

Chapter 5

Reflexivity

“Community archaeology can be extremely time consuming, deeply frustrating, humbling and challenging in unanticipated ways- but it is also rewarding in ways that transcend narrow academic accolades” (Marshall 2002:218)

“We can teach ourselves a good deal by looking back at ourselves participating in fieldwork situations” (Jackson and Ives 1996:xiv)

5.1 Introduction

Reflexive practice has been more common in socio-cultural anthropology than archaeology (Enslin 1994; Visweswaran 1988). As archaeology moves in different directions and begins to include other perspectives and interpretations, reflexivity will become more common (Hodder 2000). Reflexivity takes account of the power differentials associated with ethnographic or interview-based research, by considering the positionality (e.g. gender, race, age, class) of the researcher (Wolf 1996). Reflexive writing has been particularly embraced by recent feminist ethnographers, but reflexive approaches were employed prior to this. Briggs' (1970) work on the Utkusiksalingmiut (Utku) is one of the first and most well known of these reflexive examples. When her original dissertation topic on shamanism fell through, Briggs' began to look at Utku emotional and behavioural patterning. An emotional outburst of anger on her part led to her being ostracised, very subtly, by her adopted family and other members of the

community. Briggs uses her experiences as a “daughter” to analyse how the Utku deal with emotions such as anger, and includes her own feelings and reactions to situations by justifying that she was “an intrinsic part of the research situation” (Briggs 1970:6).

Wolf (1996) identifies three important power differentials that pose dilemmas for feminist fieldwork, and to some extent, they reflect my own research experiences and thus shape this chapter. These are, firstly, the power differences that exist between the researcher and the researched based on their different positions; second, the power exerted during the research process through unequal exchange and exploitation; and third, the power exerted after fieldwork through writing and representing the study subjects (Wolf 1996:2). Fundamentally changing the format of ethnographic research would require challenging the structure of academia. Nevertheless, many feminist ethnographers have challenged the ways in which research is conducted in order to acknowledge and balance the power exchange (Abu-Lughod 1991, 1993; Behar 1993, 1996; Caplan 1994; Mohanty 1991; Moore 1988; Ong 1995; Tsing 1993). Becoming aware of our positionality within research, and acknowledging the power differential is a crucial step. Harraway (1991:111) uses the term “situated knowledges” to refer to the “marked knowledges” or self-knowledges that reflect the various categories of gender, race, and class of the researcher (their positionality). These affect our viewpoint and the production of knowledge. Situated knowledge allows for a variety of viewpoints, encouraging researchers to bring their own location and position into the research (Wolf

1996). During my own research I experienced a shift in my positionality, from the academic environment where I was a white, middle-class, female student amongst other white, middle-class students, to the community environment where I became the lone white, middle-class, female researcher. Though as a student I have little to no power within academia, as an academic outside of academia I was in a privileged position (Wolf 1996). Coming to terms with this, and how people in the community perceived me was difficult because I had spent most of my time preparing for the interviews by worrying about what questions to ask and had not taken the time to consider the dynamics of power and the community's reaction to me as a researcher. Once in Nain, I was forced to consider this during my negotiations with various community members and institutions.

A narrative is a “socially situated, interactive performance”; it is a joint production of the narrator and the listener (Chase 2005:657). Thus far, I have only presented one side of this interaction (Chapter 4). By including a reflexive chapter I intend to discuss the parts of my research that might have otherwise been omitted, what Wolf (1996) calls the “secrets of fieldwork” that are not discussed or published due to their political or personal nature. This chapter offers a personal narrative of my research experience, one that frames my own positionality with the choices and events that occurred during the research process. Following Behar's (1996) example of vulnerable writing, I have chosen to include a few excerpts from my fieldnotes and journal to add to this personal narrative.

5.2 Fieldwork Experiences

My fieldwork consisted of three separate trips to Nain. The first trip occurred during the summer of 2006, when I accompanied my supervisor Dr. Whitridge and other students to participate in an excavation in Nachvak Fiord. The crew spent some time in Nain both before and after the excavation. I went on the excavation for a number of reasons. First, I wanted to familiarize myself with northern Labrador since I knew some of my interviews would discuss the northern fiords, second because I knew that people would be harder to contact during the summer months in Nain due to hunting and fishing on the land, and third because I wanted more field experience, specifically in an Arctic setting. Upon our return to Nain, we set up a small open house to display a few of the artifacts found during the summer to the community. There was a limited turnout for this event, in part due to a last minute change in location from the Nunatsiavut boardroom to the Parks Canada office, and those that did attend seemed much more interested in our photographic slideshow than the artefacts themselves. It was then that I realized the challenges of engaging the community with archaeological research, and started to contemplate how I was going to tackle that issue. The lack of interest in our research and the artifacts recovered surprised me. I had entered the situation with the naïve assumption that everyone is as interested in the past, and in archaeology, as I am. I returned to Nain in late September 2006 for a month-long stay to conduct the planned

interviews, and then returned once more in June 2007 for a follow-up visit, to verify some information and conduct a community presentation.

Prior to leaving for my solo research trip to Nain many people had expressed concerns for me- a young, white female researcher- going and living by myself. These individuals ranged from my own concerned family members who had heard nothing but bad things about remote northern communities through the national media, to other academics and researchers who had been to Nain before. My advisor on the other hand, who has passed through Nain for the past five years, did not foresee any problems and I trusted that he would not send me there if it were not a reasonably safe environment. As much as I had tried to ignore the concerns, reflecting back on that month I see that it did shape how I behaved and interacted with the community, and consequently my research as well.

5.2.1 Living in Nain

At the end of our summer excavation season, I had arranged to rent a house from Henry Webb for my fall visit. The house was a nice, small home on his lot and came complete with luxury items like a television and a washer and dryer. The downsides were a lack of telephone, no internet and only one television channel, fuzzy CBC. Although I had made a few contacts during the summer, I felt extremely isolated once I arrived, and having no contact with my family and friends via telephone or internet made the transition very difficult. Despite being excited about my upcoming research, I was also

worried that I would not do a good job and scared that I would not find any interview participants.

"Well, the stress is now preventing sleep, giving me a twitchy eye, a numb left arm and nice zits. My mind won't let me rest, it runs through all the things I should be doing." (Field Journal: September 29, 2006)

During my first week, I was invited by Gary Baikie to go to Black Island and Okak with representatives from Parks Canada, Lena Onalik- archaeologist for the Nunatsiavut Government and a few Elders. The purpose of the trip was to record archaeological sites in those areas as Parks Canada was assessing their heritage designations. The trip proved beneficial to me in many ways: I was able to visit some sites that turned out to be important locations for many of my interview participants, and the other individuals on the trip helped prepare me for my interviews by offering advice and much needed support.

"This week was good for me, I learned so much just by sitting back and observing and listening close...the spirit of Labradorians is infectious..." (Field Journal: September 24, 2006)

Once back in Nain I had to get busy with research. As my days began to fill up with interviews and meetings, my evenings and weekends became incredibly long and lonely. Since so many people had warned me about Nain, I did not feel comfortable going out at night, so I would stay home every evening. Feeling too exhausted to continue working, I ended up watching a lot of CBC and subsequently learned a lot about the history of hockey. Occasionally I would venture down to the lodge where the staff

was kind enough to let me use the phone. It was very hard for me to be without regular contact with my family and friends.

"It's hard not being able to call them, especially since I'm in such a weird situation here. I'm constantly stressed, worried, sometimes frustrated and sometimes excited. I can't share it with them. It's almost harder than it was in Nachvak because now there are phones it's just I don't have easy access to them" (Field Journal: October 4, 2006)

My two closest contacts, Ches and Joe Webb, were busy with their chartered boat service for most of the month, which forced me to put myself out there and make new friends. About half way into my month in Nain, I started to engage in a few social activities. I went to a couple of house parties and met more people, although most of the individuals in attendance at these parties were teachers, RCMP officers, geologists, and helicopter pilots and thus they too were from "away". An interesting dynamic exists between southerners and northerners in northern communities, which is evident in Nain as well. Brody (1991[1975]) discusses the observed white sub-culture of northern communities. Many white southerners who move to northern communities (as teachers, nurses and law-enforcement) form bonds based on their similar socioeconomic backgrounds and subsequently segregate themselves from the rest of the community. Although these friendships are based on similar situations and circumstances, this segregation intensifies the class structure of the community and creates a situation of us (whites) versus them (Inuit). For researchers from the south, this social dynamic can be difficult to negotiate.

It was during my last two weeks of this trip to Nain that I realized how wrong people were about Nain and how much I had limited myself by staying in every night. Since my research was wrapping up, I let myself have a little more fun socially by having people over for dinner, going to the bar after work to play pool and visiting the people that I knew in town. During my follow-up visit in the spring, I had an even better time because I felt more confident in myself and much more comfortable in the community. People recognized me from my previous visit and were generally very positive and happy to see me. Reflecting back on that month I now realize how so much of my loneliness and isolation were self-induced and I wonder how my research experience, and thus my research itself, would have been different had I relaxed a little and tried harder to be more social. I might have had an easier time finding research participants and getting the community more interested in the project.

5.2.2 Locating Participants and Conducting Interviews

Prior to leaving for the Black Island/Okak trip, I had placed an advertisement on the local radio station, OKalaKatiget (OK Society), informing the community of whom I was and requesting interested participants to contact me and, as I had somewhat expected, nobody replied. I knew I would have to seek out participants. My first task was to find someone to hire as a research assistant. I was looking for someone fluent in Inuktitut, preferably with some interview experience. It took a few days to find someone, especially since I did not have a phone at home. Fortunately, Gary Baikie, Judy Rowell

and Rosie Lyall at Parks Canada gave me some office space and tips on who to hire. I hired Katie, a fluent interpreter/translator who had a fair amount of research experience. This turned out to be one of the best decisions I made during my research, as she was incredibly helpful in locating participants and during the interview process.

My first frustration with negotiating between the academic system and the community came when I had to set up the paperwork for Katie's employment. I knew the university system was slow so I started on the paperwork as soon as she agreed to work with me. Difficulties with the forms required back and forth faxes, and there was limited understanding on the bureaucratic end of my lack of phone and limited access to fax machines and email. Despite my attempt to speed up the payroll process, my assistant did not receive payment for her three weeks of work until after I had gone back to St. John's. Unfortunately, this created a rift in our relationship, as she assumed I had the ability to acquire her funds and did not understand that I too was powerless within this system. Despite my efforts, I was unable to speed up the process and the likelihood of her working with myself, or another university researcher is doubtful.

Prior to our paperwork troubles Katie and I had a very good working relationship. She helped greatly with setting up the interviews. I had limited success when trying to contact participants alone, though I had a list of potential participants from talking with individuals at Parks Canada, Nunatsiavut and the OK Society. Once Katie was hired, she phoned potential participants for me and was able to set up interviews. A few declined,

explaining that they were tired of being interviewed (there are few living Elders and so the same ones are asked to participate in many projects), or that they were too shy. These individuals also happened to be male. Although one could speculate that their deferral was due to my gender, I believe that in some cases they were really just tired of the whole process. In a few cases, I interviewed their wives and they sat in on the interview, providing commentary or corrections.

I went to my first interview alone because it was set up prior to Katie's hiring, and I knew it would be conducted in English. Despite my nerves, it went well. Eli was a wonderful first participant; he even reassured me that I was doing a good job. He also phoned his parents during our interview to set up a time for me to interview them in the afternoon. Unfortunately, Jacko and Minnie had misunderstood and thought that Eli was coming over to talk with them, and thus they were not expecting Katie and some strange researcher. This threw the interview off at the start, but they were gracious and kind enough to participate despite the confusion.

"Minnie wanted to start talking right away so I asked if I could record it. This seemed to throw her off a bit, and she agreed as long as I asked the questions. I almost think the interview would have been better had I just let her talk and frantically took notes... In my flustered state I screwed up the recorder for the first 10 minutes of Minnie's interview, not off to a great start here... She dove right into things so I didn't even have time to tell her about myself and I feel bad about that. I feel as though she thinks I'm just another researcher who doesn't really care and that's not at all how I want to be perceived." (Fieldnotes: October 2, 2006)

Although the interview got off to a rough start, Minnie did answer my questions and provide me with good stories. That misunderstanding is still one of my regrets from my fieldwork; feeling insecure about my research and the interview process made it difficult for me to smooth things over. I learned from these early issues and my interviews continued to improve as I became more confident with the process. Each interview began with me asking where and when the interviewee was born, and then the interviews moved from their early childhood through their later years. Their life histories covered many things, including the places they used to live, their daily tasks and responsibilities, and how these changed over time. Also of importance were the technological changes that affected their lives, most notably the shift from dog teams to skidoos.

My second frustration with negotiating between the academic system and the community relates to consent forms. While informed consent is crucial for this type of research, I found it enhanced the power differential between the participants and I. Although I had carefully worded the consent forms in “plain language”, they made no sense to the population that I was interviewing. In fact, I think they found the notion of the consent form preposterous and maybe even a bit rude. They had welcomed me into their homes, knowing that I was interested in their stories and their pasts, and the formality that had to occur at the beginning of the interview seemed so foreign that it further distanced me from the community. I have shared this concern with other researchers conducting similar work and their experiences reflect my own (Lyons 2007).

For my follow-up visit in the spring, I brought small gifts of thanks along with hard copies of each interview, including translations where necessary, to return to each participant for them to keep and share with their families. Unfortunately, since my fall visit many had become sick and some were even sent to Goose Bay and thus were not available to visit. Those that I was able to meet with were appreciative of my visit and seemed pleased with the copies of their interviews. In a few cases, memory loss had taken its toll and family members thanked me for providing them with hard copies of stories no longer remembered. It was during this time that I felt my research had been meaningful and successful. I felt incredibly privileged to have been able to sit down with each participant and listen to their stories, and very honoured that I had been granted permission to use the stories for my research and disseminate them to the local community through the website.

5.2.3 Failed Survey Attempt

Since my interviews focussed on a specific group within Nain's population I designed a survey to canvas the community's perceptions of archaeology and thus reach a larger, more inclusive audience. Knowing that there is a certain level of apathy concerning surveys I prepared a very short, concise one in the hopes of achieving a higher response rate. Rather than deposit the survey in the post office boxes where it could easily be thrown out as junk mail I hired two individuals to administer the survey door-to-door for me, assuming that they would have better luck than I would as a stranger to

the community. I gave each research assistant one hundred surveys to start, with the hope of printing off more after getting a sense of the community response. Unfortunately, one of my research assistants went missing, and despite repeated phone calls and visits to his home I was unable to track him down while the other received a full time job at the lodge and was only able to complete part of her first batch of one hundred surveys. While I fully understand that door-to-door type jobs and the hours and money associated with the work are less than desirable, especially if better job opportunities arise in the process, I was a bit disappointed that we could not acquire more responses. Since I only had two weeks for this phase of the project, I was unable to hire somebody else and thus decided to use the information from the completed surveys to assist me but not to make bold statements about the entire community's perceptions. I feel that the results from the completed ones are important because they contain people's opinions and I am grateful that they took the time to participate. Despite the low response rate, the surveys provide important information for future archaeological research projects. In order to serve the community, researchers should ensure that everyone has access to the information regardless of age and technological proficiency. While the creation of a website will reach the younger population, news briefs and community presentations should be incorporated as well to reach those without access to the internet. Researchers should also continue to find new ways to involve the community in current and future projects. This survey could be redesigned for any future surveys as it gives a good indication of

how certain questions should be re-phrased or formatted to yield results that are more conclusive.

5.2.4 Community Participation

Conducting research within a community requires a significant amount of community participation outside of general research duties. During my visits I went to town meetings, the National Aboriginal Day and Canada Day celebrations. Just attending these events showed that I was taking an interest in the community and gave me a sense of belonging to that community, even as an outsider. When invited into someone's home, whether for an interview or for a visit, if offered food I would always accept. That usually meant many cups of tea and trying some of the local cuisine like porcupine, seal, caribou, arctic hare and my favourite, donuts fried in black bear fat. Not only was it fun for me to try different foods, I think it was a bit fun for my hosts as well as they loved seeing my reactions and knowing that they were contributing to my Labrador experience. This shared experience strengthened the social bonds that I was forming with different community members, which is a key component of conducting community-based research.

I did a few radio interviews with the OK Society and one with CBC Radio One Labrador. These brief radio spots kept the community up to date on my research and forced me to think about my project and be able to describe it clearly and concisely

without jargon. Sometimes I was successful and other times I was not, but I feel that I learned from each of the interviews. I also realized how put on the spot you can feel when someone is asking you questions, something that perhaps my participants felt during our interviews.

During my fall visit in Nain, I went to Jens Haven Memorial School and presented my research to some of the classes. It was fairly well received; the children were very enthusiastic, asked lots of good questions and provided me with great insights for the website. These classroom visits were helpful because they gave me a chance to connect with the youth in Nain, and gave them a chance to get to know me. Considering that a large portion of the population is under 25 I think that it is important to not only figure out what their interests are, but also to build trust as a researcher within their community to increase potential partnerships in the future.

5.3 Post-Fieldwork Experiences

Shore (1999) discusses the importance of pre and post-fieldwork encounters, and suggests that they too should be subjected to critical reflexive scrutiny. The traditional notion of 'fieldwork' as a separate entity is problematic because it cannot simply be "bracketed off from 'normal' time and space" (Shore 1999:26). A large part of the research process occurs during the analysis and writing up phases and this phase of the research process should be included in a reflexive analysis.

Unlike traditional archaeological research, my analysis focused on words rather than artifacts. I had to search my interviews for areas of interest for archaeologists and decide how I was going to use and present this data. The experiences I have had since emerging from 'the field' have centred on presenting my research to the academic and local communities, as well as transcribing interviews, analysis and writing up the results. These activities, although quite different from fieldwork, were equally difficult and are discussed in turn below.

5.3.1 Presenting Research to the Academic Community

Already feeling like I had to justify my research to some of the archaeological community, once back from the field I began to prepare myself for the criticisms I thought were sure to follow. Presenting the results to a larger archaeological audience caused me great stress. I worried about how my research would be perceived, and I knew that in order to fit in with the academic system I would have to gloss over some of my more negative research experiences. My presentation went well, but this time I felt like a fraud. I had highlighted the successes of my research while downplaying the failures and although I received many compliments and praise for my work, I did not feel fulfilled. It is only within certain academic circles you can fully reveal the true research experience.

5.3.2 Presenting Research to the Local Community

During my follow-up visit in the spring I decided to do a community presentation/open house where I would briefly talk about my research, answer questions and meet people in the community over coffee, tea and cookies. The talk was well advertised. I had placed posters around the community at the local stores and government office, and mentioned it during my radio interview with the OK Society. I made sure that I scheduled it at a convenient time, when no other activities such as bingo or school awards ceremonies were occurring. I had hoped for a decent turnout, but the only people who showed up were members of the Webb family, a few geologists and RCMP officers that I had met previously and two other women who sat quietly along the side. This was extremely discouraging, and so I made my already brief presentation even briefer and completed the presentation in about twenty minutes. I had hoped that more people would attend, at least for the refreshments and interesting pictures. Obviously, it remains a challenge for researchers in northern Labrador to connect with the community. We have to devise new and interesting ways to interact with the community around our research. The limited results from my survey provide some information on future approaches, and I think that continued contact and the strengthening of social bonds will result in more interest.

5.3.3 Writing Up: The Politics of Ethnographic Writing

The issues associated with 'writing up' ethnographic material such as representation, authority and interpretation have often been discussed in recent years (Borland 1991; Brettell 1993; Fabian 1990; Horwitz 1993; Kirsch 1999). Neither writing nor interpretation are value-free exercises. My interpretation and analysis of the oral histories reflect my assumptions about what I think they mean. I chose the excerpts presented in this thesis, and although I did not edit their words directly the content is effectively edited as I removed their words from the original context and placed them within a framework of my own design. I grappled with how to present my participants' words because I knew that I wanted them to be unedited- in the sense that slang words and grammar were left untouched- but I had an awareness of how this might be perceived by my participants and community members, and this worried me. Knowing that others have experienced some backlash from this type of presentation- participants feel as though they are represented as uneducated, and they do not like the use of slang or phrases common to their region- I felt uneasy about choosing which excerpts to include (Davis 1993). Brettell's (1993) edited volume discusses this issue and others relating to participants rereading what we- as anthropologists- write. Though I assume that few members of the community in Nain will read this thesis, the decision of how to present their words on the website becomes more difficult as it will receive more attention. To avoid the problem of textual representation on the website I have chosen to use audio

clips. Though still problematic in the sense that I must choose which clips to include and I am still removing the clips from their original context, at least the audio clips present the participants' words as I initially heard them.

5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter presents my research experiences, from conducting the fieldwork through the writing-up phase. It highlights some of the issues and concerns one is faced with when conducting research as an outsider in a small community, and reflects the importance of community involvement through non-research activities. This chapter was inspired by the work of feminist ethnographers, and encouraged by the more recent exploration of reflexivity within archaeology (Hodder 2001; Joyce 2002).

By sharing my research experiences, both positive and negative, I hope to encourage other archaeologists to do so as well. Rather than perceiving our research and methods as value-free, we should be addressing our own position within the research process. Rather than writing up our results as cold, scientific fact, we should write our interpretations and experiences from a more natural perspective, in what Joyce (2002) calls the "first voice". A reflexive approach is especially necessary if one is working within the community archaeology framework, attempting collaborative research or collecting oral histories. Working with non-archaeologists requires a research process that is socially engaging. Research that is less focused on material culture and more

focused on social interactions between people and which is supported by a reflexive methodology is most appropriate. This reflexivity should extend to the examination of the interactions between the researcher and the participants or communities associated with the work, throughout the research process.

Chapter 6: Public Presentation

"While it will always be true that archaeologists need to communicate effectively among themselves, it now is abundantly clear that unless they also communicate effectively with the general public...all else will be wasted effort." (McGimsey and Davis as cited in Jameson and Ehrenhard 1997)

"It is not yet a convention of the profession to assume public discourse to be an essential aspect of the work." (Kennedy 2002)

Public presentation is a crucial aspect of any community archaeology project. Disseminating the results of a research project to the local community and public at large can take many forms. The actual form of the data presentation depends on the needs and desires of the community. This chapter will first discuss the importance of accessible research and the public benefits of archaeology and then move into a discussion of the use of the World Wide Web in archaeology, concluding with a description of the website created for this project.

6.1 Accessible Research and Public Benefits of Archaeology

Making research accessible not only forces archaeologists to present their research in distinctive and non-technical formats, it ensures that they consider how their research can benefit and be of interest to local communities and the public. Many North American proponents of accessible research *in practice* are not from academic institutions, although

in theory there are many supporters in academia (Fagan 2002; Jameson 1997; Little 2002). Public outreach has often been in the domain of CRM, government and museum-based archaeologists, but as the discipline moves forward into postcolonial, indigenous and other discourses academics will soon have to put their theories into practice (Jameson Jr. and Baugher 2007). Many academics have argued for the use of archaeology in education as a method of outreach (MacKenzie and Stone eds. 1994; Stone and Molyneaux eds. 1994; Stone 1997; Stone and Plannel eds. 1999; Smardz and Smith 2000; Zimmerman 2003; Jameson Jr. and Baugher eds. 2007). As co-editor of several volumes on the relationship of archaeology, heritage and education, Stone is a particularly prominent advocate. He argues that in order for archaeology to be relevant for the public we as archaeologists must educate the public on the values and contributions that archaeology can make (Stone 1997). He claims that high school students will benefit from the incorporation of archaeology in education by beginning to think critically about the construction of history. Modern archaeology questions the interpretations and presentations of the past rather than focusing on the static “history” of written documentation (Stone 1997:24). While education is an important form of outreach, there are a variety of diverse publics with different interests and demands. Archaeologists are now collaborating with “historians, educators, interpreters, museum curators, exhibit designers, landscape architects, and other cultural resource specialists” to meet these varied needs (Jameson Jr. and Baugher 2007). One valuable technology archaeologists

can use to disseminate their findings is the internet. I discuss its benefits to archaeology below.

6.2 The Internet and Archaeology

The internet provides archaeologists with an array of options for engaging and educating a diverse public (Childs 2002). Part of the internet's benefits relate to the use of hypertext and hypermedia files. While hypertext contains text with links showing the relationships between parts, hypermedia builds on that by including audio, video and still images. Pink (2007) argues that the use of hypermedia aligns well with reflexive and multivocal approaches. Reflexive refers to the author's ability to place text, pictures and video from their side of the research experience, and multivocal to the notion that there is also the opportunity to present other narratives. The 'web' is a collection of these hypermedia files, that are layered and interconnected and can thus be viewed in a non-linear format (Alessi and Trollip 2001; Pink 2007). The benefit of a non-linear sequence is that users can navigate as they wish, and interpret and reinterpret the data in their own unique way. This enhances the dialogic relationship between the reader, the creator and the data itself, which has already experienced multiple dialogic transformations in being brought to the screen. The use of multiple media- text, pictures, audio files, video- addresses the different needs and interests of the user, allowing a variety of age and educational levels to access the same information and make their own interpretations.

Childs (2002) has identified the specific archaeological benefits of the internet, in terms of its value for research, heritage, education and the economy. In terms of research, Childs suggests that the sharing of data through online databases, maps and archival information will further increase dialogue between researchers, as they will all have access to the data. By taking advantage of the internet's visual and audio capabilities, virtual museum exhibits and other heritage-based initiatives can reach a larger public and thus increase interest in their sites or ideas. The educational value is immense as it can reach a variety of age and skill levels and subsequently foster interest in archaeological and heritage-based initiatives. Its economic value relates to the growing heritage tourism industry. Combined with other heritage and educational values it can greatly increase both the interest and economy (through tourism) of a certain region or site (Childs 2002). The benefits outlined by Childs highlight the many possibilities for archaeology on the web. The internet also raises the public profile of archaeology, which can ensure that the discipline receives public support as well as attracting new students to the field (Clarke 2004). Below I describe my own use of the internet in the creation of the *North of Nain Archaeology* website.

6.3 The North of Nain Archaeology Website

The concept for this website emerged from discussions with many students at Jens Haven Memorial School. I had planned to create some kind of website, but wanted their help and input with the content and design. I hope that my interpretation of their ideas

meets their needs and interests. When designing the website I wanted to ensure that it contained the information from my own research project- through audio clips from the interviews- as well as information from other projects within the region- through pictures, text and video. In order to do so, I approached other researchers and students that have been working in the region to provide small biographies and information on their projects. The incorporation of many contributors will achieve what Joyce refers to as “recapturing the ‘multi-voicedness’ of the experience of constructing archaeological knowledge” (Joyce 2002:7).

With the help of a web designer, I was able to take the student’s suggestions and turn them into a functioning website. The colour scheme of green, blue and white reflect the colours of the Labrador flag and a sidebar is available on all pages to ensure easy navigation and access to the different pages. The most difficult aspect of this phase of the project was trying to get our finished website on to the University server since file size restrictions have made it a challenge. Due to these restrictions, the oral histories page is still under construction while the audio files are condensed to fit with Memorial University’s website file size limits. Many researchers in the region have yet to send me their contributions so I expect these sections will be updated frequently over the next few months.

The home page consists of an introduction to the website and its key features as well as a brief list of acknowledgements (Figure 6.1).



Figure 6.1: Homepage screen shot.

The link to 'Meet the Archaeologists' takes the user to a page featuring pictures and small biographies of each individual researcher in the northern Labrador region (Figure 6.2).



Figure 6.2: Meet the Archaeologists screen shot.

The 'Current Research' link consists of a large interactive map of Labrador where the user can click on the name of a research location (Figure 6.3) that is a hyperlink to a pop-up window containing a summary of their research (Figure 6.4).

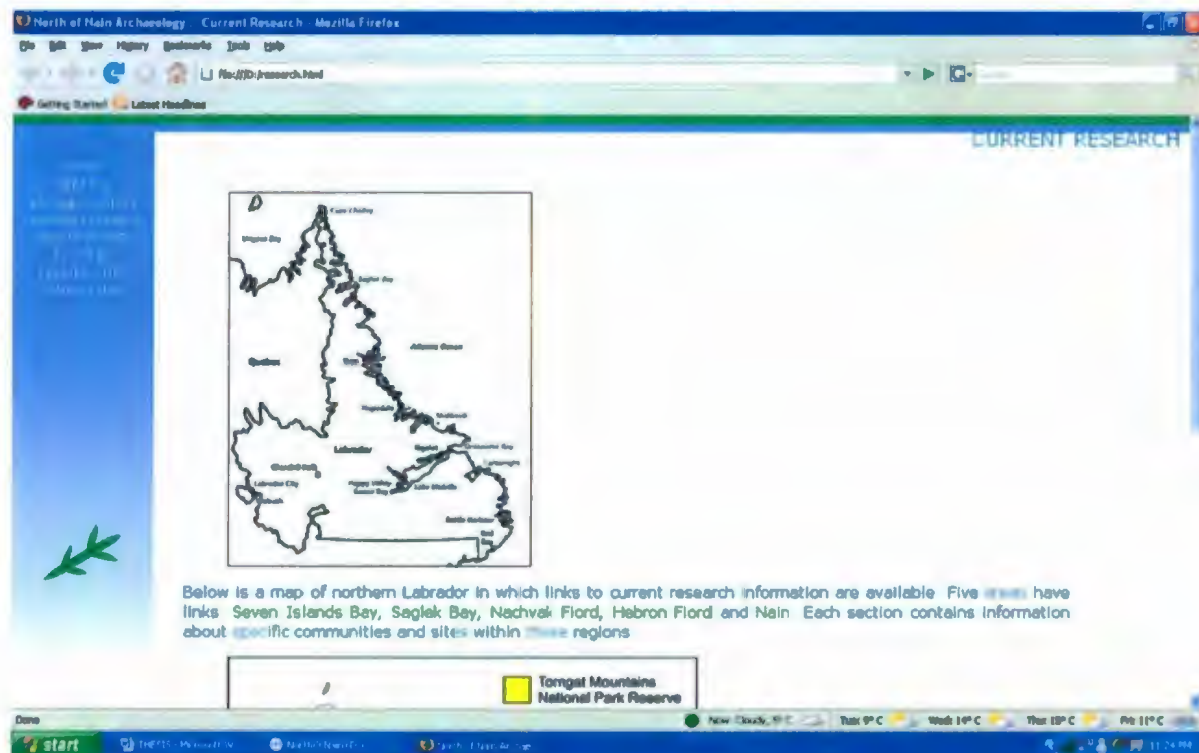


Figure 6.3: Current Research Map screen shot.

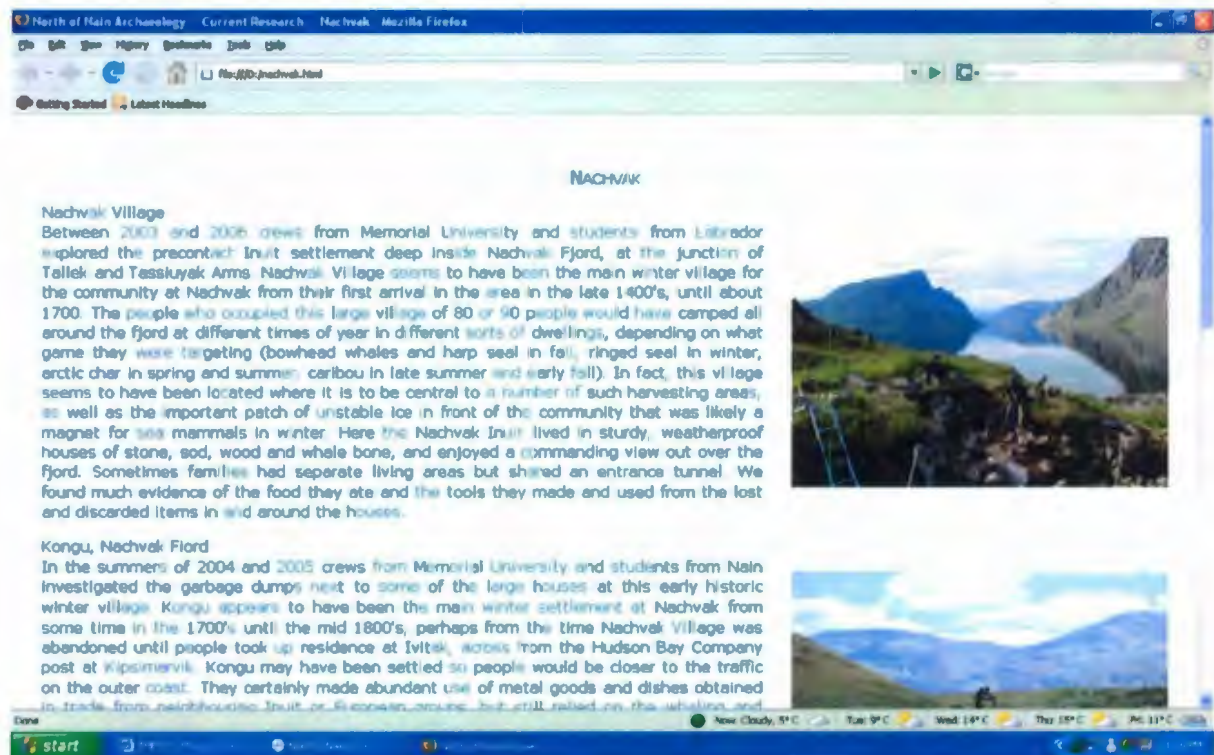


Figure 6.4: Research location summary screen shot.

A link to 'Nain Oral Histories' introduces the participants of my research project through short biographies and pictures. The user has the option of clicking on the name to listen to an audio clip from our interview. Choosing the 'Pictures' link takes the user to a photo gallery that contains a selection of pictures from the various research regions. The 'Links' page is an assortment of links to other websites that may be of interest to someone viewing this site. Finally, the 'Contact' page offers my contact information so I can receive comments, suggestions and ideas.

6.4 Chapter Summary

As public presentation has risen to the foreground of archaeological research, the internet has become an increasingly useful tool for researchers who want to reach a diverse audience with a variety of different media. The internet provides a venue for both reflexive and multivocal presentations by using hypermedia files. These hypermedia files allow one to present ethnographic knowledge multilinearly, so the information can be viewed and reinterpreted in many ways by many different users.

My use of the internet through the *North of Nain Archaeology* webpage aims to make my research and the research of others in northern Labrador more accessible to local communities. This creates the potential for future heritage, economic, and educational benefits, as this website is only the beginning of a creative and interactive relationship between northern Labrador researchers and communities.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

7.1 Project Summary

The title of this thesis went through many changes before it acquired its current one because the creation of a community archaeology in Nain is still in progress. Community archaeology projects take time to develop; it is a gradual process involving the researcher and the community. It is up to the researcher(s) to invest the time to build the trust and social relationships necessary to create a dialogue and discover common research interests, eventually leading to a more collaborative relationship.

Returning to my initial research questions: what kinds of oral histories are important to both the Labrador Inuit and archaeologists? How do the Labrador Inuit perceive the current practice of archaeology? How would the Labrador Inuit like to see archaeology conducted in the future? The kinds of oral histories that are of interest and importance to both archaeologists and the Labrador Inuit are those that discuss subsistence, settlement, resource utilization and the changes that have occurred in these practices over time. Most Elders are very interested in telling their stories and like discussing the changes they have seen within their lifetime as well as their thoughts on the future. Recording these stories and making them available to community members and researchers ensures that this information is not lost, as it is a valuable resource.

Although the survey was unsuccessful, it did provide a sense of community perceptions of archaeology, especially when combined with the information from the interviewees and informal discussions in town. It appears that the current practice of archaeology is not of great importance to the community as there are issues of more immediate concern. Many people do not understand what exactly an archaeologist does and there is still a lot of misconception relating to previous archaeological practices and the handling of human remains and burials. That being said, there is an interest in archaeology and discovering the past. As the community becomes more informed and involved in the process I foresee an increase in the number of people interested and excited about the potential of archaeology for their community.

Becoming more informed of current and future archaeological projects within the region is of utmost importance to the community. Archaeologists in the northern region need to take the time to get their information out, either through a website, news briefs on the radio, community presentations and workshops or a combination of all of those approaches. Although most archaeologists currently working out of Nain do engage in a few of these- usually a radio news brief and artifact 'show and tell' following the field season- more importance needs to be placed on these activities so that they meet the community's needs and expectations. If people are not showing up to a community presentation the researcher should question why, and try to come up with a different approach that will bring in a crowd.

Many individuals also expressed interest in increased involvement within the research projects. While many of these projects hire a few youth to work on excavations there are other people within the community that would appreciate an opportunity to work or at least visit the excavations as well. The remote location(s) of many excavations makes that impossible. However, projects that are undertaken closer to Nain would allow for occasional visits and the potential for a community day or other event. Offering employment to many individuals when possible is also crucial. Employment opportunities are always welcomed and hiring local community members is highly encouraged.

This project represents an early assessment of the feasibility and interest in creating a collaborative relationship between the community of Nain and university researchers. Using the concept of community archaeology as a framework, this project was designed to assess the current situation in Nain and its potential for future collaborative projects. The interviews, surveys, and informal talks provide important information on the general level of interest in archaeology in Nain, areas of interest for future projects, levels of community involvement and methods of disseminating the results. This information is necessary for the development of community archaeology projects in the region, and for further strengthening the relationship between university researchers and the coastal communities in Labrador.

The North of Nain Archaeology Website provides an opportunity for researchers

within the region to present their work in a format that is accessible to the communities along the coast of Labrador. It also enables community members to learn more about both the research and the researchers which might help foster future working relationships. Having a venue for sharing this information is an important initial step. It helps create a dialogue between the two parties and encourages community involvement.

7.2 Future Directions

Working with communities is increasingly common for archaeologists, and Labrador is no exception. Much like Loring's work in southern Labrador with the Pathways Project (Loring 1998), continued community involvement is necessary in the north. As the northern region of Labrador becomes of academic interest once again, and as research interests expand through the development of the Torngat Mountains National Park Reserve, consultation and collaboration with communities becomes imperative. In order to continue building on this collaborative relationship, researchers must consider community interests when designing their projects and find ways to make their archaeology interesting and relevant to those outside of academia.

Providing more educational and employment opportunities for the youth and other community members will increase interest in our research and involvement in the excavations and projects conducted within the region. Finding ways to bring the community in to the discovery of the past rather than telling them about it will help with

this involvement.

Thus far, archaeologists have worked with communities along the Labrador coast to the best of their abilities, and not every researcher is interested in such focussed community-based approaches as those that I have suggested. While I argue for community involvement, I realize that not every archaeologist has the inclination to engage in such projects. In many cases, the communities themselves could initiate these projects as their involvement is based on their level of interest. When a community is ready to increase their involvement in archaeological research, they can approach interested archaeologists within their region to undertake a project. In this particular case, the potential and desire for great community collaboration exists in Nain; it is up to us researchers to get it started.

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Appendix 1

Sample Informed Consent form and Information Sheet

Informed Consent Form

There are two main goals of this interview. One is to record any knowledge or memories of the past from community members regarding such things as where people lived and in what types of dwellings, plant and animal harvesting techniques, and tool manufacturing. The other goal relates to consultation regarding the practice of archaeology in order to form a collaborative relationship between the archaeological and local community for future research projects.

With your permission, the information gathered from this interview will be combined with the existing archaeological and historical literature for the creation of a website on the Inuit history of northern Labrador, my MA thesis, reports to funding agencies and future publications.

You have the choice whether you want your name to be included with your comments or if you prefer to remain anonymous. As well, you will determine where you would like the information stored following the research project. If you wish to remain anonymous, your name and identifying information will be kept separate from any or all records other than the materials maintained in confidence by the principal investigator, Amelia Fay.

I _____ consent to have the results of this interview made available for the following purposes:

- a) Deposited with the Torngâsok Cultural Centre in Nain as part of the community archives as well as the St. John's archives.

___ text ___ audio recording ___ photograph(s)

- b) Placed on a website with general public access.

___ text ___ audio recording ___ photograph(s)

- c) If you would like a copy of any of the materials please check those that apply:

___ text ___ audio recording ___ photograph(s)

The proposal for this research has been approved by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research at Memorial University. If you have ethical concerns about the research (such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant), you may contact the chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or (709) 737-8368.

Signature of Principal Investigator

Date

Information Sheet for Participants

Project Description

This project has two aims. The first aim is to understand traditional knowledge in relation to archaeology. The second goal is to present the information about traditional knowledge to make it accessible for the local and archaeological communities. I am interested in exploring how archaeologists can work with local communities to understand the past. I am also concerned with learning the best ways of using oral histories in archaeological research. My study will involve the collection of oral histories through interviews with local residents. I hope to combine the information from oral histories with the existing archaeological record. This information will then be presented in a website designed with the interests of the community in mind. Oral history collection will take place between September and October 2006.

Researcher

Amelia Fay, MA Candidate, Archaeology Unit- Department of Anthropology, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, NL A1C 5S7 Tel.(709) 737-2161

email: amelia_fay@hotmail.com

Confidentiality and Privacy Issues

Participants have control over both the degree of anonymity and the dissemination of the results. Although they should be aware that complete anonymity might be limited due to the nature of the research and size of the community. During the research project all of the information will be secured in a locked cabinet or in password-protected computer files. For those who do request anonymity pseudonyms will be used, names and contact information will be kept separately and research material will be identified by secret code.

Use of Data

Data from this research may be used in publications by Amelia Fay, in accordance with the confidentiality and privacy guidelines outlined above. With this in mind, participants can decide between three options: 1) to deposit the tapes, transcripts and other research materials in the local archives; 2) to allow Amelia Fay to retain the records; or 3) to have the records erased after transcription and destroyed when research has been completed.

Agreement to Participate and Right to Withdraw

Participation in this research is purely voluntary. Participants may withdraw from participation in the project at any point during the research.

Further Information

Participants concerned about their involvement in the research may contact the following:

Dr. Peter Whitridge: Archaeology Unit, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, NL A1C 5S7 Tel. (709) 737-2394 Email: whitridg@mun.ca

Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's NL A1C 5S7 Tel.: (709)737-8368 Email: icchr@mun.ca

Appendix 2

Sample Transcribed Interview

Interview with Hayward Ford

October 05, 2006 2pm

[My vocal prompts such as 'oh yeah' and 'mm-hmm' have been omitted]

A: Okay, so I'm interested in your story a bit so maybe we could start with where and when you were born?

H: Well I was born in 1936 in Nain and I lived out Black- I grew up on Black Island. That's my home, never left it 'til thirty years ago, that's where I grew up right through the year. Come up for Easter for about a week, that's all and gone again. When I grew up I started fishing- cod fishing- and after fishing in the summer-time we'd go sealing, winter-time we'd trout and haul wood, stuff like that.

A: Are there lots of good sealing spots around Black Island?

H: Well there was a sealing station there eh? Used to get a lot of seals, a thousand or so, lots of seals. And we had lots of dogs, sixty I suppose all together.

A: Wow!

H: Well my brothers had dogs, most of us had ten or nine, thirteen like that. Hauling fire wood. Only trappers station we had them times was dog team going into the country. When I got old enough- I was fifteen years old- went out in the country up here in the bays. Some hard, I said I'd never go back again. But I did (laughs). I never stopped going eh? Every chance I'd get going hunting.

A: What kind of supplies would you take when you went out to go trapping or hunting?

H: Well we used to- mother used to bake some buns and stuff like that to take in. We used to haul food for our dogs too. Couldn't go too far because you had to feed the dogs every day, inland is a long ways. Stay there nine sometimes, and there's people used to be there longer than that. The longest I ever been was nine days.

[His wife asks if Katie wants a cup of tea]

A: And what kinds of animals would you get when you were out there?

H: Caribou mostly up in the country. We did get caribou sometime, before I was old enough to go in, my brothers used to go in and get caribou. The only time we had caribou for dinner was on Sundays, special day. We lived off seal meat and stuff like that eh? Arctic hare, partridge, and eider ducks. My father was very strict, we weren't allowed to kill too many, we weren't allowed to kill any after March- that's Arctic hare. Same with

birds he was very strict, very strict. [His wife brings me a cup of tea]. We used to have a garden down there when we was kids, turnips and greens.

A: Did stuff- how long was the growing season for those kinds of things?

H: Not that long. From July to September.

A: And where would you store all the food after, like for the winter, did you have a special cellar for them?

H: No we used to get when we wanted it eh? 'Cause we had no freezer you couldn't keep too many. Sometimes we would hide it in a snow-bank in the spring. That's when we got a lot, but we never used to get too much eh? Just get enough to eat, go back in the next day. Same as char, we used to go out fishing for char. Eat a lot of char, smoked char.

A: Did you have a little smoke-house there then?

H: Oh yes. We had a smoke-house, my mother used to smoke fish.

A: What kind of stuff would you use to smoke the char, just branches and stuff from around the area or what?

H: We use sods, just go and cut some sods out [which explains why I saw squares of sod removed when I was on Black Island] with the berry leaves on it. I smoke mine every three days. Some people like to give it- what mom used to do for the winter-time she used to smoke it along there 'til it got smoked good and hard 'cause it's hard to keep eh? Smoked fish.

A: And when you'd go and get seals would your dad let you help prepare the skins and stuff or was that mostly your dad or mom's job?

H: My mother used to do all the seal skin, cleaning the seal skins and that. She used to make boots for us and clean all the seal skin. My father used to help her out, there was no market for seals hardly them times but when I got a little older to go hunting the market wasn't that much until the 80s. Just as the market was good then the Green Peace stopped it eh? We couldn't sell no more skins. We weren't allowed even to put net out in the water. That's all history now...it's hard, very hard...taking your livelihood away...I found it some bad. I thought I was tough. First fall I was here spent down on the dock down there and see all the seals and I had nothing to do, I cried. A part of me was taken away from me...it's very, very painful. When we come up here the only thing we done up here is haul wood and stuff, that was all, had no income at all. Then we had to sell our fishing license back to the government. That was hard.

A: Is that why you moved to Nain then?

H: Yeah, I moved to Nain after I got married eh? I spend most- all my time out Black Island. I still goes out.

A: Do you just go out on the weekend? Do you go out hunting still?

H: Yeah I goes out there hunting and spends most of the summer out there, smoking fish and stuff like that [plane flying in quite loudly]. It's a hard life though, in the winter-time I found it some hard...and cold. All we had was hauling wood, just to keep the house warm eh? We had four stoves in one house, we used to burn a lot of wood. Gone every day hauling firewood.

A: Were there lots of ah...bears around then during the winter-time like polar bears coming down?

H: I'll tell the truth. When we were growing up there was no polar bears around, maybe scattered, we'd see a track. We'd go outside tracking about 12 miles off Black Island. You might see a track but you never ever seen any bears. Not while I was growing up 'til...must have been in my thirties when I started seeing bears.

A: I was just up Black Island with Gary Baikie and stayed at his parents cabin up there and he was saying some bear had crashed right through (the cabin) so I guess more bears come now.

H: Oh yes, you're right along by my cabin there. By the beach, I've seen quite a few right on site there. See them everywhere now. Almost every spring you see two or three bears. It's because the ice forms in the fall and it breaks up in the winter and there's a lot of water outside and they try and stay to the water, polar bears.

A: Do you still get up much in the winter-time then to the cabin or mostly in the summer?

H: I goes down there. Most of the time when I go is the spring and the summer. There's nothing much to do in the winter see, just off a few birds like ptarmigan and stuff like that, arctic hare...but I don't hunt so much see since my eyesight's gone. I only got tunnel vision, can't see on the sides or down...I finds it hard. Very, very slow, can't focus so quick see. [Long pause] Well there was good days and bad days same as everything else growing up. I didn't have many kids to play with, it's only one family mostly down there, us. Go sliding and stuff like that.

A: What did you go sliding on? Did you have sleds?

H: Sleds and mother used to give us seal skins, still with the fur on it and go sledding at the back of the house there. She used to come out with us on Sundays. Go for walks, go to the pond and slid.

A: Did you have lots of brothers and sisters?

H: There's eight boys and four sisters. That's a lot, big crowd eh?

A: Where were your parents from?

H: Um...let's see...England and the Peron's (?) came from...my grandmother was a Peron on my father's side...and my great-grandmother was born, she was from Baffin Island. She was Inuk and that's where we got our bit of blood. It's thinned out through grandmother Voisey eh? But my grandfather on the Voisey's side his mother was a full Inuk. She used a lot of Inuktitut because she couldn't talk in English. That's why grandfather, Uncle John and Uncle Sam- my great uncles- wanted to move up north and that's all they used to need to talk in both languages.

A: Do you speak Inuktitut at all?

H: Me? Yep, that's all we used to talk at one time. Used to always play with Inuk kids in boarding school and I was seven years old when I went to boarding school up here. The old OKalaKatiget building there.

A: How long would you go there for?

H: September 'til break-up (ice break-up).

A: And break-up is usually...

H: Break-up them times was usually late in June, July.

A: Was it hard to be away from...I guess your parents were still up in Black Island?

H: Oh yeah, they were. We never got to see them. They'd come up for grocery shopping and stuff like that but mother never used to come until Easter eh? She used to make every spot of her livelihood, she used to make a lot of seal-skin leggings for boots and she used to sell them to Newfoundlanders eh? Like they used to be always coming down in the summer-time looking for old leggings and stuff to put over their logans [a type of boot] and stuff for in the lumber camps and she used to sew new ones with little, short tongue on them so it would fit the logan. They used to buy logans and take the leather legs off them and put seal skin on them because they tie up the tops so snow don't get in you got strings you know, see? She used to sell a lot of seal skin boots. She used to make boots for \$1.50 a pair (both chuckle at the low price) ... steady sewing, steady.

A: And did your sisters learn to sew too?

H: Me? I did, just to tap boots that's all. I didn't bother...I don't know how she done it though, with all the kids not the same size...she done a lot of work...she made her own shirts and stuff like that...out of sugar bags or flour 100lb bags, she bleached it and she cut out pattern and we were only allowed to wear 'em on Sundays. She made all our overhauls and all that...

A: That's a lot of work...

H: Yeah, I don't know how she done it though. She used to cook, clean seal skins- I know what that's like because I used to clean seal skins myself. I cleaned a hundred one winter.

A: And what do you have to- how do you clean a seal skin?

H: You take the fat off of it and the vellum. At the same time like you take the fat and you scrape it and take the vellum off and you get what we call the illtuk (spelling?) and scrape the grease off before we wash them. You scrape all the grease off and then you wash them. We used to use soap, but after Mr. Clean come out we used that. I was watching t.v. one day and saw that advertisement for Mr. Clean and seen all the grease gone with the Mr. Clean so I decided to try some.

A: Did it work?

H: It worked alright, but I put too much in and the colour made it green (both laughing), the fur turned green! It was good fun though at one time but a lot of work to it. We used to hang them out in the frost too in the winter-time, that's the best.

A: They get hard and froze?

H: They get right clean, all the grease comes out...right clean. Yeah I used to clean a lot of skins after my mother moved up here. There was me and my brother John, Stanley...we all cleaned our own skins.

A: Was it easy to get a hole in there with using them scrapers?

H: First time I tried to clean skins I had about a dozen holes in it, right big ones. So I gave up, I quit. After about a year I suppose, I tried again. It took quite awhile for me to get used to it, about three or four weeks, but I got used to it after. Just taking the fat and that off and leaving the vellum on is right easy...because I used to clean them for my dog traces eh? You get what you call a bearded seal, you take the front part and you take the fat off, shave the hair off it and then you cut your line. Used to make bridles for the, hook the dogs in the traces for the sled and the bridle.

<<long pause>>

H: We wasn't bored because we had a lot to do in the evenings. Sewing dog traces and making harnesses for dogs, fixing the kamutik and stuff like that. We were always making kamutiks in the winter, just something to do. If we don't like the look of it we'd make another one. We used to help each other see... We used to knit our own twine for cod trap too, there was a lot to do in the winter. Used to knit twine...everything we did was done by hand. We used to make our own nets, father made a trap- a cod trap. We'd done the net and everything and he done the rest of it, framed it all out. We used to be fishing for pickled char, we'd get a few barrels while we tended traps and stuff like that. We had two more boats, three traps- cod traps...

A: And what is a cod trap look like?

H: A frame eh, just like that (motions a rectangular shape) its got a door and the leader, what you call the leader, fastened to the shoal or shore and the fish's trapped there, in the netting.

<<long pause>>

H: A lot of things we used to do when we growed up...

A: Were you allowed to have any of the dogs as like a pet or just mostly working dogs?

H: All working dogs.

A: And were you in charge of taking care of them or each of you boys had your own group of dogs to take care of?

H: Mmmhmm. That's why we used to have them, the seals...dogs, going in the wintertime eh? Before I was working with the nets my father used to seal for the mission. And after that Hudson's Bay Company took over and then he was a few years fishing for them, getting seals and that with the dogs, the Hudson's Bay Company. Then my grandfather bought, bought it from the Hudson's Bay...no, my grandfather bought from the mission and he adopted a new baby boy from one of the fishing schooners 'cause they had a kid and they lost it. It died and so they adopted this baby and grow him up, christened him, and after he was born my father was born. So when they grewed up, well my father was only young, only fifteen years old when he took over from- well he had the choice see, two boys eh? So Chesley took Ivuluk and told father he could have Black Island so...there was three generations of Ford that fished down there. He...sold, when he bought it from the missions so my father he had a choice, the two boys, so he, we got to take over the seal fishery after that. He [his father] grew up here see, half way down Black Island they had a landslide and we lost our house but they were sealing out on Black Island- the mission- already then, and they had houses down there but he took his

own down and he was ten years old when he moved down there. It's still up yet that house, over a hundred years...another two hundred years when the first house was built on Black Island. You see my father, he was on his own eh? Like Chesley he moved on, went over to Zoar and father stayed down there. Before we grew up he had all Inuit people, they must have had almost all of Nain. Nain was only small then.

[Hayward's wife asks if he'd like more tea and he says yes, please]

H: And anyway, we had all Inuit crew down there and when we grew up we [him and his brothers] we took over. And after my father got blind then Albert, he took over and after Albert I took over for about five years, six years I suppose. Then...then the Greenpeace...we had a couple of guys come down from Toronto- one feller was from Newfoundland and the other from Toronto- and that fall they had their own generator, had choppers down there, cameras, underwater cameras and...so DFO, they asked DFO if they could go around there eh and we couldn't put our nets out there unless we had permission and so they gave DFO permission to put our nets out and we were down there for two weeks. They wanted, they wanted to see a seal drown in the net, that's why they had the underwater cameras...but they never seen any...they used to go down in the nighttimes and all...down there two weeks and they had choppers down there...and we would come to find out that winter they were working for (?) and that's when we found out that it was PC's [Greenpeace?] had that thing going...even, like Norman Andersen working at the DFO and he didn't know the difference eh? Until after we found out they were working for PC- Greenpeace.

H: Oh we done everything just about...the last time putting a net out...ah...about '87, '88 around there...they wanted us to catch a live seal. We had a couple of the boys from DFO with us but I used to get jaws and stomachs for DFO experiment on them. Stomachs and jaws and that, and we'd try to get...they wanted ten live ones, I told them it's going to be hard to get because usually when seals are traveling they goes a long time before they come up to get air and they used to come in and go right down in the net, not even come up, be caught see and on a windy day they drown right away. A scattered one we used to get on top, mostly because you see char coming up to the top of the water, floating around and stuff like that. But harp seals are always traveling, they goes a long ways before they come up. And the way we have our nets set see, is only two hundred and ten fathoms all together, a hundred and ten, two hundred and twenty really, what we call a stock meter (?) a hundred and ten [phone rings] and a hook net, we call a hook net [phone rings again]...

A: I'll just pause it for a sec...

[Tape paused for phone call]

H: That's what we call traps, seal traps, with no bottom in them. And my father used to make them, you start from the shore because the shallower water, sixteen inches deep, from sixteen to thirty-five, out in the deep water it falls [the net] with no bottom. There's a lot of current going through there, in the narrows. Put them out in October, take them up December 3rd, later sometimes, it depends. See you can't keep a net down there in shallow water when there's ice a making, the ice is up and it floats out. Just in that shallow water, there's a lot of rocks and when ice starts forming you gotta take up your nets. And if you don't you loose them because it only takes a few hours to spread eh? And the ice starts backing up and backing up...

A: I'm just going to switch batteries here, it looks like I'm running out...

[Tape turned off]

A: Sorry about that.

H: Now where did I end off?

K: Talking about the nets...wake up early in the morning...

H: So we used to go up...daylight, we would wait for daylight, it was dark until about seven o'clock it would start to get light and we'd haul all our nets and take the seals in. We had a shack up there where we'd store the seals so the foxes and dogs wouldn't get at them. Haul them all in, and we'd stay there...sometimes we'd go in for lunch, sometimes we'd stay there all day. It's hard work, heavy work. Your boats gets all iced up, you've got to knock the ice off your boat and you'd put her out and you've got about twenty minutes 'til it gets just as bad. Don't take very long eh? Getting colder later, but the early part of the fall is okay. When the ice starts forming that's when you've got to be careful. Might be a lot of slab (?) ice.

K: How many seals can you get in one net?

H: Ahh...the most seals I ever heard was seventy. And they never took them all out then.

A: And how do you get the seals out from the nets and back on shore?

H: We use a boat eh?

A: And you'd pull the net?

H: Pull the net, yeah.

A: And then from the boat though, how do you get them up on...[shore]?

H: Haul them in.

A: How much does a seal weigh?

H: Three hundred pounds...some of them. That's a Harp seal. We used to use our teeth too.

A: To pull?!

H: Yep, by the nose and take them by the flippers and haul them in [Katie and I laugh with amazement]. I didn't like the feeling of their whiskers tickling on your nose (laughing).

K: So the women cleaned all the seal skins.

H: mmmhmmm. Yep, clean all the seal skins, make the boots and the lamps (seal oil for the lamps).

A: So you'd use pretty much all of the seal then wouldn't you?

H: Well that's all I did all my life. Sealing and stuff like that eh? In the spring hunting seals...and you had to set your nets right. If you didn't, if you set your nets too far out because there is a narrows, a big bighting site. Ever since I was...I went down there when I was fourteen years old. And my father could seal a bit then. And the boys were putting the nets out, and he always had a marker there- what we call a stop net- where the doorway is going to be eh? And he told me "when you set your nets you gotta have, put your main line right straight through this little point inside the bight. And if you go too far out the seal is going to go back" he'll come up and go back for shallow water see, like come from the deep you go up, like a hill eh? And that's where we had our nets. We had a sixteen fathom net. [With] A clue, what we call a clue, with a corner on it and two coiples(?) on it, we'd go up to a little point, almost touching the point coming up towards the bight and they'd [the seals] be going in that way. If you're too far out they'll go back. No matter how plenty seals there are you might not get none or you might get five or six like that. It's where you put your net. And the way he [his father] did it is he framed it out on ice when he made it and made the nets. And my father and all of us we all know how to put nets out eh? Since I was, well...in 1983 and we had different twine for nets, we had nylon twine. And before that we used to have the hemp twine. And if you had to keep your nets out now when the seals come plentiful you would never handle it. Because the year the seals started coming back we had, we was out there two weeks, put nets out and the seals struck just in the wick (?). We had to take them up because we didn't know how much we could handle because we had to clean our own skins eh? We went out, and we got forty...in one haul. And we got over two hundred, so we said that was enough because the nets take one third eh, and there's the crew that shares it. And you have one feller go into the building and point and call out his [whichever crew

member's] name, and that was the honest way you could do it. Everybody had...we used to have to pile up the bunch of seals about the same size to play it fair. Everybody got about the same size seals. If there's an odd one you'll haul it aside to be right even, there were five of us.

K: Did you use guns too?

H: Yep. Use guns, but you weren't allowed, you couldn't get no chance to use guns on a lot of seals. Too busy hauling in seals eh? But the last year we were out there we took more on that, because we wanted a little fun, shooting seals. We got over two hundred. That morning we took nets up I said to my brother John I said, me and John were taking nets up and that's when the seals started hitting. And that evening after we finished all this we took the foot of the net and wrapped it up the top of the net because it was too late to take them up and so we wouldn't get too many. The next morning we went down and we had thirty and places where it [the net] hung down there had four and five and as we was taking it up, pulling the net in the boat, we had seven caught right in front of me, like char. You go up there when there's a lot of seals. You think there's the same bunch of seals stay going in, traveling but you go down, just down by the houses there in the tickle where they go through there. And you go down there waiting to see them and they go through there steady. Some years they don't take that, they goes on outside. But in Black Island you always get a few seals. I've seen a lot of seals going through that place.

A: Mostly Harp seals then?

H: All kinds; Bearded seals, Ringed Seals, Harps, Harps and Belamonts.

K: Do you think the amount of seals had anything to do with the cod fish declining?

H: Umm...well we lost our cod fish a long time before the island [Newfoundland] did. And we'd never seen no signs. The size of the cod whether smaller or not. My belief is and I really believe that it's not because they were killing the cod there, it's the bait. The bait left. Take Rock cods and Sculpins, no one caught them. They disappeared when the bait left. Used to be full, full, full when there's caplin around. You know a lot of people set their cod up, well I don't know...what I noticed, when I was fishing was that we had quite a bit of fish the year before the fish left. Because we had a cod trap out and the year before that we had quite, pretty good, about three hundred barrels, that's barrels eh? Before you weigh up. And that's pretty good. And next summer we had sixteen fish all summer. Just like that, cut off. But I blames the bait. Now the caplin start coming back, this is the first time since a long time, caplin start coming back now. I remember one guy told me one time, even my father told me it in my grandfather's days, there's no cod fish. And when I was growing up there were thousands, and there used to be a lot of bait. Used to see caplin and stuff like that. One year, after the caplin, I seen gulls, dead gulls

and I think they were starved. I think they were starving. We would clean a bit of fish, like salmon guts and char, they'd go crazy. Wasn't much gulls around either. I suppose...I think that the dredgers had a lot to do with it too in certain places eh? My family used the dredgers up there anyway, that helped too. But I know you'll never find out, but one thing I noticed was there was no bait. And what I was looking at is the Rock cods and Sculpins and stuff like that used to be plentiful...outside anyway. Used to be a lot of Rock cods but on the island might get five or six or something like that. And the cod fish was around when the bait was around and you couldn't jig without getting a Rock cod when you were jigging for cod fish. That's one thing that I noticed. I won't say that I'm an expert at it, but I say that...

A: You know more than most people probably...

H: That's one thing I noticed and I know a lot about the fishery. Some people says they're caught up but that's like the fish used to come down here, somewhere in deep water. Another thing, water had a lot to do with it too, temperature of the water. Temperature of the water now since last year is changing, and the nets was right clean. Before that they used to be just like a blanket. You put net out and in four or five minutes it's full. I think that's the temperature of the water. When the water's cold it gets right dirty, when the water gets warm, like when we used to get ice we'd set the net towards the land where the water is shallow your nets would be clean and in the outer end your net was dirty. And after that, the last few years after the winter ice broke up and cleared right out we had no arctic ice coming up and the water got warm right away and you'd pull your net out and it would look the same as the day you put it out. It's got a lot to do with the dirt, for fishing. Temperature of the water...yup, nothing could take it off. Hard stuff sticks right on your net like blanket. And the char go in, especially the char, right into the shore when there is ice around. And char- I was told by the old people like my father and uncle up Voisey's Bay- they all say the same thing. Some years the ponds freeze up early, maybe six feet, five feet of ice, four feet. And at the spring of the year, if the mouth of the brooks is not open, open it up and if you don't see the light- because fish is attracted to light- if there's no holes on the side, they're going to be later. And we used to go up Black Island and hardly any char in the spring. Only after the pond gets bad, you get a lot of open places by the shore and water gets going near the mouth of the brook, then you start seeing them. Then you start going up. We used to go down, near the mouth of the salt water and we see them down there. We used to follow them.

K: Did you use spears?

H: No, we never had no hooks like that. We used to have a cod fish jigger or little Rock cod jigger to get the small one. When I was growing up we never seen no devil hooks. God I must have been around my 40s before I seen one of them. We used to net a lot eh?

A: So you didn't have to worry about bait or anything like that or making lures because you just used nets?

H: Mmhmm. Yup, cod fish I don't know if I'll see them again in my days or not but there was one caught Black Island this summer.

K: Wasn't that the first time, last year, in twenty-five years caplin came ashore?

H: Yup

K: First time in twenty-five years, I remember that because I was twelve or thirteen the last time.

H: Yup, starting to get more rock cod too, especially this year. Since the caplin started coming in...and you can see when their stomachs, the salmon, the lances [sand lances], all kinds of bait coming in. Lances, caplin, all them years the cod left we would never see stuff like that. Most thing you see was salmon, char and young sculpins. Now you always cut the stomach open to see what's in 'em...they eats each other too.

A: And rock cod, is rock cod good to eat? Do people eat rock cod or no?

H: Just as good as cod fish.

K: Yup, they're called rock cods and tom cods...

H: They used to call cod fish, the little small fish would always be called tom cods too. Newfoundlanders with their schooners, when I was growing up there was a lot of schooners. The harbor used to be full. See them going down, they had no motors, just motor boats, going down fishing.

K: The sealing station you had in Black Island, did it buy seal skins or was it just a station to keep seals in?

H: Yeah [to the latter], we had a house we used to keep the seals in down there so dogs and that wouldn't get at them or foxes...and there used to be wolverines- not since I've been there- but my father told me he used to have a lot of problems with wolverines tearing the lumber off of the building and getting at the seals. He said they used to have barrels of fat in the winter time and he used to render out oil eh? That's what they used to always do, render out and sell it. My father used to send it to a company in Newfoundland, Trobin Brothers I think he used to send it to. You'd render it out, there was like number one and number two. Like what you'd render out in the sun was number one, it was light. And you'd cut up some and you put it in an old drum and you fry it, or cook it and take it all out. That was number two, it was darker see. Never wasted a thing. Every little bit of seal fat my father used to cut it off the frozen carcass and cut it up in the

spring. That was my job, I used to be always cooking the fat down, lot of work to it, dirty old job (laughing). That's what we lived off, fish. The fish was only cheap, even when I was growing up and working, it was about two dollars...no four dollars a draft. A draft is...two hundred and twelve pounds, a draft [224 lbs according to Dictionary of Newfoundland English]. A kental [also known as quintal] is one hundred and twelve pounds. We'd get 250 [not sure if he's referring to lbs or dollars] some years and if you dried it you'd get eight bucks for a draft, four dollars a kental. When my father was fishing it was fifty cents for a kental, for one hundred and twelve pounds. Hudson's Bay was half that, only since confederation that prices went up a bit. The merchants them times used to buy fish on the schooners. We used to hear- my brother's a skipper so he'd tell us about how he'd have to get a good load of fish because the merchants takes most of them eh? After awhile they started getting our own boats eh? We've always had our own traps but there's people here used to have government traps. I worked with George (?) and he had government traps, like the government was getting so much for their trap and it's cruel what's left after government gets their share. Never used to make very much. Be lucky if he made a hundred bucks all summer because you had to pay for the salt plus your groceries eh? They take that out all year. But when I was fishing with the boys it was different because we all owned our own traps. Then I would see it. My father used to say it was a long winter coming...

K: What kinds of stuff were you able to buy at the store?

H: The store? Not much different from now but not so much. Basically about the same things some of it. But on the end of it though it was pretty good, when I was in my teenage years it was mostly basic things we used to buy. Gasoline and that was hard to get, I was fifteen years old when I got my first speed boat. Forty-five gallons of gas was sixteen bucks. And before that, I dunno when I was growing up we used to buy molasses and stuff like that but a lot of times we used to be out of it we'd be [at] Black Island waiting for father and them coming back from Nain. He used to get caught up here when the wind would be gusty. Their motors them times they had a lot of problems with their motors breaking down and you'd have to row and everything. Done a lot of sailing them times. But after we got old enough to work we had our own boats. They can break you but you can buy motors for your boats then after.

K: What about for Christmas and Easter, what did you do for them?

H: We used to come up here for Easter, not Christmas but definitely Easter. We stayed home Black Island and we had our own Christmas tree and we had partridges...bakeapples, a lot of bakeapples...stuff like that.

A: What kind of gifts would you get at Christmas time?

H: Oh we didn't have no gifts when I was growing up. I can tell you about once I was some disappointed, I had heard about Santa Claus and I hung up my stocking at Black Island and I got up in the morning and there was nothing in it. We was pretty poor, very poor. That's a big family of us eh? We had a hard time, keeping us alive in the winter time because all he did was trap, my father. He used to walk eight miles out to the islands, up around...he used to shoot a lot of foxes too, trapping and shooting. And he just about mate (?) a fox sometime, he sold it, he had foxes in his trap that were eaten by other foxes, he always saved them and cleaned them and when he'd get a fox that was eaten he'd make a hole and he never got full price but he'd get a bit for any of it. See my father could do anything. He used to make lime juice, vinegar, he used to make juice for us. He made his own pickles and onions, stuff like that, always up to something. Hard workin' man by'. Tough as nails. He'd look at me sideways I'd run. He was tough.

K: What about when somebody got sick or something?

H: To tell the truth I don't think we'd get sick them times. I can't remember...we'd get the cold, stuff like that they had medicine and that. Like if you had a cut or something you'd use juniper or put bread on your cut, like if you had a pussy hand or something like that, infected hand. For cuts we'd use bread a lot, to draw it out. Or maybe put your hand in hot water, put bread over it, pull the stall on it...

A: And the juniper, what would you use that for, how would you prepare it?

H: You just soak it in rain water and put it on your cut. And then you put bandage, always had bandage and stuff like that. No bandaids though (laughs).

A: Where did you meet your wife?

H: In Black Island (laughs). Oh yes...

A: And were you married up in Black Island or did you get married here in Nain?

H: I got married in Black Island on September 9th...about ten years ago now.

A: And what was she doing up in Black Island?

H: She was down there on her holiday, she went down for a trip, she was on holidays there, she and her son.

A: When I was on Black Island we saw remains of sod houses, old sod houses did you ever see those when you were growing up running around?

H: Nope, no. I never seen anything like that when I was growing up. The first, the first one [house] of all was a sod house but I never seen it. See, my grandfather was adopted

and he bought a lot of houses on Black Island, Chesley Ford. He moved up north and he come back and built up near Zoar. That's where he built and stayed there, he died there. That's how he came to be here, he was a Newfoundlander really, that's how he got his name, his surname. And my father says he was a Peril <<check spelling>> and my grandmother was a Peril, I don't know where they come from...

A: Growing up did you do much traveling then or did you mostly go between Nain and Black Island or did you get to go to other places along the coast?

H: No, most places we used to go were up here [Nain] and in the country. Didn't travel much. Couldn't leave, I was working all the time. All my teenage days, years, was in work. We started early, all of us when we were young. Too much...

A: How many years were you at the boarding school?

H: Always, but at that time there was no teachers eh? The only thing I did was cut up firewood. No teachers, but right after I left that's when they got them. See the mission was running it then see? After the government took over it was a big change (after 1949). Big, big change. I can't say I had a hard life, it was a good life but it was a lot of times when I'd like to have my time and I couldn't do it. I was eighteen or nineteen before I could come to Nain, to spend Christmas or go where I want to go. And I had to get my own dogs first, I used to come for Christmas after I had my own team. It was hard sometimes, lonely when I looks at it now eh but not too bad afterall. But then again, if I had to do it over I wouldn't do the same thing. I'd go to school! It's hard you know, hard.

K: You have any funny experiences when you was growing up?

H: Funny ones? Ah yes...the funniest one I think was I was leaving to go out and haul seal nets and they have what they call skull and oars? We had an oar, a long panel. And they had a hole cut in the stern of the boat where you could skull. Better than going through a place with paddles 'cause they hooks in. And I was taking off, not very far from shore and one of the boys shoved the punt and the oar hit the edge of the ice and I lost balance, I got pushed over by the oar. I was lying on the slab ice there for a long time (all laughing). And I could hear the boys and they were dying laughing. And I was mad because nobody was trying to haul me out. So I just done that and one of my feet was hooked up on the edge of the punt and as soon as I stepped down, I thought the water was shallower than that and away I goes. It was up to here [his face] I was almost floating, but I got ashore and ran home. My clothes was all frozen up then. The other time we was out Salvage Island, I was just coming in from hauling my net, before we had speedboat we had a little motorboat we called a flat- those small boats we called flats, wooden ones- and I was getting to the boat and I went to step in and I had what we call a Shilapac

(spelling???) on eh? I don't know what you call them...and I had my hood up because there were flies and I went to step in the boat and the flat went right out and I fell in the water. And I was tied on the end of a net, and there was John and Bert, and one of them grabbed me- and I was big then- and they hauled me but I couldn't get my arm up because I was against the boat and I could hear them laughing and one of them said to me 'heavy eh by'? He tried to pull me in but he couldn't so I told him 'slack up' and I rolled in then. They hauled me in. We laughed all day about that. Scary though...

A: So you and your brothers made sure to have some fun too while you were out working?

H: Always, we'd be joking around eh? Father would always be joking around with his crew. Especially one fellar, they used to wrap him up in a seal net, running after each other, like kids. Yeah, we used to have fun. In the spring we used to go off seal hunting for bearded seals, we used to call udjuks eh? We'd leave our dogs and spy around and wait for them [the seals] to crawl right up...we weren't allowed to shoot at no ring seals though, very strict, we couldn't even shoot at 'em. We used the line then, for dog traces and stuff. There wasn't many around, we'd go up on the island and haul them up through the rough ice. Had a couple of guys staying back watching to see if the ice moved or not. Haulin' on our backs. Load two of them, flat load. It was almost everyday, outside...before my eyes got bad. Growing up, now it's changing, changing...too fast. Now it's all skidoos. Easy.

A: Do you own a skidoo?

H: (nods yes).

A: How long does it take to get to Black Island on skidoo?

H: Well it depends if you're not towing a load or kamutik, you can do it in less than an hour. An hour and fifteen (minutes) if you take your time. I've done it in thirty-five minutes a couple of times. I took twelve hours on skidoo one time through water, and it's not all the ways to Black Island either, about a little more than half way. Deep, deep water. We left here nine o'clock and stayed inside Nain until twelve o'clock. Deep, getting stuck and hauling then pick up speed in some places. I find it scary getting on a skidoo because you don't know whether you're going to go in a hole or not, you can't see nothing, that's it you go right down. I was floating on a little bit of ice one time, the sloppy ice kept me and came right up to the windshield. I had two skidoos haul me out and I looked back and it was all open water behind me. Lucky. I don't travel now.

A: I guess with the ice maybe breaking up earlier too it's hard to tell...

H: Well I don't like going around by myself now because at my age I'm not as strong as I used to be. And my eyesight, I only got tunnel vision left now. I've slowed down a lot. When I'm on skidoo- not on ice but around town- especially at night you see lights coming up you got to go ahead (look ahead) all the time. Now I can't see her there (Katie off to his right side), I can't see down this way (to his left) either, it's just black. Like looking through a pipe. Five percent, that's all I got left. But I can still shoot though...

A: Yeah? You're a good shot?

H: My gosh yes, call me a good shot! (all laughing).

A: Do you go partridge hunting around here?

H: Yep. Oh the most seals I killed with a gun on Black Island were fifty. That's what I say, a lot of times when you shoot seals they sink. Some days thirty, forty, fifteen...ten, twelve...it depends eh? When you're doing work with nets you can't do much, you've got to be there. We had strict rules too. You weren't allowed to shoot at nothing coming in outside the nets, on the sides of the nets...we wasn't so strict as my father was. If you weren't one of the crew, you couldn't be down on the punt by the net...only the crew was allowed to shoot seals. They [the seals] were like friends eh? They'd get away and go back and forth and they'd come up...you wouldn't be allowed out there. Trying to shoot and the boys would get a lot of seals anyway. But we wasn't so strict eh, after we [him and his brothers] took over. And my father, once and awhile he'd come up in the morning, and he'd ask what the boys' doing...I couldn't shoot with my father around, too nervous. Too strict for me...he didn't like to see anybody miss.

A: Did he teach you all how to shoot the gun then?

H: Well, he never...we had done it ourselves. Because got up early eh, and in his forties he got blind and couldn't see that well. But he'd be up there looking around and shaking his eyes at us.

K: I got to look at that plane...[a plane coming in to land on an incredibly windy day]

A: You have a beautiful view by the way [looking out the big window to see the plane]

K: It's going right like this [moves her hands to show the wobbly plane, Hayward's wife has come in to watch too]

A: Yeah, it wouldn't be good to be on a plane or boat today...

H: Well you know, when I think about it now I think he [his father] made a man out of me. Because all of us, we built our own boats, motorboats...and all of our houses...with a pit saw...you never seen a pit saw eh?

A: No, what's that?

H: Well, my brother made one to saw ribs out...boat ribs. Just last week he passed away [talking about Albert] and I got one at his house that he made himself.

A: So what's a pit saw, what is it?

H: A pit saw is...well one...you make a scaffold, you put your log on top and one feller's on top and one feller's under. And the feller that's under is supposed to haul the saw down, and the feller on top hauls the saw up.

A: Okay [finally understanding]

H: I can show you a shape of a pit saw but this is a hand-made one for a hand [much smaller] [we get up to look at it]. There's two of them that he made...that's the kind of teeth the pit saw had...[he continues to explain what the handles of the larger version would look like]. That one was made for sawing timbers. [we come back to the table].

K: Since you and your family built your own house in Black Island, your family was very big did you have a big house?

H: The one up from the one with the green roof on it, see we grew up in that one, that's the old one. All down Black Island, that's where we grew up, and that's where my father grew up...in that house. He was ten years old when they had a landslide. They lost just about everything in there, in the house.

A: So, when I was on Black Island we talked with Stanley, he's your brother? And we went into one of the houses there and it was white and had green was that the one you grew up in or was that a different one?

H: The one with the green roof? That's the one...with metal stuff on the roof?

A: Yup

H: We all grew up in that one. I was thirteen years old when we built...no fourteen, when we built that big one there. White one with the fence around. And that, what we call a skidoo shed up over the wood shed, that one with the blue trimming on it, that's the one we had a wharf on and we used to clean our fish. And that little shack was one of the first stages they had down there. By my cabin, made out of schooner's wreck I think. I took it down and put it back exactly the way it was built. I just put it back, me and Sonny boy, he was down there that spring and he helped me.

K: [To me] That's my husband...

A: Oh yeah!

H: That's right too eh? (laughs) That's old that one. One of the first fishing stages they had down there.

A: And I think I also saw the structure that you'd keep the seals in too...Stanley sort of directed us so we went for a walk...it was an old wood building

H: Yup, that's where we used to keep our seals. We used to fill up that one, plus we had a piece on the back with no roof on it.

A: How many would fit in that house?

H: Ummm, three hundred I suppose. You could add more if they [the seals] were younger. We'd haul them up right to the top. We used to have the ones we shot separate eh? Because it makes the other ones dirty with blood...the nets seals see, they don't bleed eh? That's the easy ones to clean. We used to put the small ones outside the house and at the back there we had a space with a frame around. A lot of seals come out of that place.

A: It looks like a good place to be, it's very calm out there and nice. I liked it when I was there.

H: Rough in the winter-time. Just like in the country. It's good now because you have better houses, when I repaired the one I got up there I put in some insulation, put it in between and styrofoam outside. And after I did all that I got my cabin! (laughs) Yeah that house is all built by, sawed by hand most of it. Pit saw. We had two of them, two saws. Albert and Jimmy (?) done the most I think. In the spring, hot old days they'd be sawing and sawing. They used to send me off with the truck to put nets out for char.

A: Is there anything else about growing up that you want to share?

H: I guess that's it, a lot of it I mean some things I can't even remember. I used to play ball, see when I was growing up Uncle Joe was down there and he had his kids down there like Sophie and Beatrice and them. Christine (Baikie)...but after they grow up they all left eh. Uncle Joe moved over here to Cape Little. Most times it was just one family down there, in the winter-time. In the summer-time they used to go up there fishing. Long nights sometimes, but we always had something to do. Scattered time we'd go up on the pond and go skating...in the moonlight. Was good sometimes, really good. When we were smaller I think it was worse because it was really cold. Like I'd hate getting up in the cold house in the mornings. Feet almost sticking to the floor.

K: Where'd you get the skates from?

H: I can't even remember! I think someone gave them to me. I was about thirteen but can't remember who gave them to me...I think it was Lappa Green (spelling?). In Easter-time we used to come up here [Nain] and my cousins had a pair of skates and I used to bother them to take turns skating. I learned how to skate, I was up to the brook there and it was blowin' hard whistling [the wind] and I went sailing down! (all laughing). That's when I started learning how to skate. Used to play hockey too. The most games we used to play them times- at Black Island anyway- when I was a kid I used to cry and cry and cry and wouldn't stop unless they picked me up because I used to hear them bawlin' playing checkers! Used to make your own checker boards and checkers. They'd be playing, clapping and everything. They used to cut the grass, to different lengths and you'd go around and pick partners and you had a long and short.

K: Like straws...

H: God I had good fun watching them play checkers...

A: Did they just make the little checkers out of wood?

H: Yeah. Round ones and square ones. They'd make their own checker board. And they were at it every night.

A: Did you ever have tv up there?

H: Nope, they never had tv's 'til the 70s. I had my own bought after my forties I suppose. And I had a turntable...stuff like that. Then I bought a portable one. [Long pause] We used to have drills, and planes, see that wooden one on the shelf on the bottom? That's the kind of planes we used to use. That's grandfather's old stuff. Hard wood.

A: Did you make the boat that's beside it?

H: Mmhmm, I made a bunch of them. I done that last winter as something to do! I made about five, six or seven of those boats...I gave them all away. [Another pause] We used to be off every day...done a lot of hunting. When we were growing up we used to share guns because they were hard to get eh? First one I bought was in the late 50s. For fifty-eight bucks a riffle. I bought another one after I sold it for twenty-five bucks. Coming around Black Island going north and people stayed overnight so I told him [the guy he sold it to] he could have that one because I had another new one.

A: Now I know Parks Canada is talking about seeing if they can get Black Island listed as a historic site, what do you think about that, listed on the national historic sites registry?

H: I think they should.

A: It sounds like it's got a lot of history.

H: I mean my older brothers, they knows a lot more. Like Johnny, well Johnny's the only one left I suppose...because [other people outside his family] they never done much sealing down there like we did. They had a chance to go to school. Well we boys missed a lot of school. Had to leave one time because they had no heat in school, closed the school. Because all they had or burned was wood then. [Reflective pause] I had a good life, especially the last few years. It's going to fast, once you gets up in your fifties you gotta try and hang on!

A: Yeah I only turned twenty-five this summer but it seems every year it goes faster and faster.

K: Wish I was twenty-five again!

A: But thank you for sitting down today and chatting and telling us about growing up. That was great.

H: I'm not telling you no lies! (all laughing)

A: Did you have anything else Katie?

K: Nope. Interesting though, very interesting.

A: Yeah.

[End of tape]

Appendix 3

Survey

- 1) Do you know much about the archaeology that goes on in Labrador?
 - (a) Yes, I feel I am well informed on the archaeology in Labrador
 - (b) I feel somewhat informed on the archaeology
 - (c) No, I do not feel like I know much about the archaeology in this region

- 2) Would you like to know more about the archaeology in your area?
 - (a) Yes, I am very interested in receiving more information on archaeology.
 - (b) It doesn't really matter to me
 - (c) No, I have no interest in archaeology

- 3) If you were to receive more information on this subject, which format would you prefer?
 - (a) A website complete with pictures and maps
 - (b) Through news briefs on the local radio station
 - (c) Through community presentations and workshops
 - (d) Other (please elaborate): _____

- 4) How would you like to see archaeology conducted within your community or the region in the future? (check all that apply)
 - ☐ I would like to see more community involvement in the choice of research projects (in terms of location, project ideas etc...)

 - ☐ I would like to see more volunteer opportunities as well as employment opportunities if possible

 - ☐ I would like to see more about the research after it has occurred

Optional:

Age:

Gender:

Additional comments or suggestions:

