# THIS IS WHERE I LIVE, BUT IT'S NOT MY HOME: ARCHAEOLOGY AND IDENTITY IN SANDWICH BAY, LABRADOR

JESSICA E. PACE

# THIS IS WHERE I LIVE, BUT IT'S NOT MY HOME: ARCHAEOLOGY AND IDENTITY IN SANDWICH BAY, LABRADOR

**By**

**©Jessica E. Pace**

**A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies**

**In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of**

**Master of Arts**

**Department of Anthropology and Archaeology**

**Memorial University**

**May 2008**

**St. John's, Newfoundland**

**Abstract**

This research uses narratives gathered from Métis elders and data from archaeological survey to access information about the importance of abandoned traditional sites near Cartwright, Labrador to the formation and maintenance of southeastern Labrador Métis identity. The correlation between landscapes and the formation of personal and group identity is well documented in the literature concerning landscape archaeology; however, displacement is often overlooked in this context. This research tests theories related to archaeologies of landscape and memory by investigating the ways in which events that have caused displacement of the Labrador Métis from traditional villages to larger, more permanent settlements have influenced and continue to affect the formation of the Métis cultural identity. By considering the interrelated theories of landscape, memory and identity this research demonstrates that landscape not only shapes Labrador Métis group identity but is also intentionally modified by the Métis in an effort to maintain and solidify their connection to their collective past.

**Acknowledgments**

This research would not have been possible without the help of my supervisor, Dr. Lisa Rankin, who supported the idea of this project from the very beginning and helped to make it a reality. Thank you for being a wonderful mentor and a friend.

I would also like to thank the kind and generous people of Cartwright, Labrador who welcomed me into their community and shared their stories and experiences with me. Thanks to Doris and Lewis Davis for their services as boat drivers and their enthusiasm for sharing their knowledge about Sandwich Bay. To Brenda Holwell, Darryl Burdett and family – you welcomed me into your home, but also your family and always made sure I was well fed and properly dressed for the weather. I will never forget your kindness. Thanks go to Judy Pardy for helping me to find potential interview subjects.

I am grateful to all of the people that were generous enough to invite me into their kitchens and living rooms to share a cup of tea and stories of life in Sandwich Bay. Without those stories, my project would not have been possible. Thank you all for sharing your passion for Labrador with me.

And finally, to my family and friends who stood by me through this process and supported me. You each helped me through it in your own special way, and I wouldn't have made it through without you all!

## Table of Contents

## Table of Figures

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

There's nothing the same as being back to your own hometown, you might as well call it. There's nothing like it. I guess it's something that gets in your blood when you're growin' up (Leslie Hamel, Cartwright, Labrador, 2007).

It's not like that now. It changed completely. I still go to Pack's Harbour. I always will, as long as I can, you know, crawl up over the hill or whatever. It will always be home, you know (Doris Davis, Cartwright, Labrador, 2007).

They were relocated [to Cartwright]…and they never did call it home, they were never really happy here. They wanted to be back to the coast (Shirley Roberts (Tremblette), Cartwright, Labrador, 2007).

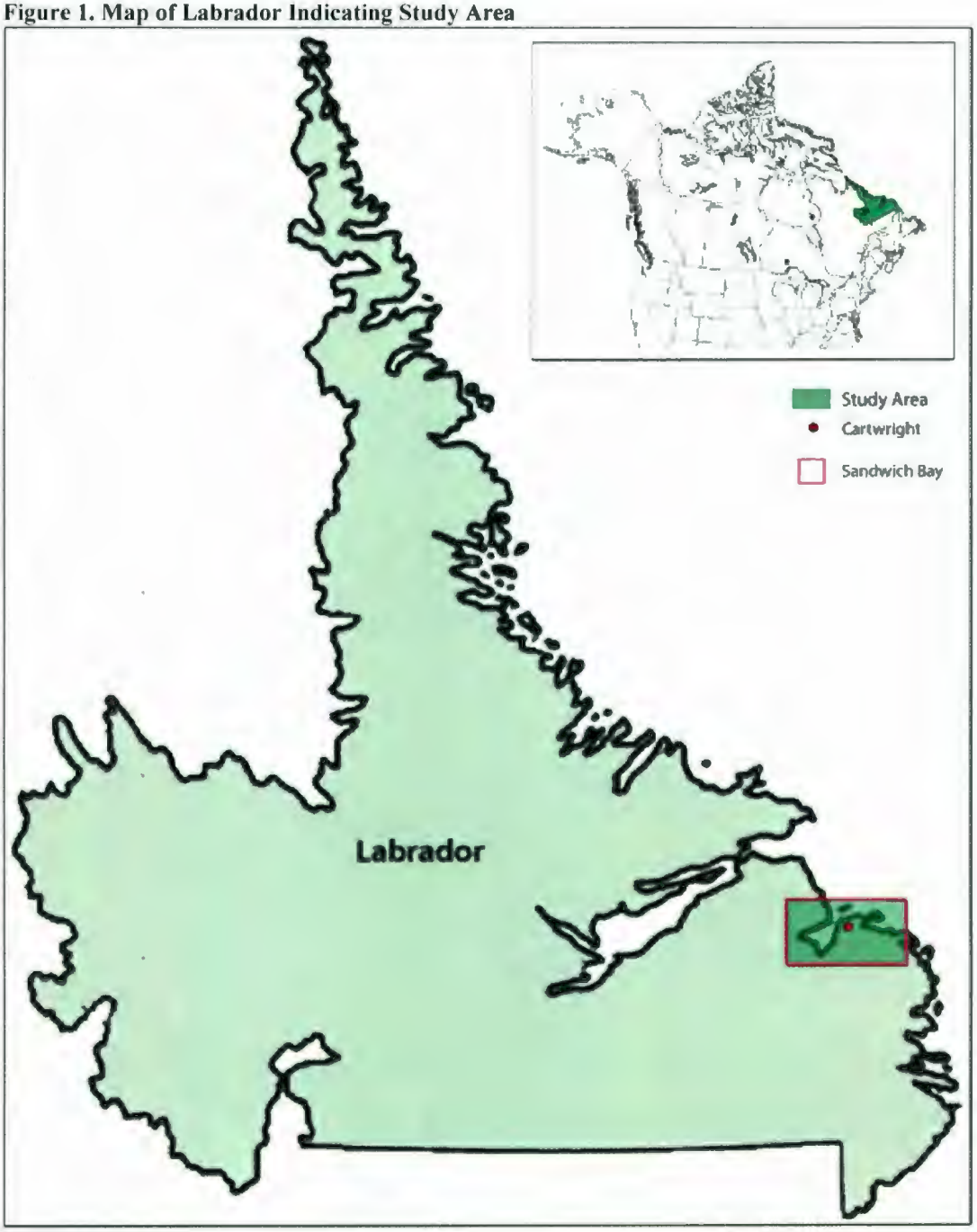
These are statements that I came across often in my fieldwork in Cartwright, Labrador and they serve as a good starting point to this research. The objective of this project is to identify the importance of traditional landscapes to the southeastern Labrador Métis identity, particularly concerning events that have led to displacement from traditional settlements and a lifestyle that relied on living off the land. As these quotes demonstrate, Métis individuals in Cartwright are very connected to the places that they consider to be home, the places where they grew up and lived a traditional way of life. Changes over the last century have disrupted both the settlement patterns and the lifestyle of the southeastern Labrador Métis, and it is proposed that the accompanying changes in their association with the traditional landscape and the continued interaction with

abandoned traditional locations has influenced the formation and maintenance of the contemporary Métis cultural identity.

## 1.2 The Southeastern Labrador Métis in Cartwright and Sandwich Bay

The Labrador Métis are the descendants of mixed Inuit and European ancestries who inhabit small communities along the south coast of Labrador. In particular, this project examines the Labrador Métis who inhabit Cartwright, Labrador and the surrounding area of Sandwich Bay (Figure 1). Traditionally, the Labrador Métis inhabited small, family settlements and followed a seasonal cycle of transhumance, living in sheltered inner bays in the winter and moving to coastal areas for the summer months to best exploit available local resources. The traditional subsistence activities governing the seasonal movements of this group consisted primarily of salmon and cod fishing, hunting, trapping and berry picking (Anderson 1984; Jackson 1982; Kennedy 1995).

**Figure 1. Map of Labrador Indicating Study Area**




(Modified from http://www.crrstv.net/images/logo_about_map.gif)

At the time of first contact with Europeans in the sixteenth century, the Labrador Inuit were living off the land in a traditional manner which involved moving across the landscape in order to exploit seasonally available resources. This way of life continued after European contact, but many changes were adopted, including the development of mixed households. The Métis continued a way of life that involved exploiting locally available natural resources on a seasonal cycle of transhumance, but also incorporated elements of European culture (Fitzhugh 1999:143). By the nineteeth century many changes had taken place in Inuit culture, and goods of European origin were well ensconced in Métis society. The desire to have increased access to European foods and other goods led many hunters to enter into trade relationships with merchants (Rompkey 2003:14). The extent to which European and Inuit cultures influenced one another, which was dominant, and exactly how they interacted at this early stage remains unknown, as it was not documented and very little archaeological work has been done on known Métis sites.

Determining exactly when individuals of mixed ancestry in Labrador began to identify with one another as a distinct population separate from Inuit and European groups, or what traits they used to differentiate themselves is difficult. Kennedy (1993:2, 1997a:2, 1997b:3, 2005:6) suggests that the first generation of individuals of mixed ancestry chose to marry others of the same background "eventually comprising a 'half-breed' category". Little is known about how this group perceived themselves, but historical documentation does exist noting both 'real' and 'half' Esquimaux, which

suggests that differences between groups were recognized to some degree, at least by visiting Europeans (Hickson 1825:137).

In the last century, the traditional lifeway of the Labrador Métis in Sandwich Bay has been influenced by a variety of events that have led to significant changes in their settlement and subsistence patterns, including the 1918 Spanish Influenza epidemic, government resettlement programs of the 1960s and 1970s and the closing of the commercial cod and salmon fisheries in the 1990s (Kennedy 1993, 1997a, 1997b). The impact of each of these events led to a general trend whereby the Labrador Métis moved away from small family settlements and a seasonal cycle of movement around the landscape to larger, permanent and more centralized locations such as Cartwright where health care, education and other government services are readily available (Anderson 1984:46). In the face of their changing landscape and the increasing acceptance of their Aboriginal heritage, the Métis have constructed a distinct cultural identity (Kennedy 1993, 1997a, 1997b). This project examines the particular influence of changes in the appearance, accessibility and use of the traditional landscape on the southeastern Labrador Métis identity.

The process of shifting (the local term for movement between seasonal locations) was carried out until quite recently in the Sandwich Bay area. For most people it was a well established and necessary practice until resettlement programs in the 1960s and 1970s, and for others the way of life carried on, at least to a degree, until the closing of the commercial cod and salmon fisheries in the 1990s. Cartwright increasingly became a more central focus of life in the area as services such as mail, education, health care and

commercial businesses offering goods as well as wage labour employment became progressively more available there.

Individuals of mixed Inuit and European ancestry have flexible identities. In the early years of contact between Europeans and Aboriginal groups, the acceptance of European men who married an Aboriginal person by other Europeans would have been tentative at best; also, children of mixed ancestry would have faced stigmatization and judgment by both the Inuit and European populations. This raises questions about the extent to which individuals of mixed descent were accepted in a place such as Cartwright where many, if not most, individuals had some sort of Aboriginal ancestry. This project considers the factors that led to the development and maintenance of both in group and external identity among the Sandwich Bay population over the course of the last century (Kennedy 1993:7; 1997a:2; 1997b:3; 2005:8).

Métis cultural identification is a very recent phenomenon, with self-identification as a distinct cultural group and the subsequent establishment of the Labrador Métis Nation Association (now Nation) only occurring in the early to mid-1980s (Kennedy 1993; 1997a; 1997b; www.labmetis.org). Establishing exactly how the Métis identity developed and has changed over time is difficult, if not impossible. However, this project will attempt to pinpoint major catalysts for change to Labrador Métis cultural identity by using landscape as a factor that can both change or reinforce cultural identity.

The questions that this research will seek to answer are as follows: 1) What is the importance of landscape to the formation and maintenance of southeastern Labrador Métis identity? 2) What changes have occurred to the appearance, accessibility and use of

the Sandwich Bay landscape in the last century? 3) What impact have these changes to the landscape had on Métis identity? 4) How does archaeology influence the Métis identity? 5) What does this project contribute to the field of archaeology and specifically to the archaeology of Sandwich Bay?

## 1.3 Theoretical Approach

Few past studies have considered the Labrador Métis as a distinct cultural group. Archaeological research concerning Inuit and Europeans in the southern Labrador region has mostly focused on interactions between Inuit and Europeans at the time of first contact during the sixteenth century (Auger 1989, 1991; Brewster 2005; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Taylor 1977; Woollett 1999, 2003), but little work has been done on the mixed descendents that resulted from the intermarriage of Inuit women and European men in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In part, this paucity of research is a result of the difficulty in clearly identifying the difference between Inuit, European and Métis sites of the time period as Europeans who came to the area quickly adopted many elements of Inuit life that helped them to best adapt to the climate and environment of the southern Labrador coast while the Inuit adopted many European goods.

Further, Métis self-identification as a distinct cultural group only came about in the mid-1980s with the establishment of the Labrador Métis Nation. Prior to this, the Métis, then commonly called 'Settlers,' were less accepting of and less interested in their Aboriginal heritage and their group status was poorly defined. A limited amount of research has been done relating to Labrador Métis ethnogenesis and culture history

(Anderson 1984; Jackson 1982; Kennedy 1993, 1995, 1997a, 1997b, 2005), however many gaps remain in our understanding of this group and the way that their identity has been developed and maintained.

Interest in the Labrador Métis as a distinct cultural group is increasing and the first archaeological work on a known Métis site has now been conducted which, once analysis is complete, will shed light on the way that Inuit and European cultures came together, and how we can recognize Métis habitation sites in the archaeological record (Beaudoin, personal communication 2007). This research has generated a lot of interest from the inhabitants of Cartwright as well as the Labrador Métis Nation and there is a lot of enthusiasm from local people towards the prospect of further work in the area. My research makes an effort to bring together archaeological and ethnographic data as well as oral traditions to address questions that are difficult to answer when considering any of these methods alone.

## 1.4 Theoretical Context

The purpose of this section is to situate this research within the theoretical frameworks of landscape, memory and identity. Theories relating to landscape are crucial to this research, as the goal is to better understand the way that natural and cultural landscapes influence the cultural identity of the people who live within them. Many different aspects of landscape theory will be considered in this chapter and I will discuss how different aspects of landscape theory can be used together to best understand the experience of cultural groups in the face of both stability and change in traditional and

contemporary landscapes and the role that this plays in their self-identification as a unique cultural group.

In this chapter, landscape theory will be discussed in terms of five basic themes. The discussion of these themes will highlight issues that are pertinent to this project and will later be applied to the unique situation of the southeastern Labrador Métis. The themes are as follows: defining space, place and landscape; identity; displacement, diaspora and movement; archaeologies of memory; and community archaeology and Aboriginal advocacy. Elements of landscape theory overlap in all of these themes to a degree, but it is still useful to consider each of them separately before bringing them together.

### 1.4.1 Defining Space, Place and Landscape

People, identity and the physical environment are inherently intertwined and landscape theory in archaeology and other social sciences is concerned with the way that these three concepts interact and influence one another. Scholars from multiple disciplines have provided many different definitions for landscape. Space, place, nature and environment are all concepts that are discussed when attempting to define landscape. This project uses a multidisciplinary theoretical approach, but focuses on landscape theory from an anthropological and archaeological perspective.

The earliest definition for landscape emerged from geography in 1925, stating that:

> The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a cultural group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result. Under the influence of a given culture, itself changing through time, the landscape undergoes development, passing through phases, and probably reaching ultimately the end of its cycle of development. With the introduction of a different –that is, alien- culture, a rejuvenation of the cultural landscape sets in, or a new landscape is superimposed on the remnants of an older one (Sauer 1925:46)

The basic premise of this definition has remained remarkably relevant over the last 80 years, though the theory has been expanded and aspects of it have evolved, particularly in the realm of specific disciplines, such as archaeology, history and architecture (Knapp and Ashmore 1999). In archaeology, concepts relating to landscape have taken a particular focus on the ways that physical spaces are transformed into meaningful places by the people who live in, use and travel through them (Hirsch 1995: 22). Considered this way, landscapes can be used in a similar fashion to other material culture in order to learn about the people who made use of it.

Landscape is a construction that is formed by the cumulative events of everyday life. Ingold (1993:156) states that "landscape is the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them." He specifies that landscapes are not just 'spaces' or 'places' and neither are they land or nature. They are a cultural process which is constructed by people as a part of their greater experience in the world of movement, relationships, memories, and histories which are all intertwined in a complex web of people, things, and places (Feld and Basso 1996:8). This can include their beliefs, value systems, history, personal choice and relationships. The construction of landscape is not static, but changes constantly as each

successive generation imposes its own understanding and meaning to the spaces and places that surround them (Anschuetz *et al.* 2001:166).

Most commonly, space is understood as universal, global, and abstract. It represents the neutral background universe which surrounds us all. Space is generally interpreted as a passive backdrop in front of which human action occurs (Whitridge 2004:214). By contrast, place is the product of human action and activities within the spaces that they occupy. Place is constructed by people when they use and interact with the spaces that surround them. Place is by neither fixed nor permanent and the boundaries that surround it are fluid and porous. Place is constructed by the actions of people through processes of work, narratives and movement (Escobar 2001: 144, 147-8; Whitridge 2004:214). The acceptance and use of the terms as defined above is by no means universal, and overlapping and even seemingly reversed definitions do exist (Whitridge 2004:214). For example, Robin and Rothschild (2002:160) define lived or living spaces almost identically to the way that place is defined by other sources.

Of major importance in landscape theory is the way people form their identity based on their surrounding landscape. The transformation of 'spaces' into meaningful 'places' occurs as people live on the land and come to associate areas of the landscape with maps, toponyms, and other traditional knowledge. Toponyms are a useful way of accessing traditional knowledge as they are often associated with myths, events, and physical attributes and characteristics of the landscape. Many aboriginal cultures have deeply descriptive topographical lore which includes information about the land (Pentland 1971:149). The Inuit, in particular, have a rich tradition in which place names

are embedded with cultural knowledge pertaining to prominent economic and environmental resources of the landscape as well as mythical or magical occurrences and memorable people or events (Whitridge 2004:220).

Landscape archaeology studies the way in which human groups are affected by their natural and cultural surroundings and the way in which they extend themselves across space (Anschuetz et al. 2001:158). Both natural and cultural landscapes can affect the way that people live, and the interaction between the two influences how people understand the places and spaces that surround them (Anschuetz et al. 2001:160). Changes in lifestyle, movement and settlement patterns influence the identity of the people who live in a place. Landscapes are constructed by the people who inhabit them, they are flexible and change over time and often represent palimpsests. In other words, evidence of previous time periods and activities often show through on the present landscape. Because of the deep interaction between people and their surrounding landscape, landscape studies are also closely related to studies of personal and group identity, as well as memory.

### 1.4.2 Identity

Landscape and memory are both significant theoretical concepts to consider when addressing cultural identity. People, culture and the physical environment are interconnected and each of these elements acts on and interacts with the others to form a fluid and flexible construction of personal and group identity. People's sense of who they are is often rooted in the physical environment that surrounds them (Toren 1995:163).

Identity is constructed through the continuous interaction with landscape through work, play, living and moving, making the two inextricable. While no two people will have an identical perception of landscape, it can act as a unifying feature between individuals and often serves as the basis for cultural and group formation. In part, this is because landscape implies a sense of belonging (Toren 1995:163).

When considering identity it is important to differentiate between cultural or group identity and ethnicity. While at times the two may overlap, they are not equivalent. Ethnicity is based primarily on descent from common ancestry, whereas identity is a constructed awareness of the labels by which we define ourselves. Group identity consists of inclusion in a defined group or subscription to a specific set of shared ideals (Anderson 2005:38). Identity is dependant on and interacts with the greater set of local, national and global norms and any individual may count themselves as a part of multiple group identities (Anderson 2005:1).

The relationship between people and the places and spaces they occupy is fundamental. Landscape plays a strong role in the formation and maintenance of identity because people purposely recognize, inscribe and collectively maintain distinct places in ritual, symbolic, or ceremonial terms (Anschuetz et al. 2001:158; Eyesteinsson 2006:8). By contrast, places also create and express social identity. Important locations on the landscape are often marked to demonstrate their importance; this may be done visibly by the construction of shrines, monuments or architecture or symbolically by association with toponyms, knowledge and oral traditions. As these places become recognized and

recognizable, they become invested with supernatural meaning as well as social and self-identity (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:15).

Day to day use also marks the landscape, sometimes in ways indistinguishable to outsiders. A close relationship and dependence on the natural environment, such as that experienced by hunter-gatherers leads to a strong sense of identification through landscape, as without the resources and shelter offered by the landscape their lives would not be possible. Among such groups, land is inextricable from life as it directly impacts sustenance, spiritual beliefs and social control mechanisms (van Dam 2005:109; Muir 1999:280). Traditional knowledge about natural resources and how to access them as well as place names and knowing how to get to and from these sites also solidifies the sense of a person's belonging to the landscape (Whitridge 2004:220).

In the face of pressure, internal or external, natural or cultural, cultural and group identities can be strongly impacted. As landscapes change, they can have strong effects on the identity of individuals or groups who occupy them by either shifting or solidifying their conception of who they are. Change forces modifications in or reconstructions of identity just as it involves modifications or reconstructions of the landscape. Changes to a community's physical landscape challenge the social and cultural identity of the people who live within it (Foster 1993:1). Change can have many forms: resource availability, natural disasters and weather are all natural factors that can impact people's identity and their identification with the landscape.

Cultural changes can be either voluntary or imposed and positive or negative. In particular, issues concerning land use, accessibility and ownership often cause people to

band together and exert their collective identity. However, politically-derived descriptors of space can not be taken as an absolute indicator of cohesion or shared identity (Anderson 2005:4). Local, national and international negotiations of wealth and power can also play a role in impacting identity. Internal and external factors can determine where people can live, what resources they can exploit and how they belong to larger scales of interaction. In the face of pressure and political influences people generally band together even more closely as a cohesive group and draw on the things that are collectively important to them to form a stronger identity (Anderson 2005:11; Lambert-Pennington 2005:34; van Dam 2005:107).

Identification with a group is a personal choice and even people living within the same spaces and places may identify at different levels with the various landscapes, cultures or groups to which they belong. Class, power, occupation and relationships all play a role in identity, and most of these are mapped on the landscape. Identity is also fluid and changes over time. Again, in the face of pressure or changing relationships people reformulate their identity so that they can best fit in. As time passes and circumstances change identities transform and are reinterpreted (Skulj 2006:181). People like to feel that they belong and this is often expressed in terms of attachment to locality (Escobar 2001:150).

The physical locations that people inhabit can also have an impact on identity depending on how they are located in relation to outside influences and the ease with which the people who live within them can enter and leave them to interact with other places. Isolation can be a strong factor in shaping culture, identity and attachment to

place (Burke 1999:1). In the present day, true isolation is rare in any community, as communication and movement between places has been greatly facilitated by air travel, television, telephones and the internet. The changes in the ability to move between and interact with different people and places that were not previously accessible to small communities is another factor which forces people to continuously remodel their sense of who they are.

Education about history and heritage can also impact identity. By learning about their past, people increase their self-awareness and this can lead to changes or reaffirmation in their identity (Foster 1993:4). When historic sites are restored or revealed in a community the people's connection to their past is emphasized. This can potentially have a very significant impact if the history of one group in an area is emphasized more than that of other groups. It may also instill the people with a sense of pride about their past as they learn about the ways that their ancestors lived and they learn to associate specific landscape features with the challenges that their ancestors struggled over in the past (Burke 1999:13).

### 1.4.3 Displacement, Diaspora and Movement

The archaeological literature concerning landscape has tended to overlook the importance of the movement and displacement of people. Barbara Bender (2001) addresses displacement and diaspora in her article "Landscapes on-the-move" taking an explicit consideration of people not only within, but also between, landscapes. She focuses on forced displacement caused by a catalyst event, and stresses the idea of

dislocation as relocation, noting that even if people are in a new or temporary landscape they will always remain in some sort of relationship with the old landscape.

Abandoned locations remain a part of the active landscape even if they are no longer in use (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:14). As a visible element of the space that surrounds people and that they interact with while performing other activities, abandoned locations still serve as an important part of the landscape. The very fact that they are not in use and are old, decrepit and decaying conveys important messages and represents an image of what life was once like.

The importance of place is not dependent on its proximity to a person or group of people. The things that people consider to be the 'closest' to themselves or to their identity may not be the things that are in closest geographic proximity to them (Heidegger 1962:135). Instead, as discussed by Thomas (1996:86) "Our nearness to a place or a thing might be a consequence of the way in which it contributes to our personal history, like the exile who continues to feel close to her homeland." As the importance and priority of certain places and values change, our closeness to them changes, though not necessarily in the geographical sense. Closeness to place is developed through the process of inhabitation (Thomas 1996:86).

Just as displacement can alter identity, so can influences from the outside, especially in places where isolation was once the norm. Globalization has a strong impact on people's sense of place and in general leads to a weakening of the ties between people, place and identity (Muir 1999:179). As people become increasingly reliant on factory made, mass manufactured items they lose an important aspect of what once distinguished

them from others. Also, with globalization, even the most isolated places have become accessible, meaning that outsiders can more easily visit them, and also that people have greater opportunities to travel outside of their home territories, which often results in out-migration. The nature of landscapes and being 'in-place' has been significantly altered because of this. For this reason it is even more crucial to consider the paths between places and the importance of in-between or temporary places (Bender 2001:78).

In general, globalization has weakened the ties between local communities and the places they inhabit, as they no longer rely on the natural resources around them to make a living (Muir 1999:278). By contrast, as global pressures leads to homogenization of places, people are beginning to make an active effort towards differentiating their local landscape in the quest to highlight their local identity (Muir 1999:281). A consideration of places, 'in-between' places and 'non-places' is therefore crucial to understanding the people who live and move between them.

### 1.4.4 Archaeologies of Memory

Memory is a new theoretical concept in archaeology. Studies of memory and remembrance in archaeology are particularly focused on accessing the understanding of the past by past peoples (Alcock and Van Dyke 2003:1). To do this, archaeologists look at the acts of remembering and forgetting that create social memory. Social Memory is the construction by a society of a collective notion about the way things were in the past, it can vary by gender, ethnicity, class, age and religion and allows for both multiplicity and conflicting ideas. Social memory can be accessed by archaeologists through several

means, and many scholars have taken up archaeologies of memory by looking at the various "footprints" that acts of remembrance leave behind, including ritual behaviour, narratives, symbolic representations, material culture and landscapes (Alcock and Van Dyke 2003:4).

The theoretical framework concerning archaeologies of memory is still fairly new. While it has been applied in several cases, this project offered a particularly interesting chance to evaluate its value and utility in Labrador where living informants could contribute to the understanding of the data interpreted from the archaeological record. In particular, it allowed me to evaluate the nature of data that is accessible through the archaeological record versus that which can be gathered from living people who have experienced living on the land and have memories of a personal interaction with the landscape.

Landscape is often considered to be a materialization of memory, a spatial record of both social and individual remembrance (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:13). Landscape and memory are both considered to be constructed by humans, so it is no wonder that these two significant concepts influence and act on one another. Memories are created while experiencing landscapes, and landscapes are often imbued with clues that remind people of their past, especially in the form of monuments, toponyms and oral histories. Concepts of memory are not simply reflections of landscape, but also often the means of organizing, using, and living in the landscape (Brady and Ashmore 1999:126; Knapp and Ashmore 1999:14; van de Guchte 1999:150). Memory stresses continuity in the landscape, often through re-use, reinterpretation or restoration, and reconstruction (Knapp

and Ashmore 1999:14). Myths and memories are often inscribed in contemporary landscapes. Because of this they can lead to the better understanding of past traditions, and in this sense, memory is linked to identity. By dwelling in a particular landscape, people come to associate who they are with the places that surround them. Through this "locatedness of dwelling" memories are developed which can prevent the fragmentation of identity (Bachelard 1964:7).

Landscapes, and the memories contained within them, can also influence relations of power (Thomas 1996:91). Places are not chosen and constructed at random. People living in any environment strategically make decisions that shape their surroundings and convey messages and meaning. This includes modifications to the landscape that are meant to emphasize or downplay past events. The consumption of place is also strategic. People choose how, when and why to interpret various places to serve their needs and support their values (Thomas 1996:91). All of this occurs as people make an effort to interpret their world and their position within it, and landscape allows for individuals to construct and consume the same places in different ways. Thomas (1996:91) asserts that "the way that places are linked together in personal narratives may play a subversive role in undermining dominant interpretations of space". Alternatively, personal narratives can strengthen interpretations of space when they are collectively shared among a certain population.

### 1.4.5 Community Archaeology and Aboriginal Advocacy

Increasingly, indigenous groups are taking an active interest in the interpretation and management of their cultural heritage and many archaeologists are embracing the desire of indigenous peoples to be involved in their projects. A landscape approach is particularly useful in bridging the divide between the work done by archaeologists and the interests of local communities and the greater public (Anschuetz et al. 2001:159). The benefits of the involvement of indigenous peoples in archaeological projects run both ways. By speaking with people from traditional communities archaeologists can better place their findings in a context of community traditions, develop a better understanding of the importance of resource use and heritage sites, and create relationships that aid in demonstrating their respect for cultural differences (Anschuetz et al. 2001:163).

Of particular use to archaeologists are the traditional knowledge and oral traditions that can be gained from speaking with community elders. In many contemporary cases, the Aboriginal elders were the last generation to directly experience living off the land. The insights that can be gained from speaking with these individuals can improve the archaeologist's perspective on material culture and the landscape (Stewart et al. 2004). When oral history and archaeology are combined a more complete understanding of what was happening in the past can be obtained. Notable work integrating indigenous communities with oral traditions and archaeological work has been done in the last decade and it is becoming a new standard to involve local indigenous communities in archaeological research (Echo-Hawk 2000; Friesen 2002; Mason 2000; Nicholas 2006; Stewart et al. 2004).

### 1.4.6 Integrating Ideas

Each of the five themes discussed above makes up a part of archaeological landscape theory, but also draws from other theoretical concepts and disciplines. These five concepts are complimentary and will greatly inform the study that is being undertaken relating to the formation and maintenance of Labrador Métis cultural identity. Landscape, memory, displacement, advocacy and community archaeology are all factors that have directly impacted and continue to influence the construction of southeastern Labrador identity. Each of the five categories that were discussed works together with the others and they influence and reinforce one another in a complex web. These concepts cannot be readily separated and this research will consider the importance of contemporary studies about group formation and identity to the field of archaeology.

## 1.5 Thesis Outline

This thesis will follow an outline aimed at integrating the contemporary experiences and memories of the Labrador Métis with a theoretical framework that will allow for the identification of significant elements that form the Métis identity as well as for the events that have catalyzed change in this identity. Chapter 2 will provide an historical context in which to situate the Labrador Métis by examining the history of both Inuit and Europeans in the southern Labrador region and their respective cultural adaptation to the area's climate and resources, the manner in which these groups came into contact and the ensuing results of this contact. This chapter will be framed

chronologically so that events that have influenced the southern Labrador Métis way of life can be discussed in sequence.

Chapter 3 will discuss the methodology that was used to gather data for this project. This will include a discussion of my study population, interview technique and content as well as discussion of the sites that I visited and other ways that I learned about Métis traditional life and landscapes. Chapter 4 will provide an in-depth look at the interview content with the goal of determining responses to the research questions that I set out to answer in this project. This will involve a look at important periods of change, the effects of this change on Métis cultural identity and the types of things that have a continuing effect on constructions of Métis identity, including those things that solidify identity and those elements which lead to change. In particular, this chapter will focus on the ongoing archaeological work in the Cartwright area and the impact that it has on contemporary Métis identity.

Finally, the concluding chapter will evaluate the results of this research and explore some of the outcomes and possible future avenues for research in this area. This research will demonstrate that the traditional landscape does have a significant influence on the formation of southern Labrador Métis cultural identity. In particular, one of the things that significantly influences contemporary changes and solidification of this identity is the increasingly high profile of archaeology and historical research in the area and the growing local interest in the preservation of their cultural heritage.

## Chapter 2: History

### 2.1 Introduction

Labrador is often described as barren and empty and was christened the "the land God gave to Cain" by Cartier in 1534 (Jackson 1982:8; Kennedy 1995:19). Despite this, it has a long and complex history of human occupation, with the earliest known evidence of human settlement dating to 9000 years ago (Jackson 1982:5; Kennedy 1995:16; McGhee and Tuck 1975). Since then, many groups have settled the length of the Labrador coast, with the most recent being the Inuit, European and Settler/Métis cultures on the southeastern Labrador coast from the sixteenth century to the present. The specific focus concerns the events that led to the development of Settler/Métis culture and to the processes which have led to change within this group.

This chapter provides a discussion of the early activities of Inuit and Europeans in southeastern Labrador, specifically concerning their settlement of the region. There was always contact between these two groups as they both arrived in the area at similar times. However, early contact was sporadic and full of conflict (Jackson 1982: 7, 10; Kennedy 1995:20). Often, contact between these groups was indirect and involved Inuit raids on European properties that had been left behind when the Europeans left Labrador at the end of the fishing season (Trudel 1977, 1980). Over time, the nature of the relationship between Inuit and European groups changed and eventually, European men began to marry and raise families with Inuit women. This led to the development of a new ethnic and cultural group, the Labrador Settlers/Métis. However, as previously mentioned, we

know little of what this would have meant to both those within and outside of the group or what would have been the basis for the differentiation of this group (Kennedy 1993:2, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 2005). The events that led to the integration of these two cultures are discussed in detail below. This chapter will also describe the "classic" Settler adaptation to southeastern Labrador and follow up with a timeline of events that have significantly impacted Settler life from the nineteenth century to the present.

## 2.2 Inuit in Southeastern Labrador

The Thule culture is an Arctic adapted culture whose economic system revolved around the exploitation of sea mammals. Contemporary Inuit culture developed from the earlier Thule culture that developed in Alaska and moved across the entire Canadian Arctic reaching the end of its range in southern Labrador. The Thule were a whale-hunting people who built distinctive semi-subterranean winter dwellings of stone, sod and whalebone. The Thule also made use of other dwellings types, including skin tents and snow houses (Freeman 1979:279; Maxwell 1985; Mathiassen 1927; Schledermann 1976).

The Thule had a very specialized toolkit comprised of weapons for land and sea mammal hunting, and were highly mobile due to their use of dogs sleds and boats such as *kayaks,* and *umiaks*. Settlement patterns, subsistence activities and material culture are remarkably uniform across Thule territory indicating widespread communication networks (for a detailed description see Maxwell 1985). Despite this, there are some unique occurrences in Labrador that deserve closer inspection, particularly a different pattern and intensity of European contact (Auger 1991; Taylor 1974). After European

contact the Thule become known as Inuit, reflecting their desire to be called by their own name.

The Inuit moved into Labrador around AD 1300 and, while the exact dates of their southern expansion are still debated, it is believed that they settled Hamilton Inlet by about AD 1600 (Brewster 2005: 97; Jackson 1982:10). Historical accounts and archaeological remains both indicate the Inuit presence in southeastern Labrador. However, little is known about the nature and extent of Inuit occupation in the area.

From the time of their arrival in southern Labrador the Inuit experienced various degrees and types of contact with different European groups. Evidence for contact between these groups is visible in the archaeological record where European goods such as iron, beads, clay pipes and ceramics have been found in the context of Inuit sites (Brewster 2005; Jackson 1982:10). Little is known about the full nature and extent of this contact, but it was likely sporadic, full of conflict, and often unplanned and indirect, especially in the early years. Some scholars posit that the European presence in southern Labrador was the very reason that the Thule expanded their territory that far south, so as to procure European goods, particularly metal. The Inuit readily adopted iron and other metals as a useful raw material which they acquired primarily through raids, stealing and vandalism (Auger 1991; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Kaplan 1985; Taylor 1974).

Conflict was a constant concern, and as the European presence increased in southern Labrador several policies were implemented to attempt to ease the relations between the Inuit and Europeans to create a more peaceful environment. Over time the nature of interaction between the two groups did change and eventually, when European

men began to settle permanently on the coast, some took Inuit wives and raised families with them. Small enclaves of Inuit existed along the southeastern Labrador coast until 1900, by which time they were absorbed into nearby Settler communities (Kennedy 1995).

## 2.3 European Presence in Southern Labrador, Early Permanent Settlement and Cultural Implications – Pre 1800

The European presence in southern Labrador is extensive. While no archaeological proof has been discovered, the Norse are believed to have traveled past the Labrador coast around AD 1200 (www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration.early_ex.html). Other European explorers and fishing crews have been visiting the area since the sixteenth century. English, Portuguese and French fishing and whaling took place on the southern Labrador coast during the first half of the sixteenth century, and the Basque had a substantial whaling operation in the Strait of Belle Isle between AD 1550 and 1600 (Jackson 1982:9; Kennedy 1995: 18-19, Tuck and Grenier 1989) All of these groups had encounters with the Inuit and the relations between the groups shaped Inuit and European opinions of one another. Early European visitors to the area provided a backdrop for a changing and developing interaction between these different groups, but for this project the most significant group to be considered are the English.

### 2.3.1 The French

The French had a significant presence in southern Labrador beginning when their fisheries expanded into the region in the second half of the seventeenth century. The French were the first group of Europeans to overwinter in Labrador. French documents indicate that the French had an interest in trading with the Inuit, from whom they wished to obtain marine resources. It is commonly noted in the ethno-historical record that hostility and distrust were the most frequent reactions when the two groups came into contact, and the Inuit often stole or destroyed French property (Brewster 2005:33). Despite this initial conflict, it seems that tensions between the French and the Inuit diminished over time (Auger 1991:10, Brewster 2005:38).

The French exploited the seasonal fishery along the southern Labrador coast throughout the second half of the seventeenth century. By the early eighteenth century the French were exploiting seal, whale and cod resources as far north as Hamilton Inlet, with a primary focus on seal hunting. By the mid-1700s the Labrador coast was regularly fished by French migratory fishermen. During this time there were two main industries in the region, the migratory cod fishery which was ship based and operated for the three month open water summer season and the Canadian seal fishery which required settled winter crews to take care of the capital and infrastructure that the industry required (Anderson 1984:24; Kennedy 1995:22-23).

The 1713 Treaty of Utrecht gave the French the right to dry fish on the south Labrador coast as well as to cut timber for the repair of vessels and erection of fishing premises. Prior to this there was conflict between the French and the English for the

rights to this productive fishing territory. The French embraced the idea of having permanent settlers in Labrador so that they could exploit the full range of resources including fish, oils, whalebone, skins, seals, caribou, furs, ivory and eiderdown. There is documentation of contact between the French and the Inuit at this time (Delanglez 1948; Trudel 1980). This contact was first characterized by conflict, including Inuit raids to acquire French goods. They engaged in some peaceful trade with Inuit, but conflict characterized many encounters. Some unions likely occurred between French men and Inuit women, but the offspring of these couples were usually left behind and absorbed into Inuit communities when the French men left Labrador to return to France (Anderson 1984:26; Kennedy 1995:23). In 1763 the French had to leave the Labrador coast when the English took over rights to fish in the area.

### 2.3.2 The English

With the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the English were ceded the fishing territory of the south Labrador coast where they carried out a seasonal ship-based fishery (Anderson 1984:26; Kennedy 1995:25). Prior to the time of permanent settlement, the early British era in Labrador was fraught with anarchy, violence and disorder. The British attempted to implement policies to reduce this conflict and bring order to the southeastern Labrador coast. The conflict included competition between different European and American groups who were trying to exploit resources and engage in trade in the area; the presence of transient Inuit groups further complicated the situation along the coast (Kennedy 1995:24).

Hugh Palliser was appointed the first governor of Newfoundland in 1764. During his time in power he enforced a policy ensuring that the fishery continued to be a migratory ship fishery with no privately owned onshore infrastructure. Under this policy, which was in place through much of the eighteenth century, year-round settlement on the Labrador coast was strictly prohibited (Kennedy 1995:24). Over time this policy was relaxed, but it definitely had an impact on the number of people who settled on the coast and where the earliest Settlers chose to make their homes.

In 1773 rules prohibiting settlement were relaxed to allow for the salmon and seal fisheries. By the 1780s rules allowing permanent settlement were established and fishing rooms were being built by some merchants on the south Labrador coast for the cod, salmon and seal fisheries (Anderson 1984:27). Through the 1790s there was an increase in the number of semi-permanent fishing and trading establishments along the coast and permanent Settlers learned that by remaining in Labrador over the winter they improved their ability to stake a claim on good land and choice locations for fishing and hunting (Anderson 1984:27).

The cod fishery was highly mobile and did not require a lot of infrastructure, but other industries including the fur trade and seal and salmon fishing required storage, processing facilities and other permanent onshore infrastructure. The nature of seal and salmon fisheries and furring operations was such that it was not in the best economic interest to attempt them intermittently and independently. They required gear, shore installations and knowledge of territory and optimal resource locations. Eventually the importance of salmon, seal and furs surpassed that of cod and the exploitation of multiple

resources allowed protection against resource failure. Settler/Métis settlement patterns were highly influenced by resource availability and the desire to increase productivity using minimal effort and distance minimization between resources (Anderson 1984:28-32).

As regulations about year round settlement were softened some European men chose to remain in Labrador year round. Most remained in jobs with the fish and fur companies, but some struck out on their own in an effort to escape the cycle of debt caused by the merchant system and dependence on their employers, while some ran away (Jackson 1982:14; Kennedy 1995:97). There were only two ways for British settlers to escape the merchant system, one was to sell their season's catch to the Americans and return with them to New England, and the other was to use their skills to become as self-sufficient as possible by living off the land (Jackson 1982:15). Men who took native wives were probably better able to adapt to the conditions of the Labrador coast because they had access to traditional Inuit knowledge related to year-round survival in the Labrador environment. This increased their chance of surviving independently from the merchant (Jackson 1982:18).

Conflict, including raids and violent encounters, with the Inuit continued in many areas throughout the eighteenth century, but decreased over time. Several reasons exist to explain the improved relations between Inuit and Europeans in Labrador at this time. The presence of the Moravian missionaries in northern and central Labrador was one of the more significant developments that improved Inuit-European relations in Labrador during the eighteenth century. With the permission of the British, the Moravians set up several

missions along the central Labrador coast in the late eighteenth century in an effort to convert the Inuit. At this time, the Moravians and the British government worked together to stop Inuit from traveling south to trade (Kennedy 1995:25, 41; Whiteley 1966:76). More relevant to this research is the way that Inuit-European relations were developing in the Sandwich Bay area, which were much less directly impacted by the Moravian presence than interactions in more northerly areas. Pinpointing the events that changed the nature of Inuit-European relations from raids, theft and sporadic face to face contact to a presumably peaceful interaction where Inuit women and European men married is difficult, and there is virtually no information about how this practice developed in the area. Captain George Cartwright was an early explorer of the Sandwich Bay region and settled the location that is now the town of Cartwright.

Inuit families dealt regularly with Cartwright and other traders in the late 1700s. Eventually, disease, brutality, intermarriage and absorption into the early white population led to the disappearance of the Inuit in southern Labrador (Jackson 1982:19). Both European and Inuit skills, material culture, and ideas were drawn upon in order for Settler/Métis culture to develop (Jackson 1982:19). Inuit knowledge of the territory and hunting and transportation technology was important for survival, but access to European weapons and European trade markets also played a role in the newly emerging adaptation. Whereas Inuit traditionally lived on the ice and took advantage of it's offerings throughout the winter, European and mixed families instead migrated to inner, sheltered bays in the winter to exploit fur and firewood resources (Kennedy 1995:18).

Settler culture resulted from two very different cultures coming together and mixing their respective lifeways and material culture in an adaptation to the specific resource and economic restrictions of the southeastern Labrador coast. Early white Settlers in Labrador drew heavily from the knowledge of local indigenous populations, both Inuit and Indian, and they incorporated these indigenous skills with their own cultural and economic adaptations to create a unique subsistence economy and settlement pattern that combined mixed mobility and hunting with the commercial marine harvest (Jackson 1982:5). The Métis way of life, and the values associated with it, such as sharing and industriousness, has in many ways persisted to the present day. However, several events, both local and global, have put pressure on this lifeway in many ways and the Settlers/Métis have continually had to adapt to influences from the outside in order to survive.

The late eighteenth century is notable in terms of Métis development, as this is when the first generation of mixed children was born and raised by their dual heritage parents. As European men increasingly became permanent settlers, more mixed families appeared on the coast. Stigmatization of the mixed offspring of these families led to a preference whereby phenotypically mixed children tended to marry other mixed individuals when they became adults (Kennedy 1993, 1997a, 1997b) and an Inuit-Métis population proliferated in southeastern Labrador. Settler was an early term used to refer to individuals of mixed Inuit and European descent and remained in use until the development of the Labrador Métis Nation in the 1980s. At this time the term Métis largely replaced it. Throughout this research the terms Settler and Métis have been used

more or less interchangeably. While the two do refer to the same population, the term Métis carries a more political connotation.

## 2.4 'Classic' Settler (Métis) Life (1800-1900)

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are the most representative of 'classic' Settler (Métis) life in southeastern Labrador. While there was sporadic permanent settlement and mixed families did exist prior to this time, they were small in numbers and so little is known about the period that it is nearly impossible to describe in any detail (Kennedy 1995:90). Even throughout the 'classic' period, there are difficulties in assembling a complete picture of Settler/Métis life. For one thing, the number of Settlers living along the coast during this time period is unknown. Early census data were recorded during the summer and did not distinguish between permanent residents and transient fishers in the area. Even less is known about the number of people who over-wintered in the area or where they lived during that season (Kennedy 1995:89-90).

Nevertheless, it is known that Settlers in southeastern Labrador followed a pattern of seasonal transhumance, shifting between two or three settlement areas over the course of the year to exploit available resources. In the winter, families dispersed to inner bay locations that were adequately spaced to provide each family with enough resources to get them through the winter. During the summer season, families aggregated more closely because resources were abundant and their harvest required cooperative labour (Kennedy 1995:91). Seasonal movement to settlements of different sizes and the types of

people present at each settlement would have had consequences on social organization and the division of labour of the Settlers (Kennedy 1995:91).

The most typical settlement pattern in southeastern Labrador involved exploiting both interior and exterior areas. There were three main settlement adaptations in southeastern Labrador. On one end of the continuum were the "inside" settlements, where the Settlers primarily focused on trapping, to the exclusion of "outer" activities such as fishing and sealing. On the opposite end were the "outside" settlements where Settlers focused on seals, sea birds and fish and only traveled to the interior to cut firewood. Finally, there was the most common type of community pattern, where Settlers exploited both inner and outer resources, traveling between two or more places at different seasons (Kennedy 1995:91). Settlement patterns were organized in a way that maximized access to seasonally available resources and minimized the distance between summer and winter sites (Anderson 1984:32).

Settler life was also very dependent on the relationship between the merchant and individual families. The ability to harvest an adequate supply of fish or furs was crucial for survival. Settler men not only had to be able to provide subsistence for their families while hunting, but also had to supply the merchant as part of the credit/debit system. Interacting in trade with merchants allowed for Settler families to have access to European goods and foods with which they could supplement that which they could harvest from the land (Kennedy 1995:102).

While much is known about the main seasonal subsistence activities that were carried out by early Settler families, much less is known about the day to day lives of

these people and how they interacted not only with in their own families but also with other families and merchants living nearby. Drawing from what we know about Settler life in more recent times, the men's domestic life was likely occupied by hunting, fishing, and cutting lumber. Women would have been occupied with keeping house and minding children, but also likely provided a helping hand cleaning and preparing fish during the peak processing season. When men were away on long trapping trips women needed to haul water, procure firewood, and occasionally hunt small game on their own to fulfill the needs of their families.

### 2.4.1 Seasonal Activities

The summer activities of the Labrador Métis are better understood than cold-season activities because they have, at least in part, been documented by traveling ministers, itinerant fishers, merchants, and others (Kennedy 1995). Settlers arrived at their spring and summer stations by the time that land-fast ice broke up, in order to begin preparations for the fishing season in the spring and summer. The months of May and June were occupied with hunting harp seals and waterfowl, salmon and cod fishing seasons followed. In the late summer and early fall berry picking was important. Later in the fall and winter, wooding, hunting and trapping were the most significant activities (Jackson 1982:66-77; Kennedy 1995:103-112).

*Spring and Summer*

Settlers moved to their 'outside' stations by the time the land-fast ice had broken up in the spring, though they did occasionally return to their winter stations to store or retrieve various items. May and June were spent hunting harp seals and migratory waterfowl, and occasionally gathering waterfowl eggs. Plant and animal domestication, including sheep, swine, poultry, cabbage and turnip, was occasionally attempted, but the soil and climate in Labrador provided many hurdles to this practice. Salmon was the earliest warm season species to be fished and preparations for the salmon fishery began as early as March. As with other species hunted and fished by the Settlers, natural factors such as ice, tides and temperature influenced abundance and peak harvesting time. Each family had preferred fishing areas and fishing berths were traditionally handed down from father to son. Cod was the staple species along the coast and was exploited in the months of July and August. Both cod and salmon were sold for a profit to local merchants. Herring was a third species of importance, used as bait for codfish, as dog food and as a major part of the winter diet (Kennedy 1995:103-107). Trout was an additional species to be fished, and berries were an important staple that were harvested in late summer and early fall.

*Fall and Winter*

Settlers moved to their sheltered winter homes in December or January with the freezing of the land-fast ice. Wood cutting, fur-trapping and hunting were the main winter activities. Winter travel was made by foot or by dog team, a definite Inuit

adaptation. Seals were netted in the fall or early spring and frozen seal carcasses were cached overwinter in storehouses for skinning the following spring when their fat was rendered into oil. Seal meat was often used as dog food, and their skins were used for making skin boots or were sold for profit. Fall and spring also saw the hunting of many varieties of migratory waterfowl, the hunting of these species continued into November at which point preparations began for the fall seal hunt and other winter activities.

Caribou and bear were hunted for food, but most animals killed for meat were small, including ptarmigan, spruce partridge, rabbit and porcupine. These were often killed opportunistically while men were out obtaining wood. Wood cutting was of crucial importance to Settler survival, as firewood and lumber were necessary for both winter and summer survival. Any wood that was needed for fuel or lumber throughout the year had to be procured at the interior winter locations. Wood cutting usually began in January, and wood was hauled out to summer settlements by dog team or piled in places where it could be rafted out by boat once the ice retreated. Local plants were collected in summer and dried for year-round use for medicinal purposes (Kennedy 1995:108-112).

### 2.4.2 Settlers (Métis) in Sandwich Bay

The way of life that was described in this section was widespread along the southeastern Labrador coast, but Sandwich Bay is particularly notable in the development of mixed Inuit-European culture. As early as the sixteenth century, both Inuit and European groups exploited resources from both the land and sea of Sandwich Bay. Three highly productive salmon rivers drain into Sandwich Bay: Eagle River, Paradise River

and White Bear River. North River, at the mouth of Sandwich Bay, also provided a high yield of salmon. All of these rivers also acted as routes to the interior where Settler men trapped small game for furs. The abundance of marine and terrestrial resources in Sandwich Bay attracted many people to the area including Captain George Cartwright and his crew. Captain Cartwright was responsible for establishing settlements at the location of the present day towns of both Cartwright and Paradise and a number of his men are believed to be the fathers of the first generation of mixed Inuit and European children (Jackson 1982:18, 44).

## 2.5 1900-1949

The first half of the twentieth century, up until Newfoundland and Labrador's confederation with Canada, brought many changes to the lives of southeastern Labrador Métis. Some of these changes fit in well with traditional lifeways and their seasonal pattern of transhumance, while other changes put a great deal of pressure on their adaptation. Notably, education, health care, welfare, access to religious institutions, and communication in the form of mail service were all extended to Labrador during this period (Kennedy 1995:117). Events that had a significant impact during this time period were local, national and international in scale, ranging from the 1918 Spanish Influenza epidemic to two world wars (Kennedy 1995:127).

Three main developments in the southeastern Labrador region that were significant in this time period were the modern herring, whaling and fur industries. The nature of these industries was compatible with the seasonal patterns of Métis life. While

all of these industries offered a source of income for the Settlers who were involved in them, they were seasonal industries that fit in with the established lifeway in the area. Settler men could easily partake in these activities without disrupting their seasonal round (Kennedy 1995:130). By contrast, there were several developments in the early twentieth century that were disruptive to the traditional seasonal round, and drew people away from their winter homesteads such as the development of the Grenfell Mission system and the construction of military installations in the area during and after World War Two (Kennedy 1995:171).

### 2.5.1 1918 Spanish Influenza Epidemic

In November 1918, the Spanish Influenza was brought to southeastern Labrador by a European supply ship. The local people had little to no immunity to this European disease and were struck very hard by the illness. Over the fall of 1918 and the winter of 1919, 69 out of 300 people in the Sandwich Bay area were killed by this epidemic, but the epidemic had severe consequences all along the southeastern Labrador coast. Many orphans were left behind by the Spanish flu and several small communities in Sandwich Bay were decimated. Clearly, this significantly impacted life in the Sandwich Bay, as nearly everyone would have had a friend or relative who became ill or passed away. Several dramatic stories from this epidemic survive to this day (Kennedy 1995:150).

The 1918 flu has had a lasting and lingering effect in the Sandwich Bay, not only in personal memories and family histories, but also because of its role in leading to a move towards centralization and the building of the Muddy Bay boarding school, just a

few kilometers south of Cartwright. This created an opportunity for people to send their children away for a better education and precluded many families following their children to Cartwright so they could live closer to them (Kennedy 1995:150).

### 2.5.2 The Grenfell Mission

Dr. Wilfred Grenfell and his mission greatly influenced Settler life, both by increasing the availability of health services and by encouraging centralization of settlements. Grenfell operated clinics, hospitals and nursing stations along the Labrador coast and was also responsible for establishing several 'social development' organizations in coastal Labrador including Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, night classes and social evenings. Grenfell operated up and down the Labrador coast and had varying levels of impacts at different communities. Access to the medical care provided at Grenfell sites led many people to choose to move in to larger centers where these health care facilities were available. The Grenfell Mission is responsible for the boarding school in Sandwich Bay that opened at Muddy Bay just outside of Cartwright following the 1918 flu. As previously mentioned, the boarding school had a centralizing effect and lured people toward Cartwright. Cartwright benefited from the Muddy Bay boarding school as well as from a nursing station/hospital and these services did bring people in to Cartwright so they could access them. I specifically mention the Muddy Bay school here because it created a unique situation in Sandwich Bay whereby many families chose to move in to Cartwright to keep extended families together and support the children that were orphaned by the 1918 flu.

### 2.5.3 World Wars

The construction of military and communication infrastructure, especially during the Second World War, had a significant impact on the lives of Settlers in the southeastern Labrador area. In particular, the draw of wage labour jobs that impacted people in this area. The construction of the military base at Goose Bay in 1941 was the most significant of these projects, and it lured many workers away from their coastal life to move to Goose Bay. Often this resulted in complete families moving to Goose Bay, following the fathers who went first, as the families could often not manage life on the coast if the man of the household was away for several months of the year and therefore was unable to procure supplies, most importantly firewood, for their family (Kennedy 1995:173).

Those who were able to secure jobs at the Goose Bay project benefited from increased incomes and the relatively high wages paid to those working in Goose Bay forced employers in Cartwright to raise their wages (Kennedy 1995:179). The availability of these jobs also created a degree of economic differentiation in the area, and put pressure on many families who could not spare male relatives to send away to work for long stretches of time (Kennedy 1995:180). Other military installations along the coast also had an impact on coastal life both by providing jobs and wage labour but also by introducing new foods, music and luxury items into the area and raising expectations about quality of life and the economic futures of coastal communities (J. and G. Davis, pers. comm. 2007; Kennedy 1995:184). Later, Cartwright also had its own American

military base and radar station which provided jobs right in Cartwright and this further drew people in from around Sandwich Bay.

## 2.6 1950-Present

From Confederation to the present even more changes impacted Labrador's Métis families. With the increasing availability of modern conveniences, people living in southern Labrador have been faced with even more challenges to their traditional way of life and sense of community. Resettlement, increased availability of modern technology and increased ease of travel and communication with people outside the local area have all characterized this period.

### 2.6.1 Government Resettlement Programs

Beginning in the 1950s the government of Newfoundland took a great interest in streamlining services along the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador as a means of making them more cost effective. In order to achieve this, they began offering monetary compensation to small communities that agreed to abandon their homes and move as a community to a larger, receiving community (Jackson 1982: 40-48; Kennedy 1995:187-205). The rules that governed resettlement were complex and changed many times. Delving into the details about the amount of monetary compensation allotted to each community or family per period does little to enhance the understanding of the impact of resettlement on people in the area for this research. The importance lies instead in understanding that people were given little choice about when or where they moved and

that they faced a great deal of pressure from the government to resettle to a larger community.

Official government resettlement programs in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s have perhaps had the most radical impact on settlement patterns in southeastern Labrador (Jackson 1982:40). Resettlement was not the only cause of centralization; however it did accelerate the trend that was already underway. This accelerated process of centralization had unanticipated effects that greatly distorted the traditional way of life in southeastern Labrador (Jackson 1982:40). Though there were benefits to this program, most notably improved access to education and health services there were also significant social consequences which persist to the present day. The area that was the most heavily influenced by resettlement was the Sandwich Bay area, where all residents with the exception of those at Paradise River and Black Tickle were relocated to Cartwright in the 1960s (Jackson 1982:42).

Many of the communities who relocated were anxious to benefit from the services that were available in Cartwright, but wished to retain their own sense of community. This led to the formation of distinct population clusters in Cartwright that are still evident today, representing the different settlements that moved in to Cartwright (Jackson 1982:42). The idea that drove resettlement was that people would be relocated to growth centers, that is, communities that had a sound economy and good prospects for development. However, the impact of huge increases in population and reductions in territory on traditional subsistence practices was not well considered and put a lot of strain on nearby resources (Jackson 1982:42; Kennedy 1995:203). Forty years later, the

effects of resettlement on settlement patterns can still be observed both within Cartwright and around Sandwich Bay (Jackson 1982:43). While resettlement programs still allowed people to access their old seasonal homes and resource areas, it greatly increased the distance between these, and hence decreased the ease of access (Jackson 1982:47). In essence, this created a very artificial and counterproductive settlement pattern for the area.

### 2.6.2 Mobility, Transportation and Access to the Outside World

The time from 1950 to the present has been characterized by a rapid increase in the availability of transportation technology and easier access to the world outside Labrador. Starting in the 1950s, snowmobiles and outboard motors became increasingly available to people living on the southern Labrador coast. These two new forms of transportation offered a faster and more efficient way of traveling the coast, allowing people to make trips in a few hours that once took a full day or more. This had many benefits, especially when considered in context with resettlement which took people further away from their seasonal settlements. However, it also had drawbacks including noise level and a dependence on expensive fuel. Snowmobiles and speedboats had an impact on mobility patterns and on the relationship between people and the resources that they exploited (Jackson 1982:49).

Increased availability of commercial travel via coastal ferry between the Labrador coast and the island of Newfoundland and commercial airline services connecting several coastal communities with the world have also changed the way of life in southeastern

Labrador by facilitating travel, not only between places in Labrador which allowed for increased communication between friends and family, but also the ability for locals to leave completely and for new people to come in. This has also increased the ability for people in Labrador to access a wider range of consumer goods and has greatly reduced the isolation of Cartwright. In 2005, the completion of the construction of a gravel highway between Cartwright and Blanc Sablon further increased the ease with which people could travel both within and outside of Labrador. All of these travel services have also led to the development of tourism in the area.

Further advances that led to increased contact with the outside world and ease of communication during this time period include the availability of long distance telephone services and the internet. The internet in particular has played a significant role in Labrador communities, both for access to information about the outside world as well as playing a very important role in the way that people from Labrador, both living there and away keep in contact and maintain a sense of community and connection.

### 2.6.3 Labrador Métis Nation and other Native Organizations

In the mid 1980s the Labrador Métis Association (now Nation) was created in the interest of advocating for the descendents of mixed European and Inuit ancestries. This organization fills the role in southern Labrador that the Labrador Inuit Association, which is a part of the Nunatsiavut government, plays in the north. The development of this organization and the subsequent acceptance by the Métis of their own status as a distinct and named cultural group has had a strong impact on their identity. The development of

the Labrador Métis Nation has led to the Settlers/Métis of Labrador to become more accepting of and embrace their aboriginal heritage, which now brings a sense of pride instead of shame. While many Settlers/Métis in Cartwright today have sought official Labrador Métis Nation status, others have Labrador Inuit Association cards and yet others have chosen not to become affiliated with either association (Kennedy 1995:231; labradormetis.ca).

### 2.6.4 Northern Cod Moratorium and Closing of the Salmon Fishery

In 1992, with the depletion of cod stocks on the Newfoundland and Labrador coasts, a moratorium was implemented that severely restricted and cod fishing in these areas. A few years later, in 1996, the commercial salmon fishery in Sandwich Bay was also shut down. The closing of these fisheries had a significant impact on communities such as Cartwright, Labrador where a majority of the adult population made their living fishing for or processing cod and salmon. While centralization was more or less complete at this time, the fisheries were a very mobile industry that still allowed people to be out in their boats using their specialized knowledge of the land. The loss of this industry in many cases served as a final blow to people who, until the closure of the fishery, had always been able to make a living off the land, many of them who had been fishing with their fathers and other male relatives since early childhood. While some fisheries such as crab and whelk partially replaced the cod and salmon fishery, many fishermen were forced to seek wage labour or go on welfare.

## 2.7 Conclusions

The history of the southeastern Labrador coast and Settlers/Métis who live there is complex. Constant pressures from both the natural environment and external forces such as government regulations have strongly shaped both the development and change of the Settler way of life over the last few centuries. Despite all of these pressures, the Settlers/Métis developed a successful adaptation to the Labrador coast that has proved able to withstand many non-compatible forces and persists in many ways to the present day. It is important to be aware of the events that have shaped the Settler/Métis culture so that the changes that have occurred in the last century can be analyzed for their importance on the development and change of Métis cultural identity.

# Chapter 3: Methodology

## 3.1 Introduction

Indigenous knowledge, including oral histories and oral traditions, can add depth to our understanding of archaeological sites, landscapes and material culture (Stewart et al. 2004:185). Increasingly, archaeologists have taken an interest in involving local people and communities in their research to help them establish meaningful research questions and to benefit from the understanding of community members, particularly elders, in the interpretation of sites. Aboriginal, and other, communities have responded well to the interests archaeologists have in their knowledge, and many communities are now seeking out archaeological work to help them learn more about their own pasts (Echo-Hawk 2000; Friesen 2002; Mason 2000; Nicholas 2006; Stewart et al. 2004).

This research uses oral histories gathered from southern Labrador Métis elders as a means of interpreting traditional and contemporary landscapes in the Sandwich Bay area. These sources can also help us add to our knowledge of the history of Sandwich Bay that is lacking in the current literature about the area. This chapter examines the uses of personal narratives, oral traditions and oral histories as a source of information for research. It then goes on to discuss the methods that were used to gather information for this project, including interviews, informal participant observation and site visits.

## 3.2 Oral Sources of Information

Three main terms arise when discussing oral information gathered for research purposes: oral tradition, personal narrative, and oral history. Both oral histories and oral traditions begin with personal narratives, the stories that people tell about their personal experiences or observations. When personal narratives are purposefully gathered by means of a recorded interview, they become oral history. Oral histories most often consist of the knowledge and experiences of an individual that occurred over the course of their lifetime, but they may also include older information such as oral traditions. Oral traditions consist of the stories that people tell that get passed down in spoken form from generation to generation (Ritchie 2003:19; Schneider 2002: 54, 61, 63; Vansina 1985). The information that gets passed down through oral traditions is generally knowledge that reflects shared understandings of people within a society at different points in time (Schneider 2002:54). To be considered tradition, the oral information must extend beyond living memory (Ritchie 2003:19; Schneider 2002: 54; Vansina 1985).

Oral sources of knowledge have been critiqued by some because of the difficulties that may arise in dealing with individual opinions and biases, or due to the possibility that memories of an event may be skewed or might overlook key details. Despite these criticisms, oral history is as valuable as any other source or evidence one might use in research, but should be treated with equal caution and scrutiny (Ritchie 2003:117). With the scientific movement in the late nineteenth century the use of orally transmitted sources of information, particularly history, fell out of favour. However, since the first

third of the twentieth century they have slowly been regaining ground (Sharpless 2006:20).

The active use of oral histories and traditions as an important source of information within the discipline of archaeology has only recently been recognized. In particular, this trend has developed because Aboriginal groups have become increasingly active in advocating for their rights and have sought to have their voice recognized as a part of archaeological projects related to their heritage (Echo-Hawk 2000; Friesen 2002; Mason 2000).

Oral histories are important because they add scope to what we know about the past and allow us to open new and important areas of inquiry about a specific group or event (Thompson 1998:24-25). Gathering personal accounts of the past from the people who experienced it can break down barriers between academics and the communities they work with and can make their research more accessible to the general public (Thompson 1998:26). The development of a local or community history can also help people to understand the changes and upheavals which they have experienced over the course of their lives, including social transformation, technological changes or migration to new communities (Thompson 1998:21).

### 3.3 Study Area, Study Population and Interview Methods

Cartwright, Labrador is an ideal location from which to base a study on southern Labrador Métis cultural lifeways and identity. Cartwright is one of the largest towns in southern Labrador, with a current population of approximately 600 people. Cartwright

has been a settled community since the arrival of Captain George Cartwright and his crew in 1775 (www.southeastern-labrador.nf.ca/communities/cartwright.htm). Cartwright, Sandwich Bay and the surrounding outer coast and islands have long been an ideal location for human habitation, however, it was not until Captain Cartwright arrived that Cartwright became a hub for local activity because it was a central area between the inner bay and outer coast which made it an ideal as a port from which to transport goods and carry out trade (Kennedy 1995:34). Cartwright's central location and history of settlement make it an ideal centre from which to gather data about the development and perpetuation of the southern Labrador Métis culture.

Cartwright was chosen as the site for this research for many of the above reasons. In addition, my supervisor, Dr. Lisa Rankin has done a significant amount of archaeological research in the area and had already developed contacts within the town. She had also visited many of the surrounding areas, which provided a starting point for both local interview contacts and for the general idea that supports this research. In particular, the stories told to Dr. Rankin by her local boat drivers, Doris and Lewis Davis, during previous visits acted as the inspiration for this project and allowed for a preliminary idea of the important aspect of landscapes and traditional lifeways that lingers among the contemporary Labrador Métis population.

The present population of Cartwright is made up of people of many backgrounds, 'Settlers', Métis (Labrador Métis Nation), Inuit (Nunatsiavut Government and the Labrador Inuit Association), as well as people who have married into the community from the island of Newfoundland or further away. Many of the current residents of

Cartwright were born and raised in small communities along the south Labrador coast, but were relocated to Cartwright as part of government resettlement programs in the 1960s and 1970s (Jackson 1982:40; Kennedy 1995:187). Cartwright's status as a community that received people who were resettled makes it an ideal location for comparing and contrasting the experiences of the people who live there and have experienced traditional ways of life in the area in the past.

The bulk of the data for this project was collected through interviews with Métis elders in Cartwright, Labrador. Over the course of six weeks of fieldwork in July and August 2007 twelve formal interviews were completed in Cartwright, Labrador. Eleven of the interviews were digitally recorded and one interview was recorded with hand-written notes, at the request of the informant. A second trip to southern Labrador in October 2007 allowed me to visit a thirteenth informant who currently resides in Mary's Harbour. Outside of the formal interviews, informal discussions were held with many local inhabitants and participant observation was informally undertaken by means of involvement in community events, and daily interaction with informants and other people in the community.

The study population for this project consisted of Métis elders living in Cartwright, Labrador. An elder is defined as an individual of Métis heritage who was born and raised in Sandwich Bay, Cartwright, or the nearby surrounding coastal area and experienced traditional Métis lifeways. All of the informants currently resided in Labrador at least part time, twelve in Cartwright and one in Mary's Harbour. All of the informants, except for one, are current residents of Cartwright, Labrador for a significant

portion of the year, though some have secondary homes elsewhere in Labrador or on the island of Newfoundland.

For the purpose of this project the term Métis will be used to define a person of mixed European and Inuit ancestry who lives in southern Labrador. Although LMN status was not a requirement for participation in this study, many of the individuals that were interviewed did have Labrador Métis Nation (LMN) status, others were affiliated with the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA), and some were not politically affiliated with any Aboriginal group. At times throughout the research process I was concerned with the meaning of political affiliation in relation to the goals of this project, and to the type of information that might be gained or lost by choosing to make inclusion in an Aboriginal association a criterion for inclusion, but the decision was made to look at the Métis as a unique ethnic and cultural group, and not as a political entity.

Informants were chosen from the current population of Cartwright. Suggestions of who to talk to were gathered from Dr. Rankin as well as from Judy Pardy from the Southeastern Aurora Development Corporation. Further informants were suggested by the bed and breakfast owners, local boat drivers and other interviewees that I had contact with. Initial contact was made with potential informants by phone, although in some cases they were introduced by other people in the community. The individuals were called, given a brief description of the project and asked if they were interested in being interviewed. Responses ranged from quite positive to disinterest in participating.

The individuals that I spoke with ranged in age from fifty to ninety-one, with the majority of informants in their mid-fifties to mid-sixties. All of the informants that I

spoke with experienced resettlement in some form. The majority of people moved to Cartwright from their traditional homes, but a few were original residents of Cartwright and experienced the changes that took place when people from small communities along the coast were moved in to Cartwright.

One of the challenges involved in securing interviews was the age of some of the participants. This was often related to their concerns about health or memory, or an unwillingness to talk to an outsider, someone "from away" who would not understand what they had to say, or had no business asking. In cases where people declined to be interviewed, they were thanked for their time and encouraged to contact me if they changed their mind, but were not pressured to participate. Another difficulty in securing interviews was conflict with the food fishery and good summer weather, as many people prefer to be out in their boats or visiting their summer cabins at this time of year.

Interviews were carried out in the informant's home and were fairly informal. Usually they took place over tea and coffee in either a kitchen or living room setting. In early interviews a list of specific questions was followed quite closely. However, over time the interviews evolved into a much more fluid, open-ended discussion whereby informants were simply asked to discuss their life growing up in the area. In this interview format most of the desired questions were answered naturally. However, informants were guided back to the intended topic if they strayed too far from the subject matter. All of the individuals who were interviewed were briefed that my project had been granted clearance by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) at Memorial University in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement on

Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS) and were asked to sign waivers agreeing that the information they supplied in their interviews could be used for the purpose of my research. All of the tape recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim and informants were given the opportunity to revise and edit their own transcripts. Copies of the transcripts will be made available to the Center for Newfoundland Studies at Memorial University and to the town of Cartwright upon completion of this research.

Interviews were structured around a desire to learn about traditional Métis lifeways and the factors that influenced them. They were also designed in a way that was meant to highlight the importance of surrounding traditional landscapes to the individuals living in and around Cartwright and Sandwich Bay. Questions covered various topics and they were simple and straightforward. Examples of the questions that were asked include:

(1) Where have you and your family lived in Labrador (use maps)?

(2) Using the map, can you indicate areas that were important for traditional subsistence activities?

(3) What are the traditional names for these locations?

(4) Do you know any stories about the 1918 Spanish Influenza epidemic?

(5) When did you and your family move to Cartwright?

(6) What was the reason that you and your family moved to Cartwright?

(7) How did you feel about moving?

(8) Do you still visit any of the areas that you previously indicated to me?

(9) Do any of the sites that you indicated play a role in your life today? What is the importance of these sites?

One of the challenges that come along with interviewing people is developing rapport. There was little difficulty in achieving this with individuals once I had the chance to speak with them in person, either during their interviews or out in the community; however, developing rapport in the initial phone call to garner adequate trust for someone to agree to speak with me about their personal lives at times proved difficult. The older generation in particular, who were the intended study population at the outset of this research, were much more wary about speaking with a stranger, especially someone who came 'from away'. It was the next generation, those in their mid-fifties to mid-sixties, who proved to be much more receptive to the idea of talking about their past and their heritage.

There are many reasons why this generation was much more open to the interview process than their parents or grandparents. One of the most obvious factors that deterred the older members of the population from accepting to participate was deteriorating health or cognitive function, which left them either unable to participate or unwilling because they were worried about the image they would present to an outsider, or about being unable to accurately recall details or answer questions. A secondary issue was the desire for privacy and the belief that an outsider wouldn't understand or, alternately, had no business asking about, their stories. Lingering feelings from a time when the idea of mixed ancestry and aboriginal heritage was not well received may also have played a role, as it is only in very recent memory that the Métis have embraced their native ancestry.

Another problem that was not anticipated, however, proved not to be completely detrimental. I observed that several people were hesitant to talk to me because of the nature of the subject matter, and specified that memories of relocation and the closing of the fishery are still too painful. While speaking with these individuals and hearing their stories would have added depth to my research, I avoided pressuring anyone to speak with me as I did not want to increase any negative feelings or nostalgia. However, knowing the reason that they wished not to be interviewed speaks volumes as to the importance of relocation events and the impact that they had both on local cultural practices and on the feelings of people living in the Sandwich Bay area today.

I have used the information gathered from theses narratives to better understand the way that the people of Sandwich Bay, specifically people of Métis descent, have experienced and responded to a series of historical events and the way that these events have shaped their sense of cultural identity. The information gathered reflects personal opinions and experiences however, taken together the thirteen interviews that I collected have remarkably similar content and themes. This reflects the strength and consistency in the way that many, likely most, southern Labrador Métis individuals in the Sandwich Bay area feel about the events of the last century and how they have directly and indirectly impacted their lives and their sense of identity. Content from the interviews was then applied in tandem with the theories outlined in chapter one in order to demonstrate that theories related to landscape, memory and identity can be effectively applied to the experience of the southern Labrador Métis (See Chapter 4).

3.4 Additional Sources of Information

A secondary part of this research consisted of informal participant observation and interaction with the local people in Cartwright. This included participation in many traditional activities including fishing, visiting cabins, berry picking and boating. Community activities such as the annual heritage festival were attended and two weeks were spent living in a cabin at North River. The latter was not originally intended to be a part of the project, but after being thanked by local residents for my efforts to try out traditional life, this was considered to be an important contribution to better understanding life in the area.

The final component of my research consisted of traveling by boat around the Sandwich Bay area in order to visit both abandoned traditional settlement area and archaeological sites (Figure 2). I took two formal trips with Doris and Lewis Davis, my boat drivers. One trip focused on the outer coastal area that involved visits to Pack's Harbour, Cartwright Island, Snack Cove, Round Island, Grady Island, the Creek, and Cape North and a second trip was within Sandwich Bay with stops at Dove Brook, Bob 'en Joyce, Separation Point, Eagle River, and Paradise River. I also visited many other areas on informal trips with other people I met during the course of my research. Traveling around the area by boat, and stopping at important locations, allowed me to get a sense of the visibility and accessibility of abandoned settlement areas and archaeological sites in the area. Both of these types of locations were highly visible from the water which confirmed the hypothesis, outlined in Chapter 1, that people encounter

these types of traditional sites frequently while pursuing daily activities, and thus these locations are likely to have a continuing impact on their sense of who they are.

**Figure 2. Map of Route taken for Survey of Abandoned Settlement Areas**


(Modified from www.maps.google.ca)

## 3.5 Conclusions

The information gathered for this project through interviews, participant observation and site visits will be used together to demonstrate the importance of abandoned traditional locations and archaeological sites in the Sandwich Bay area. When these sources of information are used together with a theoretical framework related to landscape, memory and identity they can demonstrate how and why abandoned traditional locations and archaeological sites are important to Métis cultural identity and how significant events of the last century have impacted this identity on multiple scales.

## Chapter 4: Data and Interpretation

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the data that were gathered through interviews and combine this with an analysis of landscape in Cartwright and Sandwich Bay, Labrador. By considering this data in the context of the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter 1, this chapter will develop an interpretation of how the unique situation in Sandwich Bay has influenced the development and maintenance of Métis cultural identity. This chapter will revisit the five theoretical themes that were discussed in Chapter 1: space, place and landscape; identity; displacement, diaspora and movement; community archaeology and Aboriginal advocacy; and archaeologies of memory. Data relevant to each of these themes will be discussed separately and then brought together to demonstrate how each of these theoretical standpoints informs the others and how they can work together to paint the best picture of the importance of landscape and changes to the landscape to the development of contemporary Métis identity in Labrador.

### 4.2 The Spaces, Places and Landscapes of Southeastern Labrador: Land, Sea and Ice

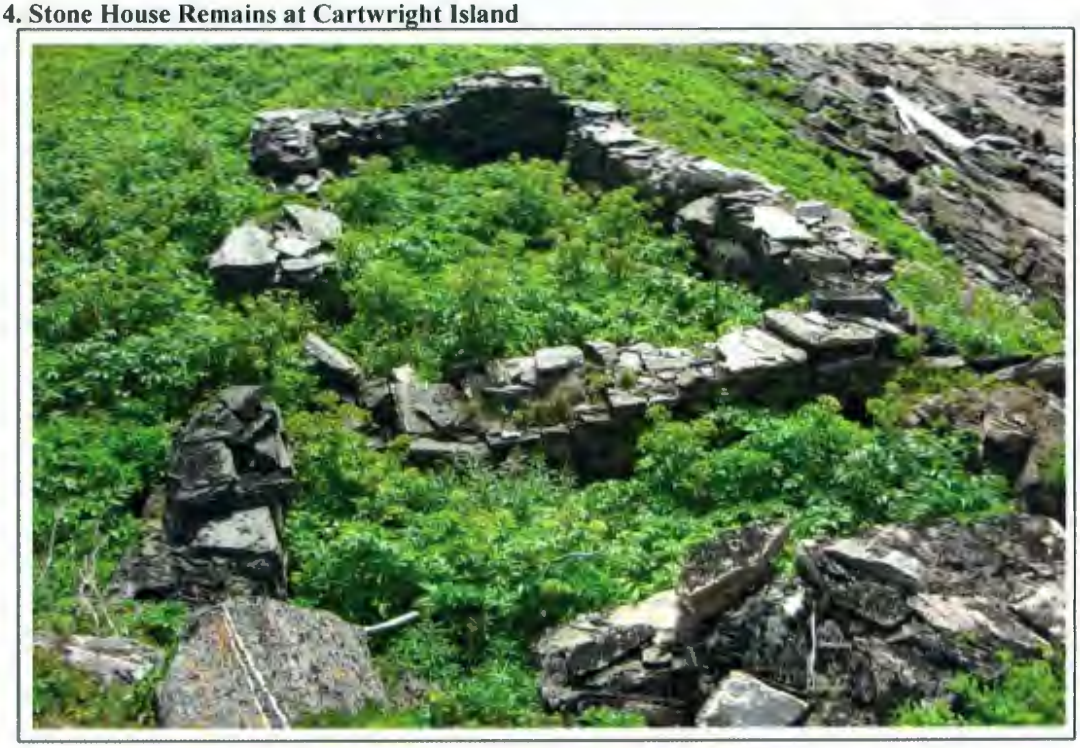
> Paradise River was heaven, it was such a tiny little place and it was all nestled in the trees. It's been burnt, so its totally different from what it was when I was up to twelve, like the year I was twelve was the year it burnt, but it was such a pretty little place (Woodrow Lethbridge, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, August 3, 2007).

Landscape is a construction that is formed by the cumulative events of everyday life. Movement, relationships, memories, and individual and group histories all make up part of the cultural processes by which landscapes are formed (Feld and Basso 1996:8). In Sandwich Bay, each of these factors plays a very clear role in both historical and contemporary contexts. The people, places and things that make up any landscape create a complex web that defines the way that spaces and places are shaped and interpreted (Feld and Basso 1996:8) This phenomenon is very clear in Sandwich Bay where there is evidence of both the present day active landscape and of the many past landscapes which have been layered one upon the other over centuries of human occupation. The construction of landscape is not static, but has been, and continues to be, changed and rebuilt with each successive generation that lives in and moves around it (Anschuetz et al. 2001:166; Sauer 1925:46).

Much evidence remains in the natural landscape of Sandwich Bay of the cultural transformation of spaces into meaningful places. As people have lived on the land, made use of it and traveled around it they have left visible markers of their presence. The most obvious of these are cabins, sawmills, stages, woodpiles, cemeteries and various archaeological features. Subtler, but no less important traces of people on the landscape include paths and clearings. Weather and natural resources are also important elements of the landscape to consider as they impact people's relationship with the land. Though many places have been abandoned and are no longer in active use they still remain on the landscape (Figure 3, Figure 4).

**Figure 3. Abandoned Settlement at Paradise River**

**Figure 4. Stone House Remains at Cartwright Island**



Evidence for the human presence on the landscape is noticeable to those traveling both on the land and on the sea. One can observe evidence of both contemporary use of the land and use of the same land in both the near and distant pasts. All of this evidence is intermingled and forms part of a landscape that is constantly being constructed and reconstructed.

### 4.2.1 The Landscapes and Resources of Southeastern Labrador

> Things have changed, heh? Everything. Some of the things around here. Look, everything's grown up. It's amazing. There was nothing like this years ago, no. Grass and everything, all like that. What is that caused from, I wonder? There's so much growth (Malcolm Pardy, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 21 2007).

Southeastern Labrador is characterized by a rugged, rocky terrain with very little topsoil (Jackson 1982:22). On the outer coast vegetation is sparse, primarily composed of lichens, mosses, dwarf willow, birch and spruce. Inland, there are patches of spruce and fir interspersed with bogs that increase to substantial forest (Jackson 1982:24). The Labrador Sea and the rivers that drain into it dominate much of the landscape of coastal southeastern Labrador. The ocean provides much of the wealth of resources that is available to the people inhabiting the southeastern Labrador coast, and it is in and around the water that the Settlers/Métis procured the bulk of their resources in the past. The resources that are available from the ocean include stocks of capelin, salmon, cod and

trout, sea birds, seals and whales (Jackson 1982:22). Land, water, and ice all make up a part of the natural landscape of the southeastern Labrador coast. Notable features of the landscape that visually dominate this area include the Mealy Mountains and the Wonderstrand (Porcupine Strand), a 56 kilometer long stretch of sandy beach located 15 kilometers north of Cartwright (www.ourlabrador.ca/member.php?id=11). The coast is heavily indented with bays and inlets that are dotted with both sand and cobble beaches. The topography of the land varies, and both valleys and uplands are visible.

The land in Sandwich Bay also offers many resources. In the interior, trees providing shelter, lumber and firewood are abundant. Fresh meat is available from several animals including caribou, snowshoe hare, partridge and porcupine. Smaller, inland waterways also supply a source of fur-bearing animals that have long been an economic staple in the area, including beaver, muskrat, otter and mink. Other animals that are hunted for their furs include marten, lynx and red fox (Jackson 1982:27). In the summer, the islands and land along the outer coast provide a rich harvest of partridgeberries, blueberries, blackberries, bakeapples and other berries (Jackson 1982: 75). In the winter, the landscape in southeastern Labrador is dominated by snow and ice and the waterways freeze over.

The animal resources of Sandwich Bay are an important aspect of the landscape and different proportions of these animals including their abundance or lack is readily noted by the people who live in and travel around the bay. For example, the decline in fish stocks, increase in the local seal population, and growing presence of black bears in domestic areas are all frequently noted. As the following quotes demonstrate, the

presence of animals forms an important part of the way that people interact with and remember the local environment.

> From what I understand, the seal population hasn't gone down. I mean, my God, I mean how much do they eat? Seriously, I mean, in Paradise River right now if people put their nets out they say you got to stay right there because the seals will pop up and as soon as that salmon goes in, not only does he take the salmon, he takes a good hunk of your net with him, when he goes. The seals now go into the Dykes River up here. They go late in the fall, they go in there. Can you imagine what they eat? And then when it freezes up they don't get the chance to get out of there, to get out to the water and people are meetin' 'em in the wintertime, crawlin' on the trails. That never used to be (Malcolm Pardy, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 21, 2007).

> [They did] net fishing, and a little bit of jigger, jiggers and lines, that you're not allowed to use anymore. So, times have changed. Yep, they have, and there's no cod fishery here anymore anyway. Well, there's no cod fishery anywhere, really, but they do have bit of a sentinel fishery some parts I think. But nothing here, nothing at all, only a food fishery. You can barely manage to get enough for that, really. Yeah. It's gone down big time. I can remember goin' outside of the harbour there in Pack's Harbour in our rowboat and fillin' our net right to the gunnels. Nothing to it, like, the codfish would come right in the harbour there, sometimes, but it's not like that now. It's not like that now. It changed completely (Doris Davis, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 25, 2007).

4.2.2 Weather

Weather affects not only the ability to travel, but also has a much deeper influence on resource availability. If the sea ice is late in leaving or the weather is unusually warm or cold resource stocks can be affected. This, and other natural cycles occasionally lead to years of boom and bust (Jackson 1982:23). Poor weather also influences the ability to procure resources as it can make the travel that is necessary for hunting and fishing too dangerous. The importance of weather in day to day life is highlighted in many old journals from the area as well as in present day interviews (Gordon 2005; Lethbridge, pers. comm. 2007; Pardy, pers. comm. 2007; Roberts, pers. comm. 2007; Sainsbury, pers. comm. 2007). Weather is especially noted and remembered in relation to seasonal movement and subsistence activities, especially storms and the coming of the open water season.

> You know, you were asking me about like, the stories, stuff like that. There's so many, I 'spose. You know, different things like storms, stuff like that. Amazing, some of them, how people survived. One of the biggest storms that I ever remember seeing in this community, that I can remember…it lasted, you know, awhile. You get a freak storm, like we did the other day. It only last 20 minutes or whatever. All was rain. I got caught in one in the bay like that. [Until then] I was never frightened in the boat in my life. The wind hit. I was trying to go into the wind, trying to get ashore, but I looked and all I could see…it looked like snow comin'. It was wind, rain. It was pickin' up the water. I had a 21 foot boat, and when it hit it picked the boat up to where I could feel it and lifted and it turned it completely around, and I grabbed the gunnels…and I said, "Jesus, I don't

wanna drown". And it only lasted about 3 or 4 minutes, it was out there (Malcolm Pardy, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 21, 2007).

You don't get that cold. I mean, if you do it right you're not supposed to be uncomfortable, is what my Dad always said, you know. He said "anybody who gets uncomfortable in a Labrador-style canvas tent, it's not right, there's something not right about it". There are times when you have to push the woodstove a bit harder than others, like if the temperature is down and the winds are up you don't get the same results as a calm night, you know? But there were key things that had to be dealt with when you set up a tent. It had to be on a good foundation of snow, packed well, and it had to be also filled in or banked as we called it on the sides with a mound of snow to above your shoulder height lying on your side, pack it against the tent wall so there was no snow draft. The air was still right at the tent wall and it was cold, it was cold because there was snow up against it but it was still, there was no breathing going on right? So it worked well. I mean you get the heat from the tent stove, as the stove burned down, you moved, you rolled over. If your back was getting cold you just rolled over on your bed a bit till the heat was at your back. So you'd get roughly and hour and a half, an hour and forty five of sleep on each fire and then you woke up because you were cold, you were starting to get cold and so you'd put some more wood in and then the heat hit ya and then just like a handful of sleeping pills you're gone again (Woodrow Lethbridge, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, August 3, 2007).

But I see that the weather now it used to be just like this years ago. Salmon fishing never started until the first of July, years ago, because of ice and everything outside. The harbour here, they tell me, used to be froze up in the month of June before it would go out. Ice froze up, snow.

Nothing sticking at the houses here, just the rooftops same as we had it this year, this spring. But we didn't have any snow the winter...very little, no frost. But the spring, we had two storms. We couldn't see anything, only the tops of the houses. We were just a complete big snow bank made around. We couldn't see a thing. The longest spring I've ever had here. It was terrible (Shirley Roberts, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 20, 2007).

You'd be workin' up till October at that because I mean, it was all according to the weather. You had to have certain weather to put your fish out to dry. You put it out in the morning and watch it all day. If the sun'd get too hot, you'd probably have to pick it all up and stack it back in and put it under the tarpaulin, you know, because the sun would burn it and burnt fish was no good. I mean, you'd just as well throw it away. You couldn't sell it (Rosetta Sainsbury, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 18, 2007).

It's been some unusual year. The weather, heh. The winter...it wasn't a bitterly cold winter. We're used to that, anyway, but as the spring came on, usually easier. Everybody talking about global warming and all that, you know. Geez, you might be able to put your boat out in early May. But it just stayed ... the temperature just stayed the same, five, six, then it decided to go down to one and two, like that. Not really freezing, not really thawed, so I mean every day, grey, rainy, whatever. It made for a long spring (Malcolm Pardy, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 21, 2007).

4.2.3 Travel

The ocean and rivers provide the Settlers/Métis with the ability to travel between places by boat during the warmest months of the year. From December to April, open water and the resources it offers are inaccessible because of ice and weather. However, the ice-covered ocean does provide a means of travel, just as the open water does in the summer months. Frozen waterways are ideal for traditional travel by dog team or, since the 1960s, by snowmobile. The time of year when the water is not yet fully frozen, but is no longer open enough for boat travel is known locally as "neither ice nor water" and restricts people's ability to travel between settlements and to exploit resources in different areas (Gordon 2003:106; Way, pers. comm. 2007). Knowledge of the weather, but also of shoals, tides and currents, is crucial for the people who live in Sandwich Bay if they wish to successfully and safely travel around the bay. Summer 'seascapes' and winter 'icescapes' are both fixtures in the lives of Labrador Settlers/Métis and heavily define local lifeways.

Different modes of travel, the importance of weather for traveling and the way that travel has changed over time were all discussed by my interview informants, as demonstrated by the following excerpts:

> They couldn't go to check on people because there is a time of the year in the spring and in the fall here that they call neither ice nor water and that's the time that the flu took place. So that's really bad because it means you can't go and check on people and so people were forced to remain isolated from each other until the ice froze properly and of course by that time it

was way too late for a lot of people (Patty Way, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 10, 2007).

Yeah, like, I can remember the first, what you call speedboat, we had, you know, little five horsepower boat. We thought we had something big then! Yes, little boats and the five horsepower. You thought you had something. Well, you didn't have to row, right? And you didn't have to get in the big motorboat 'cause they had the big motorboats, you know, with the...the big motors in 'em. But, yeah, five horsepower was real...you could go quick! Now, you wouldn't think about buying a five horsepower unless if it was just in a pond or something (Rosetta Sainsbury, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 18, 2007).

It had been so long since I had been out around the waters that I had to get my relatives to take me out around and show me where the shoals were, because, I mean it's a very shallow bay out here and the tides and currents are not common to a lot of the areas around with three big rivers running into Sandwich Bay (George Barrett, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, August 4, 2007).

Yeah, back in the '60s, snow machines came in. Not like they are now, no, but people still had dogs, you know. I don't know when, I wasn't home, of course. We came back in 1980s and by that time most everybody had snow machines. The dogs were gone, yeah. There's a few people, probably got a team of dogs now or something, just for sport, more or less. You know, go for a ride on dogs. But no, I wouldn't be able to cope with dogs now. Not the way that they used to when I was a child. You were always taught, well, Eskimo dogs, they're not pets, you know. You don't make a pet out of it. You're always wary of 'em. So, you didn't go play with 'em or whatever and I mean people got eat by dogs. You know, dogs

> attacked people and things like that, so you were a bit made aware that it's not a pet. You stay clear of them, you know. [We usually had] eight or ten [dogs]. You know, a good team. Eight or ten dogs, yeah. But you'd get a good ride on them, too. Yeah, you'd get them goin' good, you know, the good going in the komatik and dogs. Oh yes. Yeah, and it was nice. You sit on the komatik, you know, and the dogs was always around. You had time to look around and see everything. You know, it was a lot more peaceful way of life. Now, you're drivin' skidoo, all you can do is just look at where you're goin' and not look off away and say, oh well, there's something out there that wasn't there the other day, when I came in along here or whatever, you know. The pace has sure increased, you know. The pace of life has sure increased (Rosetta Sainsbury, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 18, 2007).

### 4.2.4 Traditional and Abandoned Settlements

Along the southeastern Labrador coast and in Sandwich Bay, small settlements are interspersed along the coast and islands (Figure 5). These settlements consist of various configurations of small wooden cabins, smokehouses, stages, sheds, woodpiles, sawmills, cemeteries, saw pits, clearings and paths. These are located at the mouth of productive rivers, on islands, or in sheltered bays and natural harbours. Most buildings are located close to the shoreline and are easily visible from boats traveling along the waterways. Settlements range in size from as small as one cabin to as large as 10 to 20 houses and associated outbuildings. Cartwright is the exception to this, with housing, infrastructure and other buildings catering to the current population of 600 people. Summer locations, such as Pack's Harbour, were more likely to be larger settlements, but

some winter places such as Paradise River and Dove Brook/Bob 'n Joyce also boast the remains of multiple households.

**Figure 5. Abandoned Traditional Communities in Sandwich Bay**


(Modified from www.maps.google.ca)

Some people do maintain small cabins at the locations of their traditional summer and winter homes. Traditionally, these locations were occupied on a seasonal basis, but today most serve as recreational cabins that people visit for only days or weeks each year (Barrett, pers. comm. 2007; Davis, D., pers. comm. 2007; Davis, G., pers. comm. 2007; Hamel, pers. comm. 2007; Holwell, pers. comm. 2007; Lethbridge, pers. comm. 2007; Pardy, pers. comm. 2007; Roberts, pers. comm. 2007; Sainsbury, pers. comm. 2007; Way, pers. comm. 2007), though other areas are completely abandoned. These cabins still remain and are highly visible along the coastline. New and well maintained cabins are interspersed with older cabins and outbuildings, many of which have collapsed and fallen

into disrepair after being left unattended for years. This has left a distinctive footprint of human activity on the landscape, and represents a deliberate act of remembrance. The contrast between the old way of life and the new way of life is highly visible in these places (Figure 6).

> That's about it, yeah, that's about it. Just go out to your cabin, probably, catch a few fish or somethin'. Just to be away from home and that, you know, you just go there, just enjoy yourself, mostly those times. There's no such thing as workin' there anymore. You don't fish anymore because the only fish you can get now is food fishery and that's pretty small, right now (Leslie Hamel, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 13, 2007).

> I try and keep up all the old family homesteads. We have my Dad's commercial cod fishery homestead [which] was Independent Harbour, and he built a new place there after 1980 right on the old homestead, the summer homestead, so I'm keeping that up. I bought it from him when he was finished with it and he also has one at North River, the estuary of North River, that he willed to my youngest brother but we both look after it and try to keep it up. Now our homes on Paradise River right in the community we don't have, but I have a cabin on the upper Paradise River that I use maybe two or three times a year. My Mom's family wintered in White Bear River so I share a cabin just a thousand meters from the falls on White Bear River where they used to winter and live and also we have a place right by Dove Brook, the next place down along the shoreline which is only a few yards we have a sawmill and a cabin there at Bob 'n Joyce. So, I try and keep a handle on traditional homesteads and utilize them, and the places out on the islands utilized for berry picking, little bit of bird hunting late in the fall, and across the bay we do salmon fishing, I also share a place, a private lodge, on the lower Eagle River with some

other guys, there are five of us partners in, that we just use ourselves and our families, we don't operate it commercially in any way, we just take our friends and family in there for a week fishing or a day fishing or whatever, so I have roots heeled in pretty much all the Sandwich Bay (Woodrow Lethbridge, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, August 3, 2007).

**Figure 6. Abandoned Boats at Indian Harbour**

Photo credit: Dr. L. Rankin

**It's Still Home**
The sun shines bright on a little cove, a place in Labrador,
Wade at the water's edge where the houses ring the shore.
A dozen boats with broken keels lie rotting on the sand,
That once were tossing in the sea away out from the land.
But with the fall in the price of fish, and the scarcity of cod,
The Fishermen went to other lands to find a steady job.

But the sun still shines as it used to shine on the land long years ago.
The salmon still swim 'round the capes where the wild northeasters blow.
But there's no smell of drying fish or nets along the shores;
For times have changed and there's little left but broken roofs and doors.
The symbol of a rugged life, but many men still grieve
That nature claims the rotting shack in the home they had to leave.

(Kirby Walsh 2004:56)

4.2.5 Archaeological Sites

In several areas along the southeastern Labrador coast archaeological sites are visible and easily accessible, extending the evidence for life in the area beyond living memory. The Sandwich Bay area is very productive archaeologically and remains as small as single artifacts to substantial sod house ruins litter the landscape. While much of this goes overlooked by the local people on a daily basis, there is increasing interest in recognizing and understanding the archaeological features that are present on the landscape. Among the most recognized of these sites by people living in the area today are stone caches, the remains of stone houses on Cartwright Island, and a stone grave in Blackguard Bay. Other sites are recognized because of Dr. Rankin's ongoing research in the area. Many people are also aware of the history of the area from other sources such as Captain Cartwright's Journal and the Viking sagas, which mention the Wonderstrand (Porcupine Strand). Some of my informants were aware of other places that they had come across while traveling the coast or that were located near their own settlement

areas. These included the remains of sod houses, burial mounds or just the occasional artifact or surface scatter. Active archaeological work in the form of survey and excavation of local sites increases the visibility of archaeology as a part of the active, contemporary landscape and gives the Settlers/Métis a new way to interact with the spaces and places that surround them.

> We always said, me and my brother and some other people, right up on the back of the hill, just down from Flagstaff, there's two places down there, that got all these small, round rocks. It looks like this was a hole, that was dug and all these rocks are back in there. And we've always said, one of these days, when we were growin' up, and anytime I walk past there now, I think about the same thing. I bet you that that's Eskimos or the Indians cause remember one time they used to be here years ago. I bet that that's where they had a house. (Malcolm Pardy, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 21, 2007).

> There's another abandoned site, many years ago, and I guess it was Captain Cartwright who owned it, 'cause it's there to Cartwright Island. It was on the north side and that was a big place though, you can see it there now. It's like, the place is living quarters and then there's almost another place, like made out of rock or like there's some kind of a porch or something built on it. You can see it really clear there now (Leslie Hamel, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 13, 2007).

### 4.2.6 Cartwright

Goose Cove, the first Davis homestead, was ideal in many ways. It provided excellent shelter from winds and storms, close woodland, good

> hunting areas for small game and abundant water supplies, all of which contributed to the settlement factor...It has been difficult for me to understand why [Cartwright] was chosen as a settlement site. The early settlers appear to have built their homes on an exposed point of land with very little shelter from the elements. Drinking water is in short supply and has to be hauled a distance of two miles, consuming a great deal of time, especially in the days of dog team transportation. The most inviting factors are a good deep harbour and plenty of salmon and cod nearby.
>
> (Joyce Davis 1981:15)

Cartwright (Figure 7) is a small town situated in a sheltered natural harbour on the eastern coast of the entrance to Sandwich Bay (www.southeastern-labrador.nf.ca /communities/cartwright.htm). The main infrastructure of the town is clustered around the harbour and is focused on the dock and marine centre. Fequet's gas station, the post office, Northern Store, Odds and Ends convenience store, Henry Gordon Academy, the fish plant, ferry ticket office, ferry loading dock, Northside Motel, Mug Up restaurant, Harbourview Bed and Breakfast, local development committee, two cemeteries and the Anglican Church are all clustered in this area. This area was the earliest part of Cartwright to be settled and many of the original residents of Cartwright still live in this part of town. The present day town of Cartwright extends along the Main Road to Burdett's Brook. Small neighborhood clusters are situated on side streets along this main stretch of road, in many cases representing specific communities of people who moved in or were relocated to Cartwright (Holwell, pers. comm. 2007). Also located along this road, further from the town core, are Pardy's store, the Pentecostal cemetery, the police

station, Brenda's Bed and Breakfast, and the Grenfell premises that house the nursing station. The dump, Cartwright hotel and airport all lie just outside of town.

**Figure 7. Map of Cartwright**


(Modified from www.maps.google.ca)

The landscape and spatial organization of the town of Cartwright represents the history of the people who live there. Small pockets of people from different traditional settlements are still evident in Cartwright today as some people who moved in to Cartwright because of centralization chose to remain in proximity to the same people they had lived with traditionally along the coast, thus, small satellite communities developed adjacent to or within Cartwright. Other people who were resettled to Cartwright were told where to build their houses in Cartwright by higher authorities, such as the Anglican minister. These people were often settled far from the town core, and

distinct neighborhoods can still be distinguished in Cartwright based on where people traditionally lived along the coast or in the bay (Barrett, pers. comm. 2007; Holwell, pers. comm. 2007; Jackson 1982:4).

The layout of Cartwright reflects changes in settlement patterns from traditional homesteads to the current, centralized town. For years the community has been physically divided between people who were originally from Cartwright versus those who were not (Kennedy 1995:204). For a long time the people who were from the "original" Cartwright, had more convenient and privileged access to services such as the school, stores and the harbour (Holwell, pers. comm. 2007). The feeling that there are still somewhat separate neighborhoods within Cartwright persists to the present day, though this feeling has diminished in the last generation. The most recent generations were all born and raised in Cartwright, attended the same schools and were all integrated. Nevertheless, older generations still remain closer to those who they knew at their traditional homes and people living in Cartwright can identify people's traditional home based on where they live in Cartwright today (Barrett, pers. comm. 2007; Holwell, pers. comm. 2007; Way, pers. comm. 2007). My informants indicated that this has caused many problems in Cartwright in the past, mostly that people did not feel a sense of equality and belonging to the community (Holwell, pers. comm. 2007).

### 4.2.7 Discussion

It is nearly impossible to speak of life in southeastern Labrador without referencing the landscape. Each of my informants spoke of places that were important to

them and their families. The places most consistently discussed were traditional seasonal settlement areas and associated nearby resource procurement sites. Despite living in Cartwright for the majority of their lives, nearly all of the people I spoke to referred to the traditional places associated with their families as their homes. Cartwright was referred to as just the place they live and informants expressed that older family members had the same feelings (Davis, D. pers. comm. 2007; Hamel, pers. comm. 2007; Roberts, pers. comm. 2007). The emotional attachment to traditional family settlement areas is strong, whereas feelings about Cartwright are more much more detached. Most people simply do not have a long enough family history in Cartwright to feel a solid attachment to it.

Despite the fact that landscape in Sandwich Bay has changed, both in appearance and in use during the last century, it has remained an important aspect of the lives of people who reside in the area. As each group has lived in Sandwich Bay, experienced the environment and learned to harness its resources to suit their needs they have left both subtle and obvious markers on the landscape. These markers continue to play an important role in identity formation and maintenance to the present day.

## 4.3 Identity

> Well, we're European ancestry on both sides of the family and mixed Native ancestry, too because it's of the Inuit and well, my great, three greats grandparent, grandmother was a Micmac Indian from Nova Scotia, so you know, we got the best of both worlds, I think. We got the Native way of doing things and the European way of doing things, and if you

> combine the two, there's not much you can't do, is there? You know? Yeah, then we got the survival part of it from the Native people, I would say and the European side of it, of course, you get the how to build a house and how to build boats, you know, stuff like that. As for like, preserving food and stuff like that you certainly would have got that from your Native ancestry. And we've had people ask "how do you know how to do this and how do you know how to do that", and I said, "we're really lucky.'" I said, "we've got both sides of it. We've got the Native side and the European side of it. And combine the two and there's not much you can't do" (Doris Davis, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 25, 2007).

People often pull together to form a distinct cultural or group identity when they are faced by common pressures or problems. These pressures often include threats from outside groups over territory or resources, or political forces from which they would benefit by being seen as a cohesive group (Anderson 2005:11; Lambert-Pennington 2005:34; van Dam 2005:107). However, people often identify strongly with one another and with certain group or cultural traits even in the absence of such pressures. In these scenarios people have no need to exert their belonging to a certain group, so the existence of that group might go unnoticed by outsiders (Anderson 2005:4).

This section examines the pressures that the southern Labrador Métis face that have caused them to come together as a self-identified and named group, but more importantly, looks at those factors that define group identity and membership even when those pressures are absent. It is suggested here that traditional landscapes and activities form one of the strongest factors in unifying people in southeastern Labrador and contributing to their sense of belonging to the group. Local informants from Cartwright

expressed a consistently strong response as to the importance of landscape and the physical environment in the formation of their personal and group identities. In particular, respondents spoke of the importance of traditional family settlements, the places where they once live with their families pursuing traditional ways of life (Figure 8).

**Figure 8. Cabins at North River**

4.3.1 Métissage in Canada

The Canadian Constitution Act (1982) identifies Canadian Aboriginal peoples as including "the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada." The definition of 'Métis' however is not clarified within the constitution. Historically, the word 'métis' has had two meanings, the first refers specifically to the Red River Métis, and the second, more

general, meaning refers to persons of mixed Aboriginal and European descent (Kennedy 1993:7). It is the second, more general meaning that applies to the people of mixed Inuit and European ancestry residing in southeastern Labrador.

Difficulties in determining a solid definition of what it means to be Métis are not only encountered in Labrador, but across Canada. The synthesis of Aboriginal and European cultures has taken many forms and the extent to which skills, material culture and ideas were drawn from each group varies greatly. Some groups drew more from the Aboriginal cultural sphere and others embraced a more European adaptation (Boisvert and Turnbull 1985:111). Historically, a Métis population developed wherever Aboriginals and Europeans met for any extended period of time. In Canada, this happened most frequently in areas exploited for the fur trade (Boisvert and Turnbull 1985:112), though it might be said that in Labrador the Métis are as much the children of the fish trade as the fur trade. Boisvert and Turnbull (1985:112) define Métissage as an historical process, but they qualify this by saying that "it is only in the [Canadian] northwest that the Métis consciously evolved into a distinct people." While there were particular historical and political forces at work that pressured the Métis of the northwest to evolve and define themselves as a group much earlier that in other places in Canada (Boisvert and Turnbull 1985: 112), it is somewhat of an oversight to completely discount the agency and autonomy of other mixed ancestry groups in developing a unique cultural identity.

### 4.3.2 Aboriginal Identity Politics in Labrador

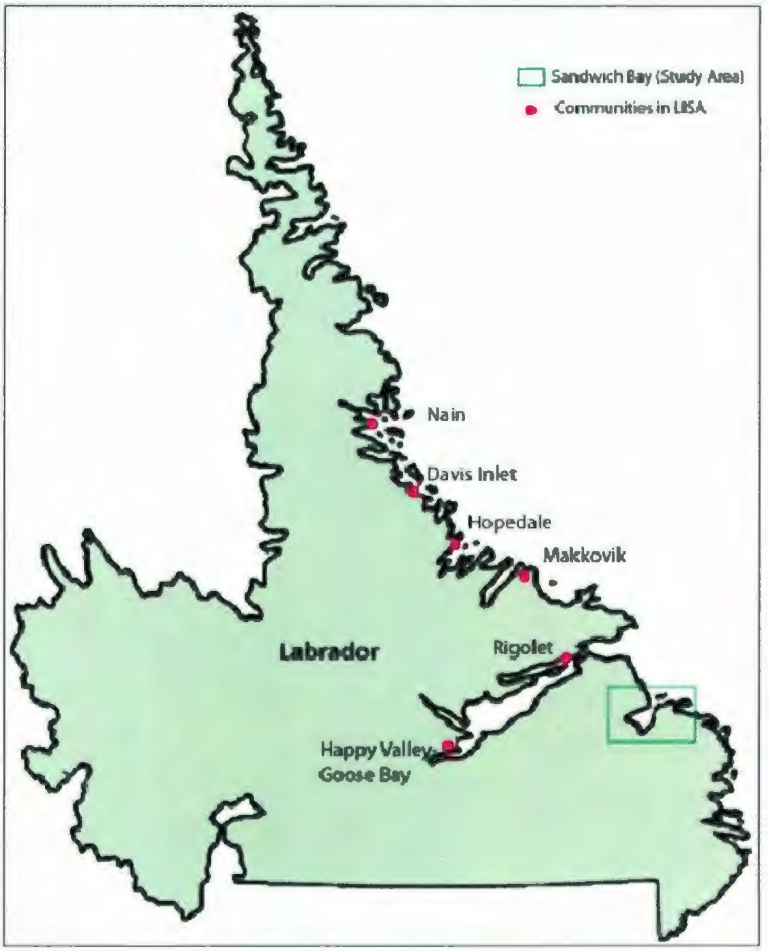
> I'm Métis, a member of the Métis. Have been for a while, actually, when they started. I'm quite pleased with that (Shirley Roberts, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 20, 2007).

The southeastern Labrador Métis first began to self-identify as a distinct cultural group in the mid-1980s with the establishment of the Labrador Métis Nation. Prior to this, the Métis, then commonly called 'Settlers,' were less interested in and less accepting of their Aboriginal heritage. The political aspect of cultural and group identity is not the main focus of this thesis however, because it is nearly impossible to consider the changing identities and status of a group such as the Labrador Métis without considering the effects of political forces.

In Labrador, there are two main political associations representing people of Inuit and mixed Inuit-European descent: the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) and the Labrador Métis Nation (LMN). The LIA was formed in 1973 and is responsible for advancing Labrador Inuit rights, promoting language and culture, managing natural resources and negotiating the Labrador Inuit Land Claim. Membership criteria for the LIA today include Inuit ancestry or being *Kabluangajuk* (the Inuit designation for people of mixed Labrador Inuit and European ancestry), permanent residence in the Labrador Inuit Settlement Area (LISA) or residence outside of the LISA but connections to it through birth, ancestry or kinship ties. The LISA runs along the northern Labrador coast (Figure 9) with a southern extremity in the Upper Lake Melville area. LIA members live

primarily in the communities of Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik, Postville, Rigolet, Happy Valley-Goose Bay and North West River (www.nunatsiavut.com/en/membership.php, www.nunatsiavut.com/en/overview.php).

**Figure 9. Map of Communities in Labrador Inuit Settlement Area**




(Modified from www.crrstv.net/images/logo_about_map.gif)

The LMN was formed in the mid-1980s by Inuit-Métis who wished to have their rights as Aboriginal Canadians recognized by government, particularly regarding decisions about land use and social programs. The Inuit-Métis of Labrador share a common ancestry with the Inuit of Labrador, but identify themselves as having distinct

customs, histories and traditions. Members of the LMN primarily live in Happy Valley-Goose Bay and smaller communities along the southeastern coast of Labrador outside of the LISA. These communities include Mud Lake, North West River, Cartwright, Paradise River, Black Tickle, Norman Bay, Charlottetown, Pinsent's Arm, Williams Harbour, Port Hope Simpson, St. Lewis, Mary's Harbour and Lodge Bay (www.labradormetis.ca/home). The creation of the LMN was partially in response to local and national political forces pertaining to Aboriginal rights. As other Aboriginal groups in Labrador, the Inuit and Innu, began to gain rights to certain resources and to land claims, the Métis embraced their claim to Aboriginal heritage in part to ensure that they received equal privileges to traditional land and resources.

### 4.3.3 Non-Political Shared Identity in Southeastern Labrador

> With our shifting out and our end of the fishery, I mean, part of our identity is gone (Rosetta Holwell, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, August 27, 2007).

As discussed in previous chapters, the traditional way of life of the southeastern Labrador Métis was very strongly dependent on ties to land and natural resources. Without access to these assets life in southeastern Labrador would have been impossible. Seasonal settlement areas allowed easy access to firewood, fresh food and water, shelter, and other resources that could be exploited for economic gain. For a long period of time, the Settlers/Métis were able to have free access to all of these resources and to exploit

them as needed. This access to the land and participation in the traditional lifeways and activities that were necessary for successful survival on the southeastern Labrador coast forms a common bond between all people living permanently in this area.

Many people in Cartwright belong to the Labrador Inuit Association or the Labrador Métis Nation, though some people choose not to become affiliated with either of these associations, even if they share the same heritage. Over the course of this research a sense of collective group belonging that overshadowed the presence of these political organizations was noted. The people living in the Sandwich Bay area identify with each other based on their collective experience and the places that are familiar to them. A history of family presence in the area, a love for boat and snowmobile travel and fresh fish and game harvested from the land seem to be more important factors of in-group belonging than the possession of a political status card. It is this identity, which runs much deeper than political affiliation, which is considered in this research.

Other factors that were frequently referred to by interview subjects as an important part of Métis identity were values associated with hard work, industriousness and sharing. Informants often spoke proudly of the ability of their ancestors to forge a living with so few amenities and to raise a family under the difficult conditions associated with living off the land. They also often know the name and story of why their first European ancestor came to the area and how they came about settling permanently. Sadly, much less is known about the details of their Inuit ancestry, though people are making an effort now to learn what they can about this aspect of their past.

Actually, they moved off the Seal Islands in the fall. I'd say about November, they would move. And they'd go into Shoal Bay. They had a little log cabin in there. I remember that. And they'd live there in the winter right back in the big thick, thick woods. They'd hunt. So, you know, it was a hard life, a very hard life, and cold. So that's the way they lived, year in and year out. Back out to fish and back in to hunt in the fall, well, in the winter, 'cause it'd be November by the time they go in. Yeah, we were talkin' about it not too long ago. We were sitting around talkin' about how they used to live (Shirley Roberts, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 20, 2007).

I mean, it was just something you had to do to survive, right? Who's gonna do it if you don't? You know? I'd care to see anyone else tryin' to take care of someone else's house besides your own. You know, where it was so hard just to get your own supply of wood and stuff, because in those days, there were no chainsaws. I mean, you did it all with axe and a bucksaw, so you can imagine now. It was no wonder they were such hard-working, industrious people. [They] had to be (Doris Davis, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 25, 2007).

[My Dad] crafted pretty well everything that he needed, you know, if he needed a pair of moccasins he made 'em, if he needed a pair of hide mitts he made 'em, if he needed snowshoes he made 'em, if he needed a tent he made it, if he needed a tent stove he made it you know, all his things a man could do with limited amount of equipment and tools could do, he learned to do (Woodrow Lethbridge, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, August 3, 2007).

The traditional Métis subsistence pattern was deeply affected by the resources that were available from the land and knowledge and understanding of how to travel around and efficiently exploit the land, sea and icescapes was a necessity for survival. It is easy to see how Métis identity is so deeply rooted in the physical landscape and the ability to travel freely around it to exploit subsistence resources. By moving around the landscape and using it for subsistence activities the Métis have transformed the physical spaces of Sandwich Bay into meaningful places and these activities have left markers on the landscape that remain as a visible reminder of the Métis presence and of changing Métis identities.

The rich resources of the land and sea in southeastern Labrador have long provided for the subsistence needs of the people who lived there, including the Inuit and European Settlers. The mixed Settler/Métis people who reside along the southeastern Labrador coast today still make use of many of these resources, but a subsistence economy revolving around the resources offered by the land is no longer crucial as store-bought goods are much more readily available. In the past, people were much more dependent on the land and life was tied to the weather and the seasons. Life was defined by the resources that were available during different times of year and the places that those resources were located. The seasonal cycle of shifting was driven by the need to be where these resources were at the times that they were available, and the people were very often at the mercy of the weather (Anderson 1984).

People living in Cartwright today still make near-constant use of the land and water, even though it is not required for survival. The closing of the commercial cod

fishery in 1992 and the salmon fishery in 1996 was very difficult on the people who made their living as fishermen, taking away a part of what defined them as people.

> When that stopped, well, that took a lot away from ya, because I mean, 'twas your livelihood. I mean, that's what you lived on...I mean that's what you lived for was the fishery, the cod fishery and the salmon fishery because that's where your bread and butter are comin' from, you know. And that's why today, you know, it still hurts to talk about it, in one way because, I mean, that was our livelihood. Every year now you gotta get a different job of some kind, just to try to make it, you know. [It]'s not so easy as it used to be for a fishery and that. There's no more fishery, really. Not...well the salmon fishermen and the cod fishermen haven't got nothing left. Not a thing. I'm probably repeatin' myself but...it's almost like takin' the, you know, when they took the fishery away it's almost like takin' the bread and butter out of your mouth. I mean, that was our fishery and only bit of money that we could make was on the fishery. Was a sad day when that left, I tell ya (Leslie Hamel, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 13, 2007).

Though other, smaller fishing industries have been established, including crab and whelk, which provide jobs for many people in the community many people still feel the negative effects of the loss of the major cod and salmon industries in the area.

Food fisheries throughout the summer months allow people to harvest a limited amount of trout, char and salmon for their family's consumption. Berries, waterfowl and some game animals are also used as sources of fresh food. Firewood remains a necessity and many men still spend a great deal of time procuring wood for firewood and making

their own lumber at local sawmills during the fall and winter months. In the summer boating is often carried out recreationally as is snowmobiling in the winter. As people travel around the land, sea, and ice they come into constant contact with physical reminders on the landscape of how things were in the past, how they have changed over time and how they are in the present.

The practice of pursuing traditional activities, even if they are no longer a necessity for subsistence, reinforces identity and the values associated with belonging to the Métis group. This act also perpetuates the visible influence of the people on their landscape, continuing the cycle of people creating meaningful landscapes which in turn reinforce the formation and maintenance of their identities.

## 4.4 Displacement, Diaspora and Movement

> If you're lucky, [your traditional places] are summer cabins. If not, it's just, you know, left there and rotting, fell down and all just gone, just....You know, it's a way of life just gone. It's not there [anymore] (Rosetta Sainsbury, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 18, 2007).

As discussed by Bender (2001:75), "Archaeologists espousing a more phenomenological approach have focused on intimate and personal engagement with place and well-worn territory, without acknowledging that these often work within larger, less familiar landscapes of movement". The situation faced by the Métis in Labrador can be best represented by the approach taken by Bender (2001) which considers "different

and interlocking scales of human activity and understanding". While the Métis have been displaced from their traditional landscapes, they still have an identity that fits into the new places and spaces they inhabit. They have evolved and integrated themselves into a new set of circumstances and have an identity based not solely on their traditional homesteads, but also the greater area of Sandwich Bay, the southeastern Labrador coast, Labrador in its entirety, Canada, and the world. There are both local and global scales of belonging to space and place and in today's world these different scales are increasingly interchangeable.

In the case of the Labrador Métis, displacement events have curtailed movement and dispersal. In effect, not only have the Métis been moved out of their places, but they have been put in new ones where they no longer have the same options or opportunities for movement as they did previously. Migration around the landscape was a significant element of the Métis adaptation to southeastern Labrador. With events leading to centralization, travel around the landscape became less convenient and more expensive; it was no longer the most efficient way to survive in the area. While traditional settlement areas and homesteads still played a role in the greater scale of the landscapes, the way that they were used was altered permanently, and the people were disjointed from their way of life.

The traditional Métis way of life involved a significant amount of movement and travel within and between different landscapes. Travel was necessary to procure different resources by hunting, fishing and gathering, to move between seasonal homes, to visit friends and family in other settlements, and occasionally to secure wage labour

employment, health care or education. People traveled short distances on foot and for more extensive travel boats, dogsleds, and later, snowmobiles were used depending on the season. Today, there are many more options for travel, both locally and further abroad as commercial ferries and flights are easily accessible. Cars and the completion of the trans-Labrador highway in 2005 have also changed the nature of travel in Cartwright in recent years.

Boat technology has changed significantly in the last century. Old rowboats and sailboats were slowly replaced by motorboats, but even these were slow. Today, speedboats are normal and have greatly increased the range that people are able to travel. However, speedboats use a lot of fuel, the cost of which is very expensive. Today, centralization has restricted the need for movement and travel for subsistence purposes. The move between seasonal settlements two or three times a year is no longer required and all of the resources required to live can be procured at the store. Wild game, wood, and fish are often still harvested around the bay, but people do not need to go very far, and very short trips are all that is necessary to procure foods from the land. Much of the travel that is undertaken today is recreational in nature, and people often go out in their boats just to have a look around or get the few fish they are permitted for the food fishery. With centralization the Settlers/Métis have been disconnected from the deep relationship that they had with the settlement and subsistence areas that were traditionally associated with and exploited by their families.

Through the early twentieth century, as the pull away from the traditional way of life at small family settlements increased, people became more and more likely to spend

at least a portion of their year in the permanent town of Cartwright. Winter settlements suffered the most from this change, as the summer fishing stations were still a very important part of life and livelihood until the cod moratorium in 1992 and closing of the commercial salmon fishery in 1996. Before government resettlement, people still had some personal choice about where they lived. Even those who chose to move to Cartwright before mandatory resettlement programs probably felt some degree of pressure to move to the larger community, as there wasn't the same level of education and health care services available elsewhere. Even so, the move to Cartwright had consequences both for those coming in and for those who already lived there.

The traditional settlement pattern in Sandwich Bay developed in response to the availability and spatial distribution of natural resources. By aggregating at key fishing areas in the summer months and dispersing to sheltered inner-bay locations during the winter months the Métis followed a cycle that optimized access to key resources and ensured that everyone had enough to survive (Anderson 1984). With resettlement, and the corresponding influx of people into Cartwright, this balance was disrupted. There was just not enough space and resources in and around Cartwright for everyone to have enough. This created a great deal of strain on natural resources and on the relations between people who were now all trying to make their living off the same patch of land. Even today, residents speak of the conflict this caused, as people would get angry at others using their trap line or wood path.

Besides the strain on the natural resources, the movement to Cartwright significantly changed many people's lives and severed their close ties to the land. Despite

the fact that the transportation technology, such as speedboats and snowmobiles, greatly increased the speed and ease of travel during the resettlement period, it remains that people were forced to make the move to a community and an area that they were less, if at all, familiar with. Fishing berths were traditionally handed down through family lines and sons inherited family fishing spots from their fathers. With resettlement to Cartwright, many of these prime spots were rendered impractical if not impossible to use regularly and efficiently, as the distance and the cost of fuel were prohibitive. While these places were still accessible, and some were still used, especially in the summer, it just did not make as much sense to utilize them in the same way. In many cases those who moved to Cartwright had to find wage labour jobs, especially during the winter months, as subsistence living could not be effectively practiced with so many people in such a small area. Resettlement essentially severed the tie between people and their traditional settlement areas.

### 4.4.1 Globalization

In recent years, the residents of Cartwright have had increasing access to the outside world. While there has always been some degree of access to other places through the trade of European and Inuit goods, the people of Sandwich Bay were an isolated population until fairly recently. Travel options to and from Labrador have become increasingly available and convenient. These include coastal ferry services between the Labrador coast and the island of Newfoundland, commercial airline services that connect many coastal communities with the world, and perhaps most significantly,

the gravel highway from Cartwright to Blanc Sablon that was completed in 2005. The availability of improved accessibility of communication services such as long distance telephone and, notably, the internet have further expanded the ways that the Labrador Métis interact with both local and global worlds. All of these factors have had the effect of reducing the level of isolation in this region, further impacting identity.

Access to the outside world of employment, higher levels of education and health care play a crucial role in the lives of the Labrador Métis today, bringing a new type of travel and mobility to their lives and activities. In particular, employment and education have the effect of drawing people away from Cartwright and the southeastern Labrador coast for extended periods of time, if not permanently. This puts pressure on the population of the permanent settlements that remain, as out-migration constantly draws people away from coastal communities. The expansion of the trans-Labrador highway from Cartwright to Goose Bay is underway. This development further threatens the economic success of Cartwright as it will no longer be a port of call for the ferry. This means that many people will choose to drive to their destinations instead of taking the ferry, and in so doing will bypass Cartwright completely, as it is 90km out of the way from the junction of the highway. While this newest addition to the highway will be convenient for the residents of Cartwright, many of my informants expressed concerns about the effects that it will have on the survival of the community.

Interestingly, the internet has acted as a uniting factor between people in Cartwright. A local community web site has been developed which helps to keep people in touch with the community even if they are far away. A community message board

keeps people in contact whether they are at home or abroad and pictures are posted regularly so there is a constant record of what is going on in the area that is accessible to people all over the world (www.cartwrightlab.ca). This has extended the sense of community from the local to the global and allowed people to stay in contact and maintain a connection to the Sandwich Bay area even if they are thousands of miles away. This is an example of a positive way that the Settlers/Métis have adapted to pressures that have distanced them from their traditional landscapes and identities.

## 4.5 Community Archaeology and Aboriginal Advocacy

> Yes, [I think there is value in archaeological work], very, very much so. It should have been done a long time ago, really. Yeah, 'cause if you don't know your history, how are you gonna know what your future's going to be? (Doris Davis, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 25, 2007)

Archaeology can provide us with a way of looking at and understanding the past landscapes that have been layered one upon the other to create what is visible in the present day. The archaeological record is very rich in Sandwich Bay, but much research remains to be done and some of the processes that have led to the creation of this landscape remain poorly understood. One of the most enigmatic questions is the way that the distinct pattern of Métis settlement and shifting developed and what the chronology of this cultural development is. At the request of the Métis community, pioneering work

is now being done in an effort to best understand the lifeways of early Inuit and mixed Inuit and European households in this area.

### 4.5.1 Archaeology in Sandwich Bay

Archaeological sites are abundant and easily visible along the southeastern Labrador coast. These include, but are not limited to, Inuit, European and Métis sites. These sites take many forms, some of which are more apparent on the landscape, and to the untrained eye, than others. Additionally, the processes of archaeology have been made visible to local people by active archaeological work in the area, completed by Dr. Lisa Rankin and other archaeologists in the last several decades. The efforts of Dr. Rankin to invite local people to visit and work on the sites she has excavated has taught people to recognize archaeological sites and to gain a better understanding of what the part of these sites that is underground looks like. This gives people an understanding and a visual conception of that which is usually invisible on the landscape, and adds a further dimension to what people see, interpret and understand when traveling around Sandwich Bay.

Archaeology is often viewed as a positive act which helps people to remember that which has been forgotten and to educate people about the past. Increasingly, local communities have supported archaeology and have contributed their own views on the processes and results of excavations (Davidson and Gonzalez-Tennant 2008:13). Archaeology has been actively carried out in the Sandwich Bay area for several decades. Despite the extensive archaeological survey and excavation in the area, it is only within

the last few years that the results of this work have been actively shared with the residents of Cartwright. Dr. Lisa Rankin has made an effort to involve the community by inviting them to open houses at her excavation sites, hiring local youth and adults to work on sites, by donating posters detailing the results of her work to be displayed in the community after the completion of her excavations, and through community presentations. Through Dr. Rankin's efforts to involve the community, she has garnered the support of local people for archaeological work and has also fostered a growing interest in archaeology in the community. This greater awareness of the types of sites that exist and what they can inform us about the way people lived in the area and the type of people that were present in the past has added a new dimension to identity formation in the area, and has strengthened the link between contemporary peoples and their indigenous ancestry.

Historians have long recognized that by learning about the past people can increase self awareness, which can lead to change or reaffirmation of identity. Dramatic changes in local landscapes can lead to changes in identity, or they can cement existing values. Changes to landscape can involve intentional recreation, reconstruction and renovation or can be imposed, such as when people are forced to move from a familiar landscape to an unfamiliar one (Foster 1993: viii, 241-2, 246). Archaeology is one way that people can learn about their past through elements of the landscape. Archaeology makes visible that which is invisible, buried beneath the soil. It changes the nature and understanding that people have of certain parts of the landscape. As people learn from archaeological sites it can tell them how the people who preceded them in the area used

spaces and places and this can in turn lead to an idea of how their values are different or similar to those of their predecessors in the area.

The people of Cartwright are increasingly taking an interest in the archaeological history of Sandwich Bay and many have ideas about what they would like to see excavated. The Métis individuals who contributed their knowledge to this research all expressed a desire to learn more about the processes and results of archaeological work in the area. They also discussed the ways in which they feel connected to the history of the area and what they would like to learn from future archaeological work. When asked if they felt a personal connection to these sites that represented an Inuit presence in the area one respondent replied:

> I am, see. I am. My Nan was half Inuit and half Innu and so I'm really connected to it. I mean, there's no way out of it, really. My Nan, see, was... well, you could see she was Inuit just by looking at her and that, you know. And she was always well-known for her skin-boot making and stuff like that, eh. She used to make lots of them (Leslie Hamel, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 13, 2007).

My respondents all expressed a strong interest in seeing more archaeological work done in the area, and in being more actively involved in the results of the work that is done. The results of archaeological excavations in Sandwich Bay and the implications for the longevity of the Aboriginal ancestry of the Métis are having an impact on the identity of the Métis and allowing them to learn about forgotten elements of their past.

I think there's value in [archaeological work] because it shows that there were Métis people here, for years and years back and Inuit also. I mean, it means a lot to us because I mean, you can see how far [life on] the coast goes back. I mean, I think it's very important, really. Yeah, I really [find it interesting] because the last bit of work that I heard about I've found it interesting there, especially out there to Snack Cove. All that big find they had out there. Man, that was unreal, that was. That shows see, that Inuit was around here a long, long time (Leslie Hamel, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 13, 2007).

Oh yes, I really think [archaeology] is important. Certainly it's bringing to light some of the history that certainly needed to be brought to the surface. I mean people knew, especially the older people that history was there. It was never proven or anything you know, I'm really happy it's [being done]. I'd like to see it go even further and faster, but the way it works its done with small budgets and it takes time, so we just gotta relax and hope that it's gonna [get done]. There's more of it yet, and it's not all uncovered. [I think the site] at North River has a lot of value to me. Anything that's tied to a European settler and the natives, I know that the old, old stuff was there, too, but for me it's quite important to know, to get a better handle on how the two cultures interacted and settled (Woodrow Lethbridge, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, August 3, 2007).

I would like to see [archaeological work] done. Yes, I think it would be important. Yeah, yes. If it was done, I think I'd like to see the older sites dug. See what was there, you know. Now they said that [my ancestor] John Burdett married an Eskimo and she was up in Sandy Hills. Now I don't know anymore than that and I don't know if the Eskimos were livin' up there at that time or what, so any kind of archaeological dig would be

interesting, I think (Rosetta Sainsbury, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 18, 2007).

## 4.6 Archaeologies of Memory

### 4.6.1 Toponyms and Family Association with Settlement Areas

Toponyms are often associated with memory. The Sandwich Bay area is rich in toponyms that are associated with the history of the area. Many of these place names represent early settlers in the area, such as Burdett's Brook or Goodenough's Island; descriptive or geographical features such as the Hat, Round Island or Sandy Point; or still remain from when Captain George Cartwright named them, such as Paradise River and White Bear River. These toponyms are not represented on most official maps of the area; however, most people who travel regularly around the bay are aware of the traditional names of most islands, inlets, bays and settlements. In several cases, people are also familiar with stories associated with how these places got their names, or how the names of these places have changed over time.

> The only thing that is important is that a lot of the place names have a story behind them. You know, a person, an event, something, and there are really, really very many.

> Each rock probably has a name. That one there does, that one's called Peggy Painter's Rock. I'm not exactly sure why she got it. I think my husband probably knows the story of why its hers, but anyway, it's Peggy Painter's Rock and I do know who she is, being the genealogy person I know who she is and she's been dead a hundred and thirty years, so that

was her rock, whether she stood by it and looked out or what over there, you know, it has to be something like that that would have connected her to it. This was where we lived; my husband's Grandmother was a Painter so that we're here on the land that Painters used to live on so I guess she was living here at some point in her life, right?

Some [places] are named for people, like Burn's Harbour was obviously a Burn and there was like Sutton's Island and places like that, even Pack's Harbour – he was a trader who was out there. Some are highly documented, like historical stuff, there's Prisoner's Island out there by Pack's Harbour and quite literally there was a prisoner and the story is actually documented in British records that two men fought and one killed the other and so the prisoner was truly kept there until the ships, the naval ships came and picked him up and brought him back to England for a trial which is then also documented, but… Prisoner's Island.

Some are like geographical features 'cause we have like Round Island, Long Island, these are very important places, even Dumpling, it's kind of like a little round little rise, you can just imagine someone almost looked at that and thought it looked like a dumpling in a pot of pea soup or something and just put that name on it, right?

There's a Jackie's Brook for example and that's supposed to have been Jack Cole. And he's supposed to have rowed in to get married but he was too late because when he got there his bride had married somebody else. I dunno if he was a slow rower, or what, but you know, there's just stories. And then there's like over in the other one there is Rum Island, well apparently that was like where rum was stowed away and there's stories connected to it, right?

There's so many. I mean, there's a high old hill up on Independent Island which would be a summer place for people here, where they bakeappled and coded and this high old hill is called Sudrow's. But the story goes that originally it was Sue Drew, like a woman, Sue Drew. Supposedly, I dunno if her heart was broken or what, but she's supposed to have committed suicide from this high old hill. And so over time it has now [become] just Sudrow's. But, like, what does Sudrow mean? Nothing, really, right? It means nothing. But the people who are more connected to that area who would have heard the story through their ancestry well they know the stories that this Sue Drew I guess was dumped or whatever and who knows 'cause with so many people coming in the summers and so many itinerant fisherman some girl could have ended up pregnant and couldn't face going home and dealing with the issues, and you don't know any of the background, but you do know it is a broken relationship and supposedly a girls death from this high hill or whatever, right? This kind of cliffy sort of spot that's now called Sudrow. Stuff like that, there's lots of stuff like that.

And everything has, you know, funny little names and some of it like I said is just true geographic features. So you're not surprised. Lots of names are documented that George Cartwright named them, you know, like White Bear River, he went up and there's a falls there where the salmon leap and its totally directly north and to this day polar bears still walk that route and one was in Muddy Bay just the past weekend. And he was I'm sure heading across to White Bear River, you know, that's where he's going, that's his trek north. But when Cartwright went there, there was whole bunches of them and they were all eating salmon and having a

great time and him and his men shot a whole bunch and so that's where White Bear River comes from, truly a direct north path.

There's lots and lots. And lots and lots. Lots of them are named for people who had trap lines there or funny old names on some of them, one of them I think is called Mumps Brook and like obviously some trapper woke up there, woke up one morning to discover he had mumps while he's camped at this brook, you know. Probably not that great a story but no, there's really almost like there's too many and yet they're all important and people know them. You know, not everybody knows them all anymore, but some of them do. My husband's fishing place, the salmon place that he and the other people long before him used, is called North Point on the map…North Point? …I think that's what it's called, I can't even remember the map name 'cause to us…no, North Head, that's what it is on the map. It's as you go into Table Bay, it's called North Head, but it's just been Long Point, like, people here just call it Long Point and they've never called it anything else. I mean, I can find documentation in people's letters or stories like over a hundred years ago where it's Long Point or everybody's going to Long Point or we walked over the hill to Long Point. You know? It was always Long Point, but for some reason on the map it's North Head. I had to stop and think what does the map say, 'cause all I know is what the people say, which is Long Point.

OK, Lark's Harbour, which is just on the other side of Cartwright if you go down along the shore here just before, just at the bottom of that big old Black Head hill, you'll see what the people today call Lark's Harbour. But when George Cartwright came, he had a man with him whose name was Laar, surname, and so that was Laar Cove and somewhere along the way Laar Cove turned into Lark Cove and then it became Lark Harbour and

> now it's Lark's Harbour, and its usually referred to in terms of the bottom, so mostly it's known as Lark's Harbour Bottom. But it was Laar Cove for a person, and now everyone assumes it's for larks that were there which has nothing to do whatever with why it is. So you kind of have to know the background to realize that that's just what language has turned it into (Patty Way, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, July 10, 2007).

Further, certain locations are deeply connected to particular families in Sandwich Bay, representing the places that their ancestors originally settled. Interview informants were able to associate different places around the bay with specific family names, representing the families that traditionally used those locations for settlement and subsistence. While the association of places with family names is less strong today due to intermarriage, people still have a strong sense of who belongs to which places on the landscape and this still influences settlement areas today.

> The Eagle River that's Lethbridges and the Browns, Separation Point would be the Browns and the Learnings, White Bear River is certainly the Davises, Dove Brook the Birds, Bob 'n Joyce the Martins, Table Bay the Davises, Cartrwight…early years Cartwright, Pardys. Pardys were a big name in Cartwright in the early days and Muddy Bay would have been the Winterses and the Pardys, too. Long Stretch, Coombses…I can peg names to [all the places]….and of course North River was the Williamses mainly. And then down around further north the Flat Water Brook and West Bay and those places are mostly Williamses as well and Pottles (Woodrow Lethbridge, resident of Cartwright, Labrador, August 3, 2007).

### 4.6.2 Continuation of Memory through Re-use, Reinterpretation and Reconstruction of Landscapes

Today, the people of southern Labrador are proud of their history, and are reclaiming their Inuit past with enthusiasm; however, this has not always been the case. In the past, the people of Sandwich Bay did not disclose their Aboriginal background, and in many cases people were ashamed of it. Kennedy (1995) notes that as recently as the 1970s people avoided discussing their family histories. This means that, while many Métis today are making an effort to remember their Aboriginal heritage, much has been forgotten and many people have distanced themselves from that past. Despite this, people still remain close to the ways of life that their ancestors developed and lived out on the coast. This past is actively remembered through modifications on the landscape that show evidence of a lengthy occupation of people along the southeastern Labrador coast.

One might imagine that if the Métis did not want to remember their Aboriginal heritage that they might make an effort to conceal it by eliminating evidence of this cultural background from the landscape. In Sandwich Bay, quite the opposite is true. Archaeological and abandoned settlement sites are both embraced and actively remembered on the landscape. Local individuals visit sites that they are aware of or have located, both on their own properties and at other locations along the coast, and share knowledge about these sites with other local people as well as visitors. They take an active interest in the archaeological work that is being done in the area, and proudly display posters that have been donated from archaeological crews regarding the results of these excavations. Also, the ruins of traditional cabins are left standing to rot on their

own time, instead of being torn down, acting as monuments that commemorate past life in the area.

The landscape around Sandwich Bay has been under near-constant reconstruction, re-use, and reinterpretation over the last century. Many events have pressured, even forced, the people living in southeastern Labrador to develop new uses for, understandings of, and relationships with the land and resources that surround them. People continue the memory of their family history in this area by building on or adjacent to the sites where their families had cabins, often leaving the remains of cabins or foundations in place instead of recycling the materials or cleaning up the area by taking them down. The result of this is that traditional settlement areas are the places where people now have recreational seasonal cabins, so that there is now a mixture of old and new cabins interspersed and in various states of repair.

There is a phenomenon where the past and present meet and create "a memory place". In this situation, events and places that at the time were obscure or extraordinary become symbols for group identity (Flores 1998). Sandwich Bay is an excellent example of a memory place. It represents the place where the Métis culture developed, succeeded and was pressured to change. Sandwich Bay and the settlements around it have not been forgotten, but fiercely remembered. What has been forgotten or denied, in many cases is pride in and knowledge of Inuit heritage, but this is now being rebuilt, and perhaps assisted by the archaeological work being done in the area.

## 4.7 Conclusions

There is much evidence for the history of occupation in Sandwich Bay and this evidence remains highly visible on the land. The Settlers/Métis have begun to embrace their history and to learn more about it in the past two decades as they have become more accepting of their Aboriginal roots. Despite a past denial or forgetting of a more distant Aboriginal history, the ability to learn about and recall past lifeways is present in the landscape, which offers many clues to how life once was and how it has changed, and offers the people of Sandwich Bay an opportunity to formulate a dynamic and flexible identity. This chapter has demonstrated that landscape is important to the Métis identity and to the formation and perpetuation of collective memories about the past.

## Chapter 5: Conclusions

> I've been living here [in Cartwright] a while, but I still consider Paradise my home, you know, and always will, I guess. You know, it's your roots (Doris Davis, Cartwright, Labrador, 2007).

### 5. 1 Introduction

The previous chapters have provided an in-depth analysis and description of both the traditional and contemporary landscapes of southeastern Labrador and the importance of these landscapes to the formation of southeastern Labrador Métis identity. An evaluation of the visible evidence of landscape use and modification over time in the Sandwich Bay area has been combined with narratives gathered from Métis elders and observations of contemporary Métis life to provide a unique insight into the importance of the spaces and places of Sandwich Bay to the development of a shared identity of the Labrador Métis. Data from each of these sources have been combined within the theoretical framework set forth in previous chapters in order to address the specific research questions established at the beginning of this thesis. Through the answers to these questions, a broader perspective on the nature of the importance of landscape as a defining and uniting factor in the formation and maintenance of Métis identity in southeastern Labrador may be addressed.

### 5.2 Importance of Landscape to the Development and Maintenance of Métis Identity

Today, political pressures have a strong influence on the Métis identity and what it means to be Métis. With the development of organizations such as the LIA and the

LMN, aboriginal ancestry has begun to be embraced and actively remembered, despite the denial of this ancestry in the past. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to focus on the mechanisms of Aboriginal identity politics in Labrador. Rather, it is my goal here to demonstrate that non-political factors, namely a connection with local landscapes and a familiarity with the traditional skills, values and knowledge required to live successfully within them, have a key role in defining southeastern Labrador Métis identity.

### 5.2.1 What is the importance of landscape to the formation and maintenance of southeastern Labrador Métis identity?

The Métis identity is fluid and flexible and the circumstances presented by the southeastern Labrador environment have necessitated an identity based on adaptation to change. The ancestors of today's Métis population – mobile Inuit hunter-gatherers and European settlers – both required skills and knowledge in order to forge a successful existence in Sandwich Bay. Métis culture developed in response to the need by each group to adapt, and to survive in a shared space. Ultimately, it was the combination of Inuit and European knowledge, skill sets and adaptive strategies that led to the development of a successful Métis culture.

The nature of the environment in Sandwich Bay necessitated that the Métis rely on the resources available on the land and this likely played a role in the primary formation of a shared identity between the earliest settlers of southeastern Labrador. Management of the natural environment played a major role in the daily lives of the Métis, for both subsistence and economic gain. Life would not have been possible

without an intimate understanding of the landscape, weather and environment. The traditional knowledge associated with locating resources, traveling between them, and harvesting them brought people together and allowed for a common experience by all people who have their roots in Sandwich Bay. It is easy to understand how the environment has impacted the Métis cultural adaptation and in turn acted as a determining factor in what it means to be Métis.

As time passed, the knowledge that early settlers gained through their experiences of living off the land was passed down to their descendants. This knowledge formed the basis for many Métis traditions and customs which have left a physical record on the landscape. Over time, the meaning of specific places on the landscape developed has even more as they became associated with specific family histories and events. Through the act of living off the land, the Métis created a landscape that specifically represented their experiences in the area and learned to recognize elements of this landscape, both natural and man-made, that allowed them to improve their subsistence strategies and represent their identity and sense of belonging. As this happened, Métis individuals came to associate certain locales with specific place names, stories and traditional knowledge which got passed down to subsequent generations, continuing to hold useful and sentimental value over time. Toponyms, traditions and knowledge give the landscape of Sandwich Bay a specific character and places are imbued with meaning and importance to the people who live there.

The Métis also have an emotional connection to the land that includes an appreciation for the natural beauty of the area and nostalgia associated with the

abandoned traditional homesteads that hold memories of their past. The Labrador Métis define themselves in terms of their knowledge of places, familiarity with travel routes, and the ability to access and exploit natural resources that were traditionally used for subsistence in Sandwich Bay.

The cultural landscape of Sandwich Bay acts as a mnemonic device for individual and collective memory in the area. The modifications that people have made to the landscape act as symbols that represent past lifeways and experiences along the southeastern Labrador coast, which allows people to retain links to their past. Much of the built cultural landscape is highly visible on the landscape. These modifications can be as subtle as paths and clearings or much more substantial, taking the form of old houses, stages and sheds. Archaeological sites offer further evidence of the human presence in the area, a more distant presence that is no longer remembered, yet has left its mark and influences the way that people interpret and understand their surroundings and identity.

## 5.3 Influences of Landscape Change on the Development of Métis Identity

The Métis have an identity that is strongly rooted in the landscape that surrounds them. Landscape is a construction made by humans based on their interaction with the places and spaces that surround them, and is modified through time to suit new needs and opportunities. Most often, people do this by taking control of their environment and shaping it in ways that are the most beneficial to them. Evidence of the effects of older adaptations and experiences remain at least partially visible on landscapes even when a new adaptation is embraced, and this allows landscapes to contain very long histories of

human life in certain areas. People choose what to leave visible on the landscape and what to eliminate, as part of a process of remembering and forgetting. The Sandwich Bay situation is somewhat unique because part of the landscape was developed not by the choice of the people who lived there, but rather by outside forces that led to centralization. However, the Métis story is still told and they have still chosen the elements of the landscape that they consider important.

5.3.1 What changes have occurred to the appearance, accessibility and use of the Sandwich Bay landscape in the last century?

As discussed throughout this thesis, the landscape in Sandwich Bay has undergone significant changes in the last century due to centralization, resettlement and the closing of the commercial salmon and cod fisheries in the area. These changes have most significantly impacted settlement patterns, but associated changes to lifeways and land and resource use have also occurred.

In Cartwright, resettlement caused a significant population increase which necessitated the building of infrastructure to support the growing number of residents in the community. In Cartwright large buildings needed to be constructed for community use and modern amenities became increasingly available. Also, as people moved in from all around the bay and the coast, small neighborhood clusters formed within the town representing the various different communities. Cartwright was not an ideal location for such a large population because it did not have enough wood, water or animal resources to support everyone.

In the bay, the appearance of the landscape changed because it was no longer being used in the same way. Cabins that had once been inhabited and used during the fishing season and for other pursuits now stood empty along the coastline, where they slowly began to fall into disrepair. The dispersed settlement pattern which allowed people to move through Sandwich Bay and access the resources they required to survive, changed when the Métis were clustered in one location, a place that many people were unfamiliar with and that did not have an adequate resource base to support such a large, concentrated population.

The trend towards centralization changed the appearance of the Sandwich Bay landscape because settlement patterns were greatly altered. Now, instead of households and resource procurement areas being scattered at almost every productive or well-sheltered bay, harbour, island or river mouth, there was only one place where people really lived: Cartwright.

5.3.2 What impact have these changes had on Métis identity?

Little is known about the mechanisms by which the Métis initially formed a collective identity, the degree to which there was a sense of group belonging between early settlers in Sandwich Bay, or the time-frame within which this developed. Considering this lack of data, it is difficult to assess the types of changes that have occurred to Métis identity over the long-term. The Métis Elders who were interviewed for this project have lived through many changes in settlement and subsistence patterns in southeastern Labrador in the last century and thus provide the unique perspective of

having experienced two very different ways of life in Sandwich Bay, pre- and post-resettlement.

Government resettlement programs and the closing of the commercial cod and salmon fisheries were devastating incidents for the people of Sandwich Bay. These events severed the physical relationship between the Métis and the land, sea and icescapes that their traditional subsistence and settlement patterns had been developed around. This restricted the Métis from pursuing the activities that had always defined who they were and hampered their ability to be self-sufficient.

The move to Cartwright and away from traditional settlement areas dislocated the Métis from the places in which they had developed their identities and forced them to find new ways to define themselves. As Bender (2001) notes, 'dislocation is always also relocation' because people are always in some relationship with their surrounding landscape. While the people of distinct traditional communities could no longer identify directly with the landscapes that they were familiar with when they moved to Cartwright, they maintained their individual community identities by living close to the people who had been their neighbors at traditional settlements. This clustering of communities within a community inhibited the development of a collective identity between all people in Cartwright, but allowed people to memorialize their past lifeways and experiences. To this day, the older generation speaks of Cartwright as the place they live, but of their traditional family settlement areas as their homes. However, despite the fact that many elders still maintain the closest bonds with people from their traditional settlements, the feelings faced by all people who experienced life in Sandwich Bay before resettlement

are similar and a new facet to Métis identity was developed through this event, as it was a difficult shared experience that people had to overcome

The Métis purposely remember their traditional way of life by actively experiencing the traditional landscape. The Métis still practice traditional subsistence activities such as fishing and berry picking because wild foods remain a preferred part of their diet. They also actively travel around the landscape by boat and snowmobile and visit traditional settlement areas recreationally for a few days or months each year. While many people have built new cabins in traditional places, the tendency is to leave old cabins standing instead of tearing them down. These cabins act as monuments to the past – highly visible and constant reminders of Métis history in the area. Even though they are no longer crucial for survival, these traditional locations continue to play an important role in the maintenance of collective identity to the present day because they are imbued with memories and knowledge that help to maintain and reinforce traditional values and knowledge.

Changes to the landscape have significantly impacted Métis lifeways and could easily have fractured their identity. While many Métis individuals have struggled a great deal with resettlement, the loss of important commercial fisheries and the physical separation from their traditional homesteads, collectively the Métis have maintained the common values and practices that they consider to be most important to their identity. Instead of letting the past be forgotten, the Métis have actively re-used, reconstructed and reinterpreted their landscape by seeking out contact with traditional landscapes and information about their history in order to create and maintain a link with their past.

## 5.4 Archaeology, Heritage Education and Métis Identity

The process of learning about history and heritage is known to play a role in influencing identity. As people learn more about their history they gain a greater context within which to define themselves. In Sandwich Bay, people are beginning to take a very active interest in their heritage and are embracing their past, especially by learning about their Inuit ancestry, a past which, until recently, had been repressed. Archaeological work in the area is facilitating the accessibility of knowledge about past inhabitants of Sandwich Bay to the contemporary residents. The Métis are taking an active interest in learning about the results of archaeological work in the area or becoming a part of the research process. In turn, archaeologists are beginning to take a community approach that encourages the sharing of research results with the local community, as well as seeking out traditional knowledge and personal and family histories from the area in order to better inform the excavations that they perform, particularly relating to more recent sites.

### 5.4.1 How does archaeology influence the Métis identity?

Archaeology is playing a unique role in influencing contemporary southern Labrador Métis identity. The Métis have begun to take increasing pride and interest in the details of their aboriginal heritage, especially since the development of Aboriginal political associations such as the LMN. By actively involving local Métis communities in her archaeological work, Dr. Lisa Rankin and her students are allowing the Métis to access new information about their heritage and ancestry, beyond that which remains in living memory or recorded history. By learning about the lives of their earliest ancestors,

a new context is developed in which the Métis can define themselves, both as individuals and as part of a group.

Learning about the past and how the land was inhabited and used by previous groups in the area allows the Métis to remember a part of their past that has been forgotten and to reclaim forgotten aspects of their Inuit heritage, which in turn changes and strengthens their sense of identity and belonging to the landscape. Archaeological sites act in much the same way as other landscape features; they are linked to information which informs identity. As people interact with these sites they integrate them into their world view. As a shared part of the landscape and something that has been around for hundreds of years, it is possible to question whether, to some degree, the Métis have always recognized and questioned archaeological remains in the area, making up their own explanations for them before archaeologists began active work in the area.

The elders that I spoke with in Cartwright expressed a strong interest in archaeological work, and about what it can tell them about their past. The presence of archaeological sites on the landscape, excavated or not, creates a link between the past and the present, which the people experience as they travel around Sandwich Bay. In much the same way as the traditional locations are remembered, experienced and lead to a sense of belonging to locality, archaeological sites link people to many different scales of the past.

5.4.2 What does this project contribute to the field of archaeology and specifically to the archaeology of Sandwich Bay?

By learning about more recent alterations to the landscape and the way that contemporary people identify with them we should be able to develop a context within which to consider the ways that early settlers in Sandwich Bay purposefully modified their landscape and environment to assert their control over and identification with the land. For older archaeological sites we cannot use narratives, since many of these sites are older than the living memories of the people in Sandwich Bay today. However, we can learn how people in this type of environment responded to, interacted with, and modified their environment. This project demonstrates that a community-based landscape approach is useful for the archaeology of Sandwich Bay, particularly an archaeology of early Métis sites in the area.

By taking a perspective that includes landscape when developing an archaeology of Sandwich Bay a greater context can be considered within which to understand the relationship that the Métis had with the land, their reasons for choosing different sites, and how they exerted their presence in and control over local environments. By considering the importance of identity formation and the ways that people assert their identities by modifying their landscape we can better understand the situation in Sandwich Bay. This research has shown that to the present day the Métis actively manipulate their landscape to memorialize their past and to maintain a sense of consistency in a changing world. The natural landscape and the way it has been altered speak to the values that the Métis hold important and which they have chosen to carry

over into the present. When examining the remains of both older and more recent Métis sites, the way that populations were purposefully modifying their landscape should be considered.

Identity, memory and landscape cannot be readily separated. Each of these concepts acts on and is influenced by the others in a complex web. Despite the fact that these concepts are fluid and evolve over time, changes to landscape or processes of remembrance can influence identity. There is a strong correlation between landscape and identity formation. However, changes to the landscape do not necessarily lead to the fragmentation of identity. In fact, quite the opposite is true in Sandwich Bay. The Métis have faced significant pressures that have greatly altered their traditional settlement and subsistence practices, but their identity as a people who are collectively linked by specific values, practices and memories remains.

Archaeologists dealing with prehistoric peoples define cultural groups based on what they can observe and interpret from their material culture. This means that the initial settlers of a region and the people that come after them are often given different names. While this method is useful for sorting archaeological assemblages into manageable categories, it does not take into account that cultures may maintain similar and consistent values, practices and identities over time despite changes to their material culture. This research demonstrates one specific case where this is true, the Labrador Métis. By considering a contemporary population that has undergone significant changes to their traditional lifeways and landscape use and analyzing the ways in which changes to their landscape are reflected in their identity this research has shed light on an interesting

phenomenon whereby massive changes in settlement and subsistence practice have led to the solidification, and not a deterioration, of collective identity.

This project answers many questions about the way that Métis identity has been influenced over the last century and how physical markers of this identity can be recognized on the landscape and in the archaeological record. More importantly, it raises the question of how we might apply concepts of landscape, memory and identity to future archaeological excavations and what types of feature on the landscape might represent collective remembrance. While much of the previous research related to archaeologies of memory has focused on larger scale societies, this research demonstrates that this approach may also have practical applications for hunter-gatherer studies.

## 5. 5 Conclusions

This research has demonstrated that the landscape of Sandwich Bay is inextricable from Métis identity. Landscape, particularly the presence of abandoned traditional settlements and archaeological sites in southeastern Labrador greatly impacts the continued formation and reconfiguration of Labrador Métis identity. Today, the remains of cabins at abandoned traditional settlement areas around the landscape act as constant fixtures in a world that is constantly in flux, where political and economic forces constantly pressure the Métis to reevaluate who they are and what it means to be Métis.

## References Cited


Alcock, S. E., and R. M. Van Dyke (editors)
2003 *Archaeologies of Memory*. Blackwell Publishing, Malden.

Anderson, D.
1984 The Development of Settlement in Southern Coastal Labrador with Particular Reference to Sandwich Bay. *Journal of Canadian Studies*. 8(1):23-49.

Anderson, B.P.
2005 Constructing Nabataea: Identity, Ideology and Connectivity. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Classical Art and Archaeology, University of Michigan, Michigan.

Anschuetz, K.F., R.H. Wilshusen, and C.L. Scheick
2001 An Archaeology of Landscape: Perspectives and Directions. *Journal of Archaeological Research*. 9(2):157-211.

Auger, R.
1989 Labrador Inuit and Europeans in the Strait of Belle Isle. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary.

1991 Labrador Inuit and Europeans in the Strait of Belle Isle: From the Written Sources to the Archaeological Evidence. *Collection Nordicana* 55.

Bachelard, G.
1964 *The Poetics of Space*. Orion Press, New York.

Bender, B.
2001 Landscapes on-the-move. *Journal of Social Archaeology*. 1(1):75-89.

Boisvert, D. and K. Turnbull
1985 Who are the Métis? *Studies in Political Economy*. 18:107-147.

Brady, J. and W. Ashmore
1999 Chapter 6. Mountains, Caves, Water: Ideational Landscapes of the Ancient Maya. In *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives,* edited by W. Ashmore and A.B. Knapp, pp. 124-148. Blackwell Publishing, Malden.

Brewster, N.
2005 The Inuit of Southern Labrador: A View from Snack Cove. Unpublished MA thesis. Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, Memorial University.

Burke, B. L.
1999 Spatial Dimensions of Landscape and Cultural Identity: A Case Study of the Magdalen Islands, Quebec. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of Canadian Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa.

Cartwright
2008 Communities: Cartwright. Electronic document, http://www.southeastern-labrador.nf.ca/communities/cartwright.htm, accessed March 3, 2008, St. John's, NL.

Cartwright
2008 Cartwright, Labrador. Electronic document, http://ww.cartwrightlab.ca, accessed April 22, 2008, St. John's, NL.

Davidson, J.M. and E. Gonzalez-Tennant
2008 A Potential Archaeology of Rosewood, Florida: The Process of Remembering a Community and a Tragedy. *The SAA Archaeological Record*. 8(3), Special Issue: Archaeology and Historical Memory: 13-16.

Davis, J.
1981 Davis' of Sandwich Bay. *Them Days*. (6)4:11-17. Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador.

Delanglez, J.
1948 *Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet*. Chicago Institute of Jesuit History, Chicago.

Echo-Hawk, R.
2000 Ancient History in the New World: Integrating Oral Traditions and the Archaeological Record in Deep Time. *American Antiquity*. 65(2): 267-290.

Escobar, A.
2001 Culture Sits in Places: Reflections on Globalism and Subaltern Strategies of Localization. *Political Geography*. 20:139-174.

Eysteinsson, A.
2006 Introduction: Placing Culture. In *The Cultural Reconstruction of Places*, edited by A. Eyesteinsson, pp. 7-9, University of Iceland Press, Reykjavik.

Exploration and Settlement
2008 European Exploration. Electronic document, http://www.heritage.nf.ca/exploration.early_ex.html, accessed June 12, 2008, Richmond, BC.

Feld, S., and K. Basso (editors)
1996 *Senses of Place*. School of American Research Press: Santa Fe.

Fitzhugh, L.D.
1999 *The Labradorians: Voices from the Land of Cain.* Breakwater: St, John's

Flores, R. R.
1998 Memory-Place, Meaning, and the Alamo. *American Literary History*. 10(3): 428-445.

Foster, A. K.
1993 Community Identity of Williamsburg, Virginia Before and After the Reconstruction. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Architectural History, George Washington University.

Freeman, Milton M. R.
1979 A Critical View of Thule Culture and Ecological Adaptation. In *Thule Eskimo Culture: An Anthropological Retrospective.* Archaeological Survey of Canada, Paper 88, 278-285, National Museum of Man Mercury Series. National Museums of Canada, Ottawa.

Freisen, T.M.
2002 Analogues of Iqaluktuuq: the Social Context of Archaeological Inference in Nunavut, Arctic Canada. *World Archaeology*. 34(2): 330-345.

Google Maps
2006 Google Maps. Electronic document, http://maps.google.ca, accessed May 30, 2008, Richmond, BC.

Gordon, C.
2005 *Labrador Teacher 1919-1925: Clara Gordon's Journals*. Edited by Francis Buckle, Anglican Parish of Cartwright, Cartwright.

Gordon, H.
2003 *Labrador Diary 1915-1925: The Gordon Journals*. Edited by Francis Buckle, Anglican Parish of Cartwright, Cartwright.

Heidegger, M.
1962 *Being and Time*. Harper and Row , New York.

Hickson, T.
1825 Missions in the British American Colonies, Newfoundland District. Extracts from Mr. T. Hickson's Journal [re. visit along Labrador Coast, Handy Harbour to Domino]. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*. 4(3): 137. J. Kershaw, London.

Hirsch, E.
1995 Introduction. Landscape: Between Space and Place. In *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space.* Edited by E. Hirsch and M. O'Hanlon. pp. 1-30. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Ingold, T.
1993 The Temporality of Landscape. *World Archaeology*. 25(2) Conceptions of Time and Ancient Society. pp. 152-174.

Jackson, L.
1982 *Bounty of a Barren Coast: Resource Harvest and Settlement in Southern Labrador.* Petro Canada Explorations Limited, Calgary.

Jordan, R.H. and S.A. Kaplan
1980 An Archaeological View of the Inuit/European Contact Period in Central Labrador. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies*. 4(1-2): 35-45.

Kaplan, S.A.
1985 European Goods and Socio-Economic Change in Early Labrador Inuit Society. In *Cultures in Contact: The Impact of European Contacts on North American Cultural Institutions A.D. 1000-1800*, edited by W. Fitzhugh, pp. 45-69. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington.

Kennedy, J. C.
1993 Ethnopol. and the State: Recent Developments in Labrador Settler Ethnicity: Paper presented to CAS at York, May 1993.

1995 *People of the Bays and Headlands: Anthropological History and the Fate of Communities in the Unknown Labrador.* University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

1997a Yesterday's Metissage and Today's Aboriginal Ethnopolitics Labrador: An Illustrated Paper Presented to the Anthropological Society of Western Australia, at Edith Cowan University on May 5, 2007.

1997b Aboriginality and Ethnopolitics in Labrador (Canada): Departmental Seminar, Presented to the Department of Anthropology, University of Western Australia, Nedlands, WA.

2005 Understanding Labrador Métis History. Paper presented to the National Judicial Institute Seminar on Aboriginal Law in St. John's Newfoundland, April 2005.

Knapp, A.B. and W. Ashmore
1999 Archaeological Landscapes: Constructed, Conceptualized, Ideational. In *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by W. Ashmore and A.B. Knapp, pp. 1-32. Blackwell Publishing, Malden.

Labrador
2007 Labrador. Electronic document, www.crrstv.net/images/logo_about_map.gif, accessed May 12, 2008, Richmond, BC.

Labrador Métis Nation
2008 About Us: Our Heritage, Our Home. Electronic document, http://www.labradormetis.ca/home/33, www.labmetis.org, http://www.labradormetis.ca/home/11, accessed February 19, 2008, St. John's, NL.

Lambert-Pennington, A.K.
2005 Being in Australia, Belonging to the Land: The Cultural Politics of Urban Aboriginal Identity. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Cultural Anthropology, Duke University.

Mason, R.
2000 Archaeology and Native American Oral Traditions. *American Antiquity*. 65(2): 239-266.

Mathiassen, Therkel
1927 *The Thule Culture and its Position within the Eskimo Culture: Archaeology of the Central Eskimos II.* Gyldenhal, Copenhagen.

Maxwell, Moreau
1985 *Prehistory of the Eastern Arctic.* Academic Press, Florida.

McGhee, R. J. and J.A. Tuck
1975 An Archaic Sequence from the Strait of Belle Isle, Labrador. *Archaeological Survey of Canada Mercury Series*. 34. National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

Muir, R.
1999 *Approaches to Landscape.* MacMillan Press, Inc.: London.

Nicholas, G.P.
2006 Decolonizing the Archaeological Landscape: The Practice and Politics of Archaeology in British Columbia. *The American Indian Quarterly.* 30(3&4): 350-380.

Nunatsiavut Government
2008 Labrador Inuit Association. Electronic document, www.nunatsiavut.com/en/membership.php, www.nunatsiavut.com/en/overview.php, accessed March 27, 2008, St. John's, NL.

Pentland, D. H.
1971 Cartographic conceptions of the Northern Algonquians. *The Canadian* Cartographer. 12(2): 149-160.

Ritchie, D.
2003 *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*. Second Edition. Oxford University Press: New York.

Robin, C., & N. Rothschild
2002 Archaeological Ethnographies: Social Dynamics of Outdoor Space. *Journal of Social Archaeology*. 2(2): 59-172.

Rompkey, B.
2003 *Story of Labrador.* McGill-Queen's University Press: Montreal and Kingston.

Sauer, C.O.
1925 The Morphology of Landscape. *University of California Publications in Geography.* 2:19-53

Schledermann, P.
1976 The Effect of Climatic/Ecological Changes on the Style of Thule Culture Winter Dwellings. *Arctic and Alpine Research.* 8(1): 37-47.

Schneider, W.
2002 *...So They Understand: Cultural Issues in Oral History.* Utah State University Press, Logan.

Sharpless, R.
2006 Chapter 1. The History of Oral History. In *Handbook of Oral History*, edited by T.L. Charlton, L. Meyers and R. Sharpless, pp. 19-42. AltaMira Press, Lanham.

Skulj, J.
2006 Vienna, Basel, Tuscany: Stories (and Echoes) of the Terrains of Reinterpreted Identities. In *The Cultural Reconstruction of Places*, edited by A. Eyesteinsson, pp. 178-185, University of Iceland Press, Reykjavik.

Stewart, M.A., Keith, D, & Scottie, J.
2004 Caribou Crossings and Cultural Meanings: Placing Traditional Knowledge and Archaeology in Context in an Inuit Landscape. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*. 11(2): 183-210.

Taylor, G. J.
1974 *Labrador Eskimo Settlements of the Early Contact Period*. National Museum of Man, Publications in Ethnology, No. 9, National Museum of Canada.

1977 Traditional Inuit Land Use and Occupancy by the Labrador Inuit. In *Our Footprints are Everywhere: Inuit Land Use and Occupancy in Labrador*, edited by C. Brice-Bennett, pp. 49-57. Labrador Inuit Association, Nain.

Thomas, J.
1996 Chapter 4. Place and Temporality. In *Time, Culture and Identity: An Interpretive Archaeology*. pp. 83-91. Routledge, London.

Thompson, P.
1998 Chapter 2. The Voice of the Past: Oral History. In *The Oral History Reader*, edited by R. Perks and A. Thomson, pp. 21-28. Routledge, London.

Toren, C.
1995 Chapter 7, Seeing the Ancestral Sites: Transformations in Fijian Notions of the Land. In *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*. Edited by E. Hirsch and M. O'Hanlon. pp. 163-183. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Town of Cartwright
2007 Town of Cartwright. Electronic document, www.ourlabrador.ca/member.php?id=11, accessed April 27, 2008, St. John's, NL.

Trudel, F.
1877 Iuit of Southern Labrador and the Development of the French Sedentary Fisheries (1700-1760). In *Papers from the 4th Annual Congress*, edited by R. J. Preston, pp. 99-120. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper no. 40, National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Ottawa.

1980 Les relations entre les Francais et les Inuit au Labrador Meridional, 1660-1760. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies.* 4(12): 135-145.

Tuck, J.A. and R. Grenier
1989 *Red Bay, Labrador World Whaling Capital A.D. 1550-1600.* Atlantic Archaeology, Ltd., St. John's.

van Dam, K.I.M.
2005 Chapter 8, A Place Called Nunavut: Building on Inuit Past. In *Senses of Place: Senses of Time.* Edited by G.J. Ashworth and B. Graham, pp. 105-118. Ashgate, Aldershot.

van de Guchte, M.
1999 Chapter 7, The Inca Cognition of Landscape: Archaeology, Ethnohistory, and the Aesthetic of Alterity. In *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives,* edited by W. Ashmore and A.B. Knapp, pp. 149-158. Blackwell Publishing, Malden.

Vansina, J.
1985 *Oral Tradition as History.* University of Wisconsin Press: Madison.

Walsh, K.
2004 It's Still Home. *Them Days.* 28(3):56. Happy Valley-Goose Ba, Labrador.

Whiteley, W. H.
1966 The Moravian Missionaries and the Labrador Eskimos in the Eighteenth Century. *Church History.* 35(1):76-92.

Whitridge, P.
2003 Landscapes, Houses, Bodies, Things: "Place" and the Archaeology of Inuit Imaginaries. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory.* 11(2): 213-250.

Woollett, J. M.
1999 Living in the Narrows: Subsistence Economy and Culture Change in Labrador Inuit Society During the Contact Period. *World Archaeology.* 30(3): 370-387.

2003 An Historical Ecology of Labrador Inuit Culture Change. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Graduate Faculty in Anthropology, City University of New York.