

ARCHAEOLOGY AND MEMORIES ON BIRCH ISLAND

by

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Abstract

The site of Birch Island has been targeted by the non-profit Healthy Waters Labrador (HWL) and larger Labrador tourism initiative for conservation, environmental education, and commemoration of the former Birch Island settlement. The settlement existed from 1942 to 1969 when it was resettled under the Fisheries Household Resettlement Program. The goal of this project was to gather historical data to inform the information plaques that will be placed around the island. To fulfill this goal, an online survey was set up, 17 individuals were formally interviewed, and a map of surface debris from the former settlement was created. The analysis shows the changing landscape, the island's traditions, and everyday interactions of life. The product of this research is an amalgamated body of knowledge including archival information, photos, interviews, and archaeological analysis of debris and artifacts that will assist in informing the information plaques planned for Birch Island by HWL.

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List of Participants

Participant Code	Participant Citation
P001	Lillian Beehymer, resident of Missouri, United States, November 6, 2017
P002A	Hector Blake, Resident of Sept-Îles, Labrador, August 1, 2017
P002B	Hector Blake, resident of Sept-Îles, Labrador, October 25, 2017
P002C	Hector Blake, resident of Sept-Îles, Labrador, October 24, 2017
P003	Virginia Moriarty (Davis), resident of Alert Bay, British Columbia, November 13, 2017
P004	Anonymous, resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador, November 3, 2017
P005	Margret Parsons, resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador, November 3, 2017
P006A	Jean Blake, resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador, November 6, 2017
P006B	Jean Blake, resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador, October 31, 2017
P007	Helen Hickey, Resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, July 5, 2017
P008	Max Blake, resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador, October 19, 2017
P009A	Henry Rich, resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador, June 21, 2017
P009B	Henry Rich, resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador, November 16, 2017
P010	Irene Burden, resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador, November 10, 2017
P011	Verra Butt, resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador, October 26, 2017
P012	Anonymous, resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador, July 5, 2017
P013	Stanley Oliver, resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador, October 26, 2017
P014	George Way, resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador, November 16, 2017
P015A	Anonymous, resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador, October 23, 2017
P015B	Anonymous, resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador, July 4, 2017
P016	Jennifer Lyall, resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador, November 1, 2017

Introduction

The objective of this research is to gain broad overall knowledge and understanding of the former Birch Island settlement. This research was requested by the non-profit Healthy Waters Labrador to inform the historical interpretation of the Birch Island area as part of a larger initiative to revitalize the area. Resettlement of Birch Island occurred between 1967 and 1969 and the area continues to be a popular location to frequent, imbued with memories, vistas of the river, and the Mealy Mountains.

Orientation

Birch Island is part of the braided stream network along the Mishta-shipu (Churchill River) in the Upper Lake Melville region of Labrador (Figure 1 and Figure 2)(Josephs and Neilsen 2009:93-95). Before WWII and the construction of the Goose Bay military base, the people of the Upper Lake Melville area relied heavily on trapping and trading with the Hudson's Bay Company (MacDonell 1967:2). As a result of the war, fur prices dropped, and the wage labour system provided by the new military base was welcomed (Plaice 2002:56-57; Rich 1987:31; Zimmerly 1975:174). At the time of construction, there were no inhabitants living on the flat, sandy, plateau the base now occupies. The area had been used for berry picking and was colloquially known as 'Bob's berry patch' (Carr 1944:79; Fry 1987). The Goose Bay Airbase was built as a strategic move by Canada, the United States, and Great Britain to secure the north from possible invasion, and assist in ferrying supplies from North American to Great Britain avoiding German U-Boats (MacKenzie 1986:87).

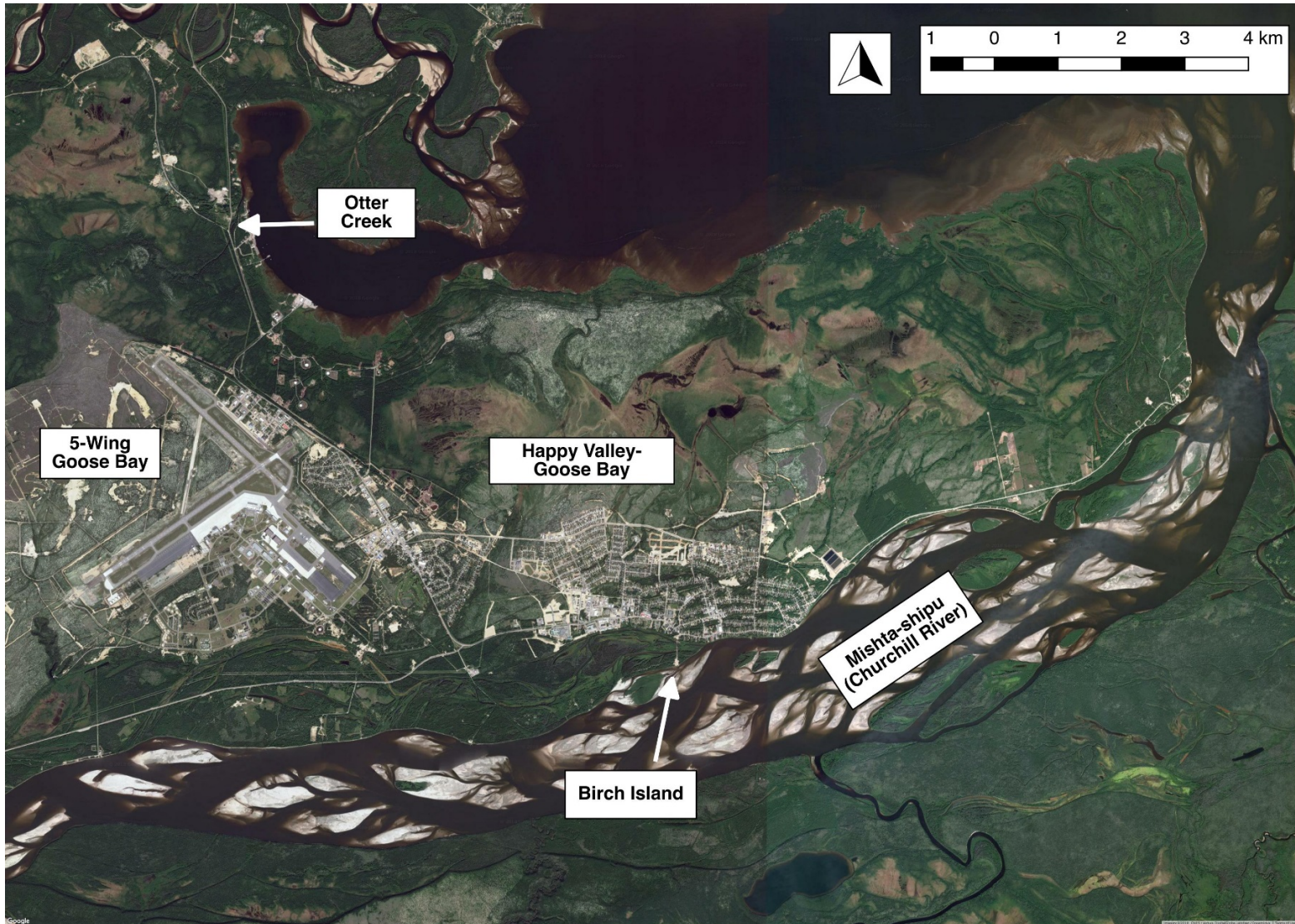


Figure 1 Overview of Happy Valley-Goose Bay area (Modified from www.maps.google.ca)



Figure 2 Happy Valley-Goose Bay in red (Modified from www.maps.google.ca)

The base was constructed with local labour, preferring men to come and live in the barracks while they were working and leave to see their families in off hours. However, many Labradorians traveled to Goose Bay with their entire families and were told they could live near the base at an area known as Otter Creek (Carr 1944:94, 105, 108; Kennedy 1995:17). These arrangements became unfavorable to the Airbase who then told the residents of Otter Creek they had to relocate outside of a five-mile radius from the base. Many moved to what is now Birch Island and Happy Valley (Figure 1)(Kennedy 1995:177; Removal of Native Settlement from the area of Goose Bay airport – Negotiations.,1943, RG 25 vol. 1993 files 1939-1156-AZ, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa).

The Birch Island settlement grew and thrived until residents resettled between 1967 and 1969 as part of the First Resettlement Agreement. The Agreement attempted to modernize the province by resettling smaller more remote communities to larger economic centers (Iverson and Matthews 1968; The Rooms Provincial Archives, St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador, Statistics Federal- Provincial Resettlement Program Community Consolidation Program First Resettlement Agreement (1965-1970) & Second Resettlement Agreement (1970-1975), PANL GF 512 N4 S72 1972, 1975). After resettlement, the Birch Island area remained a space of informal use and some dumping, until recently targeted by HWL to restore wetland habitat, build boardwalks, and place historic information plaques around the island¹.

¹ The plaques with historic information have not yet been created and so I cannot comment on their content at this time.

As part of the interpretation of this thesis, the theoretical frameworks implemented are memory, landscape, modernity, and grief. These four frameworks interplay with each other to expand our understanding of Birch Island and highlight: landscape impacting activities, modernity interpreting the changing cultural and economic landscape, how grief affects individuals, and how these three frameworks inform through memory.

Thesis Outline

This thesis amalgamates data obtained during the 2016 and 2017 field seasons to gain a broad overview of the settlement of Birch Island and its role in the present.

Chapter 2 sets up the cultural and historical context within which the Birch Island settlement was established, thrived, and then resettled. This chapter draws primarily upon western-centric sources of knowledge because that is primarily what interview participants drew upon when telling the story of the settlement out of living memory.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology and theory used in this project. The methodology described in this chapter includes a review of the pedestrian survey, dendrochronology, test pitting, online survey, interviews, Real Time Kinematic, and GIS mapping. The theoretical framework of this chapter that guides the interpretation of data are memory, landscape, modernity, and grief.

Chapter 4 summarizes the interview data collected through this fieldwork. The data broadly outlines events and timelines that were talked about by multiple participants in an attempt to obtain a more representative view of life on Birch Island. The interview summaries are then discussed in relation to the archives, GIS work, and material remains

on the island in Chapter 6. These memories are not representative of everyone's experience with the island but are intended as a broad summary.

Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the results around the images and artifacts collected throughout this project. The growth of the Birch Island settlement and erosion of the island are illustrated through photographs, historic maps, LiDAR data, and GIS work. Historic photos show how objects and the landscape were used in everyday life. The artifacts photographed and gathered on the island are summarized and interpreted; showing the consumer culture and global trade network Birch Islanders were engaged with.

Chapter 6 intersects the previous interpretations to bring together what data can tell us about life on Birch Island. The chapter begins with how modern economic systems can be seen in archives, interviews, and the archeological record. Memory interactions with the past, present, and Facebook are delved into. Finally, the island's physical and digital present-day role within the community are discussed, followed by the influence of hydro projects in the area on former Birch Island residents.

The seventh and concluding chapter ties together theoretical frameworks used within the thesis and offer future avenues of inquiry for work in the Birch Island area. This research is poised to provide a narrative around a resettled community in Labrador through the use of archaeological survey, interviews, and archival research to inform the current work being done by Healthy Waters Labrador on Birch Island. This thesis is an aggregate of the data collected during fieldwork and is not intended to simplify the experiences of the former Birch Island residents. I acknowledge the complexities of the

views, memories, and opinions of those who gave their time and patience to the project and the potential problems within the method of inquiry used.

Chapter 2: Cultural and Historical Context

We were jumped from the dog team age to the machine age, all at once. All the machines were new to us, the bulldozers, airplanes, tractors, everything was new. It was all excitement. -Former trapper Isaac Rich [Zimmerly 1975:229]

History is not an objective or static narrative; it is shaped by the present, time, and memory (Ritchie 2014:17-18, 111,122). This chapter has been directed by historical inquiry into primary and secondary source documents and archaeological inquiry into the former Birch Island settlement. Due to the source material, it should be recognized this chapter is a western-centric approach to the past and that this version of the past and how it is experienced will shift, change, and be added to with time.² This chapter is also influenced by the theoretical frameworks of memory, landscape, grief, and modernity which help emphasize and augment the historical aspects focused on throughout this thesis.

The Beginnings of 5-Wing Goose Bay

During the late Pleistocene, The Labrador Peninsula on which Happy Valley-Goose Bay is located was covered by the Laurentide Ice Sheet putting pressure on the

² This chapter primarily uses Western-Centric sources of information. For further discussion of this please see Chapter 6.

land and causing it to subside. The ice sheet began retreating 14,000 years ago causing the land to slowly rebound and covering the area of the Goose Bay peninsula with sand. Happy Valley- Goose Bay is located on the Goose Bay peninsula at the west end of Hamilton Inlet and bordered by Mishta-shipu (Churchill River) (Figure 1)(Josephs and Neilsen 2009:93-95). Labrador has been inhabited by First Nation peoples for at least 9,000 years (Neilsen 2006:1). The Inuit ancestors stem from the Thule culture originating in Alaska about 1,200 years ago and migrating into Labrador in about the 15th century although this date is still being debated (Holly 2013).

In the 20th century, the people of Labrador experienced rapid change within a short period of time. Prior to the founding of the base in 1941, families would exist around a subsistence lifestyle supplemented by fur trapping and other commercial subsistence activities such as fishing and sealing. In the spring the men would sell to the Hudson's Bay Company or independent trading posts which would allow them to purchase goods for the year and begin the cycle again. This cycle is known as the 'truck system' and it kept trappers and fishermen in debt through a credit system (Paddon 1989:169). The Upper Lake Melville area was sparsely populated prior to the military bases being built. Notably, there was a school and hospital set up by Dr. Grenfell in North West River, and nearby, a Hudson's Bay Company post had been in existence since 1825. North West River serviced the nearby settlement at Mud Lake and the few families living near the Traverspine River when the base was built (MacDonell 1967:2). Due to WWII, and the falling prices of fur in Europe, the seasonal cycle and dependence on trapping and fishing became disrupted and replaced with the wage labour the base

provided (Plaice 2002:56-57; Rich 1987:31; Zimmerly 1975:174). The building of Goose Bay was a welcome change as it provided much needed wage labor (Plaice 2002:57). Goose Bay Airbase was built as one of the most strategic military installations in North Atlantic during WWII in part due to the Atlantic ferry route (MacKenzie 1986:87). The military's presence in Labrador drastically changed the landscape and lifeways of the people who took part, drawing them to the interior from the coast and bringing modern technology (Plaice 2002:58). This base and others changed the perception of 'the north' from hinterland to asset, placing it in line for economic expansion after the war and continue to have a large impact shaping our current geopolitical strategies and activities (Evenden 1998).

Founding the Air Base

The need for an airbase in Labrador arose for two reasons: to protect the north from an invasion by the Third Reich, and to transport planes and goods to Europe quickly. Prior to and during WWII, it was known that the Third Reich was surveying the north, held weather stations in Greenland, and were attempting to get a toehold in the North Atlantic from which they could invade south. This plan alarmed the Americans who had not yet joined the war and, President Roosevelt began to engage in preparation by supplying goods to Britain, promising to protect shipping in the North Atlantic, and entering into preliminary negotiations to build military bases like Goose Bay (Carr 1944:4, Pitt et al. 1981:30; McQuaid 1987:29; The Committee of the Privy Council No. 6291:1987; Announcing Unlimited National Emergency May 27, 1941 Radio Address of the President From the East Room of the White House Spoken by FDR (FDR library)).

Wolf packs of German U-Boats in the North Atlantic were crippling the war effort by easily sinking ships. This encouraged Canada and the United States to find a solution to the tremendous loss of goods and resources they were facing (Kennedy 1995:173, FDR- “The Great Communicator” The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945 Series 2: “You have nothing to fear but fear itself:” FDR and the New Deal File No. 1381-B 1941 September 11 Fireside Chat #17-Maintaining Freedom of the Seas). Goose Bay, and the airbases of Newfoundland, were essential in establishing the Arctic Route, also known as the Great Circle, or Atlantic Ferry Route, (High 2009:67;MacKenzie 1986:87; Plaice 2002:64) by which planes could be easily flown across the Atlantic to support the war effort (Cardoulis 1990: 18, High 2009:67, Daily Summary War Department Operational Decisions and Actions Resecting Hostilities With Axis No. 201, 7am June 28 to 7:00 am June 29, 1942, Copy for the white house, FDR Library). Goose Bay Air Base was the largest airport in the world when it was built, a key link in the Arctic Circle Route. However, due to its strategic importance it was rarely ever mentioned in print or used in correspondence (Cardoulis 1990:117; Carr 1944:124; Clark 1987:25; Forbes 1953:5; Merrick 1987:67).

The Right Piece of Land to Build

Eric Fry, while on loan to the RCAF and assignment performing aerial survey looking for a suitable location for an Air Base, is credited with the discovery³ of what

³ The word ‘discovery’ implies there was no one present in the area before Eric Fry or Robert Michelin; however, due to the elevation of the landform, it would have been in existence during the time of the Maritime Archaic. It is possible the area was in use during this time, but there is currently no archaeological evidence for this. We also found no record of any archaeological investigation before the construction of the base (Scott Neilsen, personal communication, 4/28/18).

would become Goose Bay Air Base (Figure 1). With the assistance of local Labradorian, Robert Michelin, they surveyed what was locally known as Uncle Bob's Berry Patch. It was the perfect location for an Air Base with ideal weather, a shorter distance to Greenland, and more flyable days than the Bases in Newfoundland (Carr 1944:79; Fry 1987). Mere days after Fry settled on recommending Goose Bay as the site of the Canadian Air Base, on July 1, 1941, Captain Elliot Roosevelt, also performing aerial survey for the potential building of an American base, independently selected Goose Bay (Carr 1944:22-23; Fry 1987:9; Miller 1967:14-15). On July 4th, both parties visited the area together, and the site was jointly agreed upon (Kennedy 1995:174). The local population was elated that steady wage labour would be easily accessible to them. One individual, Isaac Rich, who had assisted in the survey, decided to move his family to nearby Otter Creek in hopes of gaining early employment when building began (Plaice 2002:98; Rich 1987:31). Elizabeth Goudie, who was living in Mud Lake at the time remembers,

In 1941 we saw two or three airplanes flying over Goose Bay so in the fall we got the news in Mud Lake that they were going to build an airport...Everyone was so happy. There was going to be work for our husbands. We were going to get a chance to get a steady income [Goudie with Zimmerly 1973: 147; Plaice 2002:57].

Negotiating the Building of the Base:

In 1941, prior to building Goose Bay and other Bases in Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada, the United Kingdom, and United States entered negotiations with the government of Newfoundland and Labrador resulting in a 99-year lease for Air Base sites within the country of Newfoundland and Labrador (Carr 1944:59; Zimmerly 1975:232). Part of the stipulation of this agreement was that the vast majority of labour, to the extent it was practical, had to be hired locally, drastically impacting the labour landscape (Canada, and Newfoundland. 1944. Memorandum of Agreement between Canada and Newfoundland Relating to the Establishment of an Air Base at Goose Bay, Labrador: Signed at St. John's, Newfoundland, October 10, 1944. In Force October 10, 1944. Treaty Series, 1944; No. 30. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1947; Kennedy 1995:176; Zimmerly 1975:232). To build the Air Base the Military leased a 120 square mile parcel of land from the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, pre-confederation (Removal of Native Settlement from the area of Goose Bay airport – Negotiations.,1943, RG 25 vol. 1993 files 1939-1156-AZ, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa). In December 1941, an agreement was reached with US to build their section of the airbase in the south east of the air field (Cardoulis 1990:117). Also part of the agreement for the air base lease was the stipulation that within a year after the war, terms had to be met for the turning over of the facilities for civilian and commercial use (Canada, and Newfoundland. 1944. Memorandum of Agreement between Canada and Newfoundland Relating to the Establishment of an Air Base at Goose Bay, Labrador: Signed at St. John's,

Newfoundland, October 10, 1944. In Force October 10, 1944. Treaty Series, 1944; No. 30. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1947:5).

Construction

Never have I seen so many mosquitoes and black flies as tormented us that first summer of 1942, in the camp site at Terrington Basin. The professional tortures of the Spanish Inquisition couldn't have thought up anything so damnably irritating, painful, or perpetual. -Bill Durrel [Carr 1944:92]

Goose Bay Air Base was a Canadian project despite initial doubt by the Americans that they could complete the task (Forbes 1953:8). At the time, this was a huge endeavor as the plans for the Canadian Air Base would make it the largest airport in the world with two hangars for the RCAF and three runways over a mile long each and essentially a city for between 5,000 and 8,000 people all to be built under the time pressure of war and weather in Labrador (Appendix 2: Image 1)(Carr 1944:86-87). Canadian construction on the base began in August 1941, while the Americans did not reach an agreement on the base until December of that year when they began construction on the southeast side of the airfield (Cardoulis 1990:114, 117). Within five months of the site being surveyed planes were landing and taking off (Carr 1944:90). In order to compensate for the muskeg and sand construction, the dock at Terrington Basin needed to

be sunk down 100 feet to reach solid ground. The channel from Lake Melville to the basin was very shallow, with a minimum depth of 22 feet, so it had to be dredged to accommodate incoming ships. Next, a road was pushed through and up onto the sandy plateau where the airport would sit. The plateau was then cleared of trees and leveled off for runways (Carr 1944:114-115). On November 16, 1941, all three 7,000-foot-long runways were ready to receive planes; the pavement would be added June 1942 (Cardoulis 1990:115; Carr 1944:110). Construction of the American portion of the base began in the spring of 1942 and was double the size of the Canadian portion (Carr 1944:96; Miller 1967:17). Despite this, construction and operation of the entire base during WWII was a Canadian project, run by the RCAF, under which the Americans and the RAF fell (Carr 1944:97).

Otter Creek

Shortly after the initial survey team departed, one local man who had assisted, Isaac Rich, moved his family close to where the base would be constructed, beginning the Otter Creek settlement (Rich 1987:31). Shortly after the McNamara Construction work camp was set up at the base, Labradorians began arriving from nearby and along the coast for work (Plaice 2002:57). The requirement for workers was so great that McNamara construction sent a ship up the coast recruiting locals in 1941 with strict instructions to not take families but just the men⁴. This order was not followed and families who moved

⁴ From the sources, it is implied and stated that many of the workers were of Inuit ancestry, however as this community was made up of individuals who identify with a range of ancestry, and the focus of this project was rooted in the present, whether or not individuals identified as First Nations, Inuit, Métis was not researched explicitly or asked within the interviews.

to Goose Bay settled at Otter Creek (Carr 1944:106; Kennedy 1995:177). Single men were housed and fed on the base in the civilian area, but as the work would be ongoing most decided to bring their families along to the lament of the military and were then required to settle off the base land, most choosing Otter Creek (Carr 1944:94, 105, 108; Kennedy 1995:17). Most families lived in tents they brought with them and men, in their off hours, would build small homes out of logs and scrap materials from the base (Appendix 2: Image 2)(Cardoulis 1990:118; Carr 1944:94, 69,105; Kennedy 1995:17).

These first settlers had to reorganize their lives around new habitation patterns, expectations, and resources. After moving to the area they had to figure out what new resources were available, initially risking food shortage. There were no amenities at Otter Creek, and nearest store and medical assistance was in North West River, 40 kilometers away, making it difficult to obtain goods and services (Alice Perrault, 1967, Tape F071, CBC Labrador History Series, *Them Days, Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador*; Pitt et al. 1981:797). The men were also expected to work throughout the year and it aggravated those in charge that men would often take time off to go fishing, hunting, or trapping. However, with a shortage of laborers they were always welcomed back (Kennedy 1995:179; Zimmerly 1973:239). They worked on the base for 35 cents an hour, more than had been previously available (Horace Blake, 1999, F783, *North West River, Them Days, Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Labrador*; Zimmerly 1973:239), but significantly less than what workers brought in from Canada were making. Scholars think this was intentionally done so as to not inflate the Newfoundland and Labrador economy (Kennedy 1995:176). The locals at Otter Creek were seen as squatters by the military

installation (Kennedy 1995:177; Zimmerly 1975:232) and this negative perception by the military was not unique to Labrador. The US military viewed local populations near their installations as a threat around the globe, resulting in military men being kept separate from the local populations (Cardoulis 1990:118; High 2009:4; MacDonell 1967:10).

Founding of Birch Island

Otter Creek was located on the 120-square mile leased parcel of land and about 150 feet from an oil tank farm built in 1943. Civilian and military authorities became concerned about the possibility of a fire at Otter Creek igniting the fuel tanks (Kennedy 1995:177; Removal of Native Settlement from the area of Goose Bay airport – Negotiations.,1943, RG 25 vol. 1993 files 1939-1156-AZ, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa). The RCAF wanted the community of 86 at Otter Creek relocated off military land (Kennedy 1995:177). One, possibly exaggerated, account from the time affirmed the militaries' suspicions, by mentioning prostitution and illegal liquor sales within the Otter Creek settlement (Kennedy 1995:177). In December 1942, the area within a five-mile radius of the base was declared 'restricted'. In January 1943, Otter Creek residents were notified of the decision, and acting on orders from St. John's, Ranger Hogan visited all the homes at Otter Creek in April collecting information on the owner's perceived house values in anticipation of relocation. In September 1943, the 25 families of Otter Creek left to move outside of the five-mile radius and settled at what became Birch Island and Happy Valley (Davis 1987:79; Kennedy 1995:175-178; MacDonell 1967:8; Newfoundland and Labrador Development Corporation Limited In cooperation with Regional Economic Expansion 1976:10; Pitt et al. 1981:797; Zimmerly 1975: 232). Even

after this move, the RCAF further attempted to relocate the Labradorians and their families out of the entire 120-mile Goose Bay lease area, but this never came to fruition (Removal of Native Settlement from the area of Goose Bay airport – Negotiations.,1943, RG 25 vol. 1993 files 1939-1156-AZ, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa).

Despite being outside of the 5-mile radius, the residents of Birch Island and the Valley were still under the control of the Commanding Officer of the RCAF who divided up the land into plots 100 feet by 300 feet and required that houses be 75 square feet per person (Zimmerly 1975:234). This was probably the first time anyone in Labrador had been told where and how to live (Zimmerly 1975: 233). It took men between two and three weeks to build homes, usually 18 by 20 feet, from lumber and wood scraped from the base (Zimmerly 1975:233). Only those working on the base who were married were allowed to live on Birch Island and in Happy Valley (Davis 1987:111). By 1945 there were a total of 229 people living on Birch Island (Pitt et al. 1981:797) and a committee of locals was set up to bring grievances and run the settlement in conjunction with the RCAF Commanding Officer (Zimmerly 1975:235).

The reason Birch Island was chosen over other areas to settle is not agreed upon within the literature or amongst members of the Birch Island community, but accessibility to the mainland and the river is said to be an important factor as boat and dog team were the most efficient methods of transportation. In the early days of the settlement, men would take their boats, dog teams, or walk to what is known as the Boat Club or Henry's Point to be picked up by the military for work in the morning and dropped off in the evening (Figure 3). Despite the distance traveled to get picked up,

there was a road on the island referred to as the Old Truck Road that differs from the modern road today. The original Truck Road may have been cut onto the island in the early 1940s by McNamara Construction who it had a sawmill by Henry's Point (Plaice 2002:105). There was also a large lumber yard, the Dickie Lumber Company, in operation on the other side of the river until 1910 who, some think, constructed the road (P008). The main road today in Happy Valley was built from the base in 1946 in order to bring in building materials, a school, and church. In 1947 an HBC store opened in the Valley, so civilians no longer had to go to North West River for groceries (Zimmerly 1975:234).

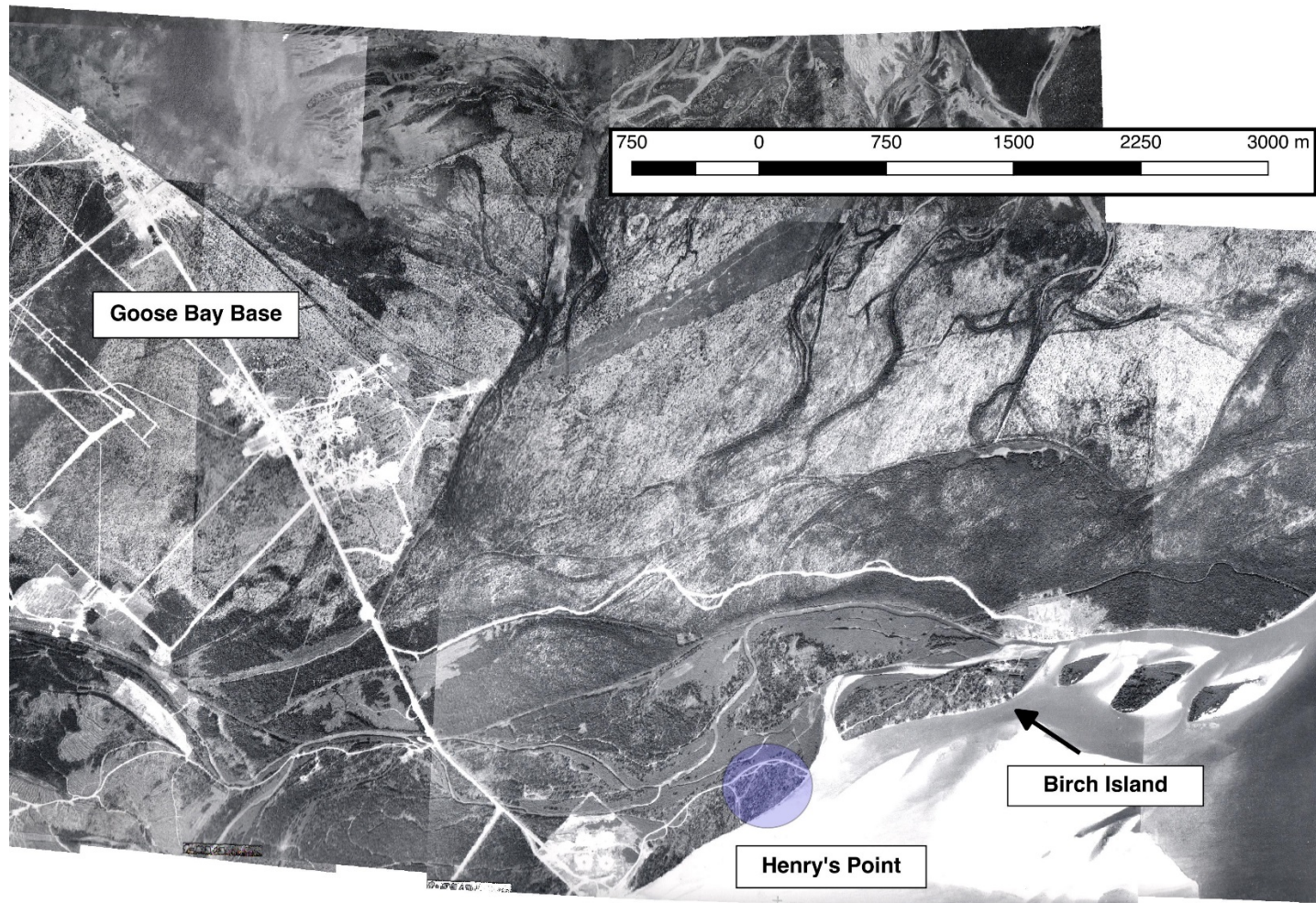


Figure 3 1947 photo modified to show approximately where those who worked on the base would get picked up and dropped off by the military every day (Photo modified from Newfoundland and Labrador Government Services and Lands Air Photo and Map Library File 13158-071)

Resettlement

While resettlement was an attack on the core of the rural economy and society, the programs that followed it were little better than ‘development palliatives’ creating a situation in which ‘hundreds of communities and thousands of people are locked into a dependency situation they cannot break’ [Kennedy 1995:204]

As part of Confederation, the Federal Government of Canada agreed to assist Newfoundland and Labrador with a government-funded rural resettlement program in 1949 (Fifield 1991:8). Resettlement was meant to modernize the mostly rural population and increase the standard of living for all. Smaller communities were moved into larger communities known as economic centers where schools, healthcare, and wage labour were more accessible (Fifield 1991:8 Iverson and Matthews 1969:14). A variation of this program still exists today, but the program was most well-known from the 1950s to the 1970s. Between 1953 and 1977, 307 communities, or between 28,000-50,000 people, were resettled from small towns into larger economic centers, throughout Newfoundland and Labrador (Côté and Pottie-Sherman 2018). In hindsight, some moves were unnecessary as some small settlements were already close to a larger center where they had access to the services they were being moved to receive. Some feel the Birch Island resettlement was one of the communities resettled unnecessarily (Iverson and Matthews 1968:14). This system has been criticized within the scholarly literature for disrupting

rural social ties and economy in favor of creating a system and cycle of dependency on the state (Kennedy 1995:204).

Economic Consequences

As part of the greater resettlement consequences, individuals were faced with the choice of piecing together a work and subsistence livelihood, moving or working away, or triggering a cycle of welfare reliance (Wadel 1969: 36,63). The economic centers people were required to move to were ill prepared, with few jobs and dwindling subsistence resources. Many people throughout the province were in favor of resettlement, but the industries that the government was trying to integrate people into, could not keep up with the demand. At 10% unemployment in urban centers in the 1960s, Newfoundland and Labrador had one of the highest unemployment rates in the Western World (Wadel 1969:310, 32-34, 110). Due to these economic restrictions individuals with education quickly outstripped available jobs. Many left the province and continued to have trouble moving back to the province (Wadel 1969:69-70).

Welfare was often a viable option for many after the resettlement process even though working was preferred (Wadel 1969:66). Often more money could be made on welfare than working. Welfare also ensured that the family would stay in the same place together, and subsistence living and fishing could be done on the side (Wadel 1969:66-68). Welfare was not seen as a long-term solution and individuals were not used to turning to those outside of their family for assistance (Wadel 1969:66). Unfortunately, due to compounding factors, the economic damage these programs encouraged is still prevalent today (Kennedy 1995: 204; Wadel 1969:3, 10, 32-34, 110). Birch Island was

unfortunately not targeted in a specific resettlement study so the extent to which it falls within the greater resettlement literature is not fully understood.

Social Consequences

The social consequences of resettlement mirrored the economic frustration.

Resettlement was often seen by those resettled as coerced. With little integration into their new towns, resettled people would often be marginalized with only slightly better living conditions, and this was reported to be the case by some participants (Iverson and Matthews 1968:13,14,138; Kennedy 1995:204, 205; Wadel 1969:33). Within the resettlement program, there were not enough permanent jobs in the new settlement centers, and centers did not possess a large enough ecological base for the influx of people. Newcomers were often afraid to use the land in their new town fearing they were encroaching on a locals' regular use area (Kennedy 1995:204-205; Wadel 1969:3). Communities became divided between the old and new town and the community social structure was disrupted (Kennedy 1995:204).

Throughout the province, generally before resettlement, a small group of families would agree to move and then others in the settlement fearing being left behind would follow suit feeling they had no choice (Wadel 1969:4, 119). When they got to the new settlement, issues previously not thought of or planned for became apparent. The economic choices people were required to make, either working away from their families, piecing together a paid and subsistence existence closer to home, or going on welfare had drastic consequences for their social standing within their communities (Wadel 1969:63). Those who chose welfare, often to keep their family in one place, were subject to a

decline in social standing. They often wanted to work; but they would make an equivalent amount on welfare. It was particularly difficult for those with large families. In the research that followed resettlement, it was found that after the move, community ties were not only altered, but often broken. Those who had been resettled would sometimes ask the researchers how other members of their community were doing because that interaction had been lost and not replaced or revitalized within the new social setting (Iverson and Matthews 1968:3). The sociological damage of resettlement still haunts communities and the identity of the province today (Blackmore 2003; Kennedy 1995: 204; Wadel 1969:3, 10, 32-34, 110).

Grief and Loss

The people of Newfoundland and Labrador have experienced many different types of loss, and this grief continues to impact collective memory and social attitudes within the province. This grief extends to the overall emotional response to resettlement and its aftermath (Kelly and Yeoman 2010:5-6). A sense of community comes out of the psychological, spiritual, and social sense of belonging to a physical place that your family has inhabited for generations (Blackmore 2003:347, 349). Through resettlement this identity becomes unsettled, particularly when coupled with the recent migration out of the province for work (Kelly 2010:21). This manifests itself in the present as a form of fatalism where individuals identify more with the negative situation they are in than anything else, continuing the cycle of grief and intergenerational community dysfunction (Blackmore 2003:351, 354; Kelly and Yeoman 2010:6).

Resettlement of Birch Island

Birch Island was part of the First Resettlement Agreement (1965-1970) with resettlement occurring between 1967-1969. A total of 312 people were moved at that time (The Rooms Provincial Archives, St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador, Statistics Federal- Provincial Resettlement Program Community Consolidation Program First Resettlement Agreement (1965-1970) & Second Resettlement Agreement (1970-1975), PANL GF 512 N4 S72 1972, 1975). According to the pamphlets that Birch Island residents were given, under the First Resettlement Agreement, each household would get up to \$600 to move (Appendix 2: Image 3). Regulations indicate the process of resettlement should first be considered by the residents and opportunities elsewhere researched. Then a public meeting should be held to discuss the matter. Depending on how the community felt, more public meetings could be held and then the matter would come to a vote. If the vote passed, then a plan to move would be created in conjunction with the provincial government who would have to approve where residents would move (Wells 1959:3-6). The extent to which these regulations were followed or understood is not fully known.

Between 1961-1963 a road was pushed from Happy Valley across two creeks to Birch Island to make moving to the mainland easier. People liked the road for its ease of use and because they could bring their cars over to the island, so after it washed out they requested another more permanent road instead of going back to using the footbridge (Blake 1992:59, Personal Communication with Henry Rich, Feb 6, 2018). Participants who were interviewed remember residents getting nervous about the move and the town

of Happy Valley telling them that if they wanted to take their homes with them to the mainland they would have to do it before the roads were paved (P009B). As was common with resettled communities at the time, any structures that were left on Birch Island after the move were demolished and some Birch Island residents remember their homes being burned (Goudie 2011:7; Iverson and Matthews 1968:13).

Healthy Waters Labrador

Healthy Waters Labrador (HWL) is a non-profit environmental group with a focus in the Upper Lake Melville region of Labrador. Originally founded as an Environment Canada ACAP-AEI Group in 2005, their goal has shifted to continuing research with local partners to look at communities' future needs. Their focus is to promote sustainable ecosystems with education, stewardship, and research. HWL partnered with the Town of Happy Valley-Goose Bay on the Birch Island Project as it is part of the larger tourism initiative for the Upper Lake Melville Region⁵ (Healthy Waters Labrador n.d.).

The Birch Island Project began with an attempt to designate a conservation area and rehabilitate wetlands within the area. This was done through limiting vehicle access, replacing culverts to encourage waterways, and creating an education program with an outdoor classroom. For the historic aspect of the project, HWL established a historic committee with former residents of Birch Island to inform and guide the historical

⁵ Tourism in the Upper Lake Melville Region is changing due to the shifting geopolitical landscape of self-governance and the newly minted Mealy Mountain Park Reserve.

perspective and incorporate it into the projects interpretation (for more discussion of the project, see Chapter 6).

Modern Construction on the Island

In 2016 HWL replaced both sets of culverts leading to the island, one set with a bridge, and the second set with culverts to promote fish habitat (Appendix 1: Photo 1). Vegetation was cleared from around the bridge and culvert areas to promote water flow and dispose of debris from modern dumping. Construction began on a boardwalk closest to the mainland which included a bench and viewing deck (Appendix 1: Photo 2, Appendix 1: Photo 3, Appendix 1: Photo 4). 2016 also saw the construction of an entry way to the island, and a fence along the roadway and a parking lot (Appendix 1: Photo 5, Appendix 1: Photo 6)(Healthy Waters Labrador 2014). As part of this work an archaeological assessment of the area was completed by Neilsen (2016, Neilsen and Brenan 2017) ensuring that the infrastructure would impact the heritage resources of Birch Island as little as possible. The boardwalk was modified to have supports reset on the surface as opposed to digging into the ground and efforts were made by HWL to not impact surface features and artifacts associated with the settlement. (For more information on the CRM aspects of the project please see Neilsen (2016), and Neilsen and Brenan (2017)).

2017 started with major repairs being made to the fence and road due to spring flooding making road to the Birch Island parking lot impassable (Appendix 1: Photo 7). After this, construction included blocking the former roadway along the island with rocks

to prevent ATV access. The first boardwalk was extended and a second boardwalk was started along the river bank with viewing decks and benches (Appendix 1: Photo 8). The area next to the parking lot was seeded with grass (Appendix 1: Photo 9). The riverbank boardwalk was built to the beach where it splits; one branch lead across the beach to a second parking lot and the other branch turn towards the mainland where it will connect with the first boardwalk in 2019. 2018 also saw the beginning of HWL's outdoor classroom initiative with school children participating in the Duck's Unlimited Program and plans for classroom completion next year (HWL personal communication 2017). At the direction of the HWL Historic Committee, HWL plans to install information plaques and commemorate the former community with a monument.

Conclusions

Those in Happy Valley-Goose Bay and on Birch Island became reliant on the military for livelihood, making the U.S.A.A.F's 1975 decision to shut down its base at Goose Bay difficult and putting many out of work, negatively affecting the region (Pitt et al. 1981:799). The base is still maintained by the Canadian Military, but the prosperity brought by the American's was not maintained. The recent tourism push within the area points to the potential for a new economic draw to the region.

The history of Birch Island is bound to the worldwide impact WWII had on rapid globalization and commercial consumption. The area adapted radically to the rapid demand for infrastructure ultimately altering the habits and lifeways of those in the entire Upper Lake Melville Area. Through this chapter, it is obvious how the expectations of

modernity physically changed the landscape and the people causing both happiness and grief. This shift into modernity is on the cusp of living memory, enabling access to detailed information, emotions, and collective ideas of the past.

Chapter 3: Methods

This chapter discusses the methodology and theory used throughout this project. The methods used were purposefully diverse to capture a wide range of data to better inform the overall understanding of the Birch Island site and community. Memory and landscape theory was used to guide this initial data gathering but left intentionally broad to allow for a more comprehensive interpretation. The methods used during this MA work include pedestrian survey, dendrochronology, test pits, online survey, interviews, Real Time Kinematic (RTK), GIS mapping, and Facebook.

The area of study on Birch Island is defined by the known settlement on the island (Figure 4). As this was the first archaeological investigation into the area, obtaining an overview of the island was the primary focus. In addition to this MA work done, Dr. Scott Neilsen (2016; Neilsen and Brenan 2017) conducted archaeological monitoring prior to, and during construction within the area to ensure it would impact the island's heritage assets as little as possible.

Pedestrian Survey

A pedestrian survey is usually used to check areas of archaeological potential. It is the act of systematically walking through an area to observe, take notes, and gauge the landscape for evidence of past use. In the case of Birch Island, we documented any physical remains still present (Beasley and Gwaltney 2010:20). To begin this process, we obtained a 1950s map created by Hector Blake and Walter Perrault who traced the map from an aerial photo. Dr. Scott Neilsen, Anatolijs Venovcevs, and I then

georeferenced the map onto a modern image of Birch Island to find modern-day coordinates for the 1950s structures. This process provided us with GPS coordinates for all known structures on the island. From this, we entered the points into a handheld GPS and walked to each structure location. The finished product of the georeferenced map and our GPS track can be seen in Figure 4. Once at each location, photos and notes concerning surface debris, vegetation, and surroundings were taken. It should be noted, the center points of structures identified through this process may have a several meter margin of error due to this process.

Once the pedestrian survey commenced, we encountered heavy vegetation which often interfered with the handheld GPS and made it difficult to observe the surroundings (Appendix 1: Photo 10). Despite this margin of error, we feel this is acceptable as almost all the locations pinpointed and visited were associated with surface debris and evidence of cultural activity such as trails, roadways, and architectural features contemporaneous with the timeframe of the community.

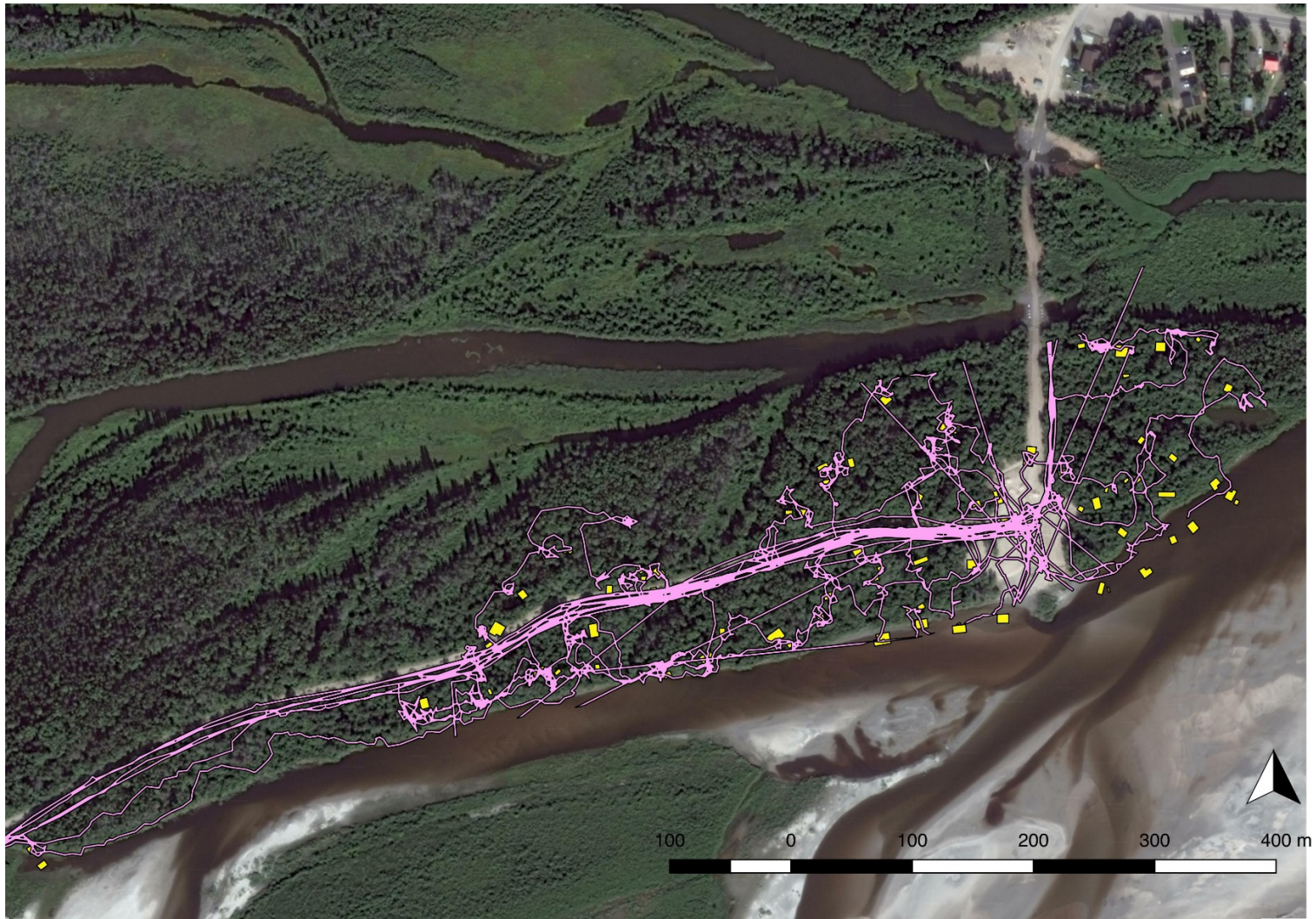


Figure 4 GPS track 2016 through known settlement area (Modified from www.maps.google.ca, Image Credit: Julia Brenan, Scott Nielsen, Anatolijs Venovcevs, Hector Blake, Walter Perrault)

Dendrochronology

Dendrochronology is the science of absolute dating using a tree's annual growth layers. Trees grow predictably and through samples, a chronology can be achieved to reconstruct past climate, and date archaeological sites or the geomorphology of an area (Buckley 2009). As part of the initial archaeological assessment of the Birch Island area, we obtained dendrochronological samples processed at the University of Saskatchewan's MAD Lab. This provided a relative date for the Birch Island land formation, integral as the island was formed by the river and this means we have an idea of when human habitation and use of the island could have begun prior to the Birch Island settlement. The Mishta-shipu is a braided river meaning it consists of continually shifting sandbars and has a meandering nature due to the low slope and deposition of alluvial sediment (Anderson 1985:149; Dietrich et al. 2017:1-4; JWEL 2000: 63,66). Changes in the river can be seen over time with aerial photography. Birch Island formed the same way which means that the landform could not support sustained settlement until trees began growing and stabilized the landform (JWEL 2000: 63,66).

Three core samples were taken from trees that appear on the earliest 1940s photographs through today. All of them are located in slightly low-lying areas which are possibly how they survived logging in the area. Two white spruce were dated to 1953 and 1939 respectively. The oldest tree is a Larch dated to 1916. Because samples did not go directly through the pith or center of the tree and they were taken at breast height, these dates are estimates, and the trees are potentially 5-10 years older than the given dates

(Appendix 1: Photo 11)(Personal Communication, Jay Maillet, June 3, 2017, Processed by Beckett Stark Spring 2017).

Test Pits

Test Pits are commonly used in archaeological inquiry to determine the extent of the sub-surface cultural material (Nance 1986:458). Our test pits were 50 centimeters by 50 centimeters and dug at structure locations 10 and 71 to determine if excavations of either of these areas would be beneficial (Figure 5). These two locations were chosen for test pitting due to surface debris, features, proximity to trails and overgrown clearings found in the area. Test pitting also took place in areas with surface debris where the boardwalk along the creek was being built (Figure 6)(Neilsen 2016:201). All artifacts from structure areas 10, 71, and alongside the boardwalk were analyzed by Venovcevs (2017a; 2017b). After the 2016 field season, it was realized that there was possible toxic contamination in the soil as evidenced by the discarded fuel, oil, and paint cans along with the burning of garbage, disposal of electronics, and plastics. As a result, a broad non-invasive survey replaced the test pit strategy.

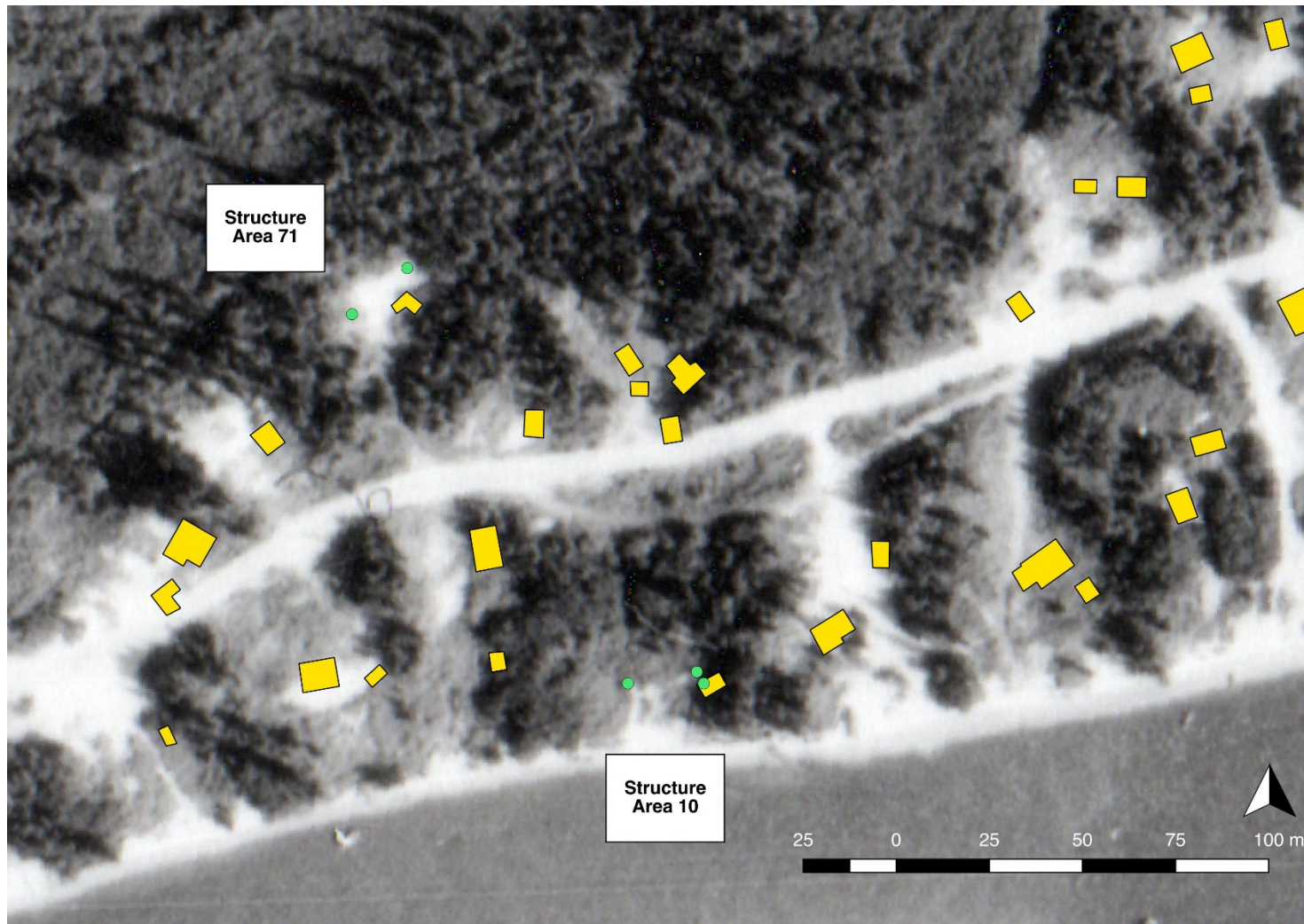


Figure 5 Map of test pits dug at structure areas 10 and 71. Test pits are in green and structures in yellow. Base map from 1972 (Modified, Courtesy of the Town of Happy Valley- Goose Bay, Image Credit: Julia Brenan, Scott Neilsen, Anatolijs Venovcevs, Hector Blake, Walter Perrault)

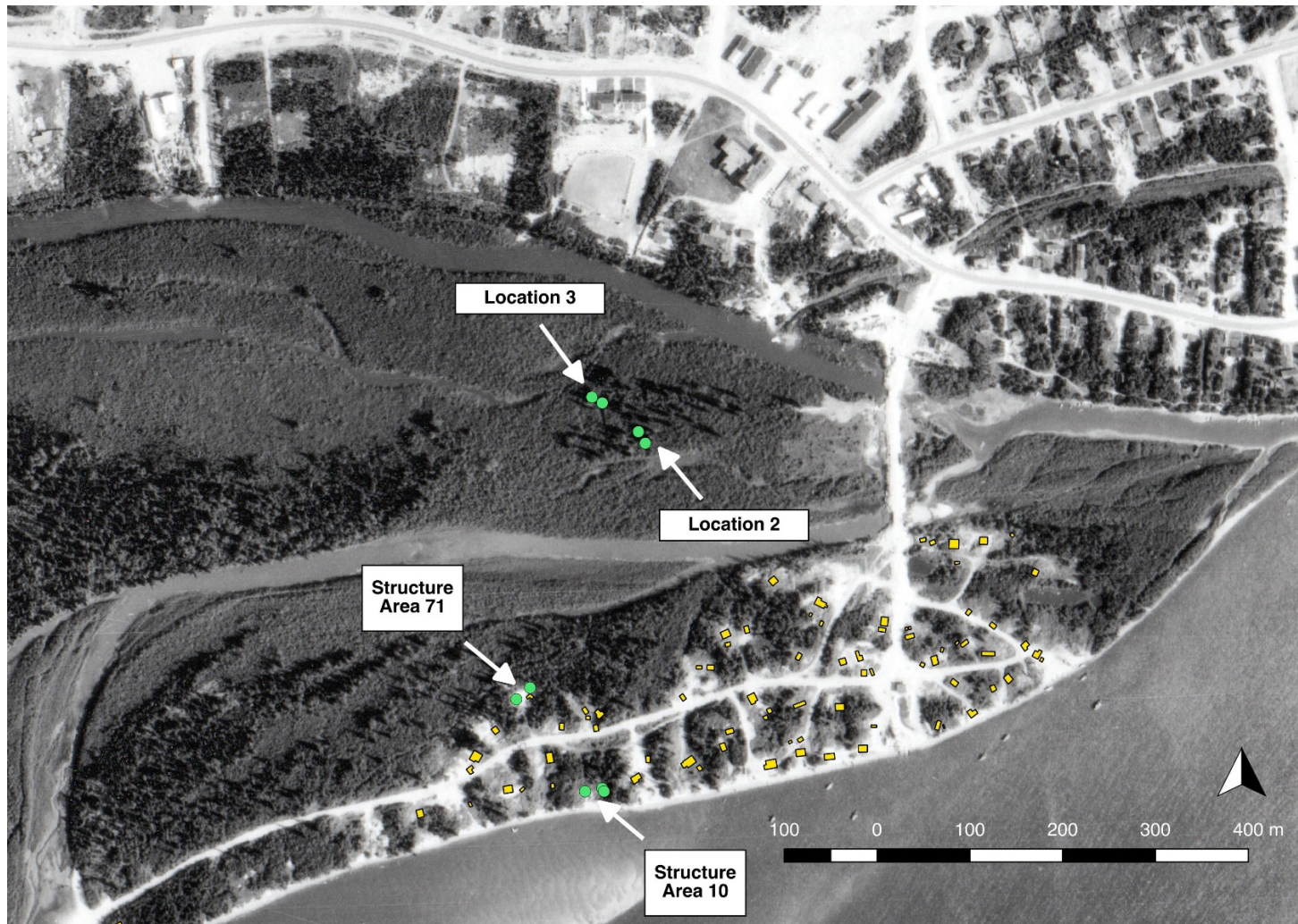


Figure 6 The green circles are test pits dug on the island, locations 2 and 3 are associated with the archaeological assessment done by Dr. Scott Neilsen. (Modified, Courtesy of the Town of Happy Valley- Goose Bay, Image Credit: Julia Brenan, Scott Neilsen, Anatolijs Venovcevs, Hector Blake, Walter Perrault)

Structure area 10 was the only place where actual structural remains were found on the island. What is left of the structure consists of a sill corner that is overgrown and decomposing (Appendix 1: Photo 12). The area is elevated about 3-4 meters above the river on a bank east of a small spruce stand. There are several pits, most likely used for garbage, water, or as outhouses, in the area as well as surface debris consisting of a saw blade, a Dominion Glass Company jar, stubby beer bottles, window glass, and a metal pipe. The boardwalk will pass close to this point, and it is thought that structure area 10 is where notable Labradorian Gilbert Blake⁶ once lived, making it a point of interest for the boardwalk and the area's history. The test pit transects in this area were placed on either side of the wooden sill. Transect 1 had 5 test pits which yielded flooring, wallpaper, asphalt, tar paper, nails, portions of a glass container, cans, a wrench, burned wood and fabric which will be discussed further in Chapter 4. Transect two only included three test pits from which metal, nails, and a can were recovered. The deepest pit was 82 centimeters, and the shallowest was 32 centimeters. All test pits held grey, tan sand of various coarseness and three had a black silty organic layer below the surface. Based on the artifacts recovered, it is thought that area 10 was probably a shed. To see the test pits in relation to surface artifacts mapped see Figure 7.

⁶ Gilbert Blake accompanied Mina Hubbard as a guide in her expedition to complete her late husband, Leonidas Hubbard's, failed attempt to travel from North West River, Labrador to Kuujuaq, Quebec (Hubbard, et al 2005).

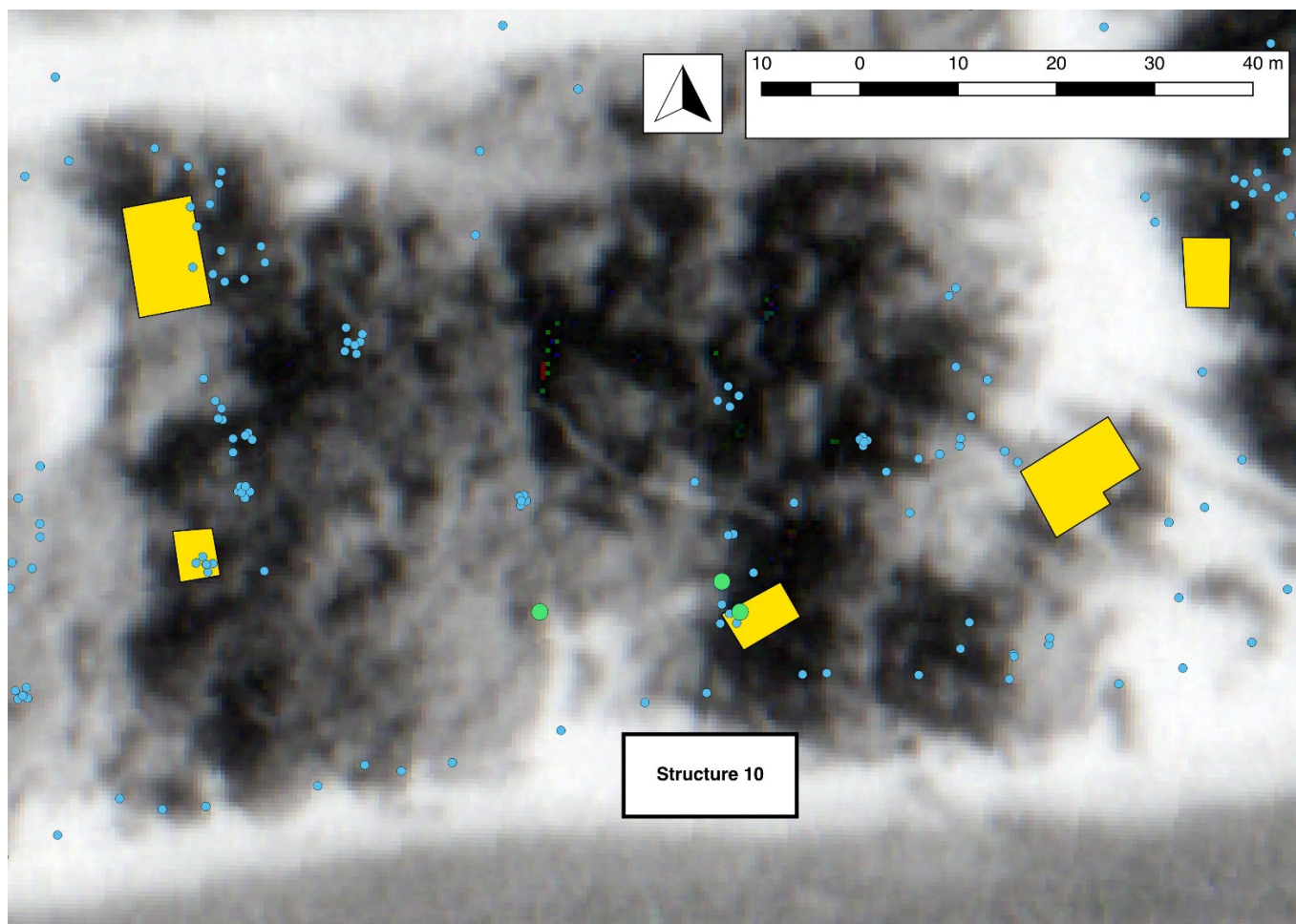


Figure 7 Structure Area 10 with test pits (green) in relation to surface debris (blue) and the known structure locations (yellow). Base image from 1972 (Courtesy of the Town of Happy Valley- Goose Bay, Image Credit: Julia Brenan, Anatolijs Venovcevs, Scott Neilsen, Hector Blake, Walter Perrault)

Structure area 71 was thick with dogwoods, medium-height firs, and thick, low ground cover making it difficult to see our surroundings and surface debris (Appendix 1: Photo 13). There is a higher ridge to the southeast with smaller firs and a more mature forest to the west with clearer lines of site. Eight test pits were dug, seven in transect one, and one in transect two. The test pits yielded wire, charcoal, paper, nails, linoleum, window glass, cigarette wrapper tin foil, and clothing. The shallowest test pit was transect one, test pit five at 33 centimeters with the deepest being transect one test pit two at a depth of 53 centimeters. All test pits were dug down to coarse, unsorted sand except for test pit three in transect two which may not have reached sterile soil. The majority of the test pits had sod at the surface, followed by grey tan silty sand, with a paleosol layer of decaying plant matter 10-20 centimeters before sterile soil (Appendix 1: Photo 14). For an overview of area 71 test pits and surface debris see Figure 8.

As part of the archaeological monitoring, test pits were dug at three locations along the northern edge of the island where the boardwalk route was planned. Two of the locations were identified as areas for testing because lean-tos had been constructed in more open vegetation. This area of the landform is thought to be older due to its elevation and location. Dendrochronological samples were taken from the larger trees in the area. No archaeological material was recovered at these locations (Neilsen 2016:200). The third location was chosen as the initial proposed site of the outdoor classroom, and there was evidence of debris on the surface. Neilsen (2016:201) determined that this area was most likely not associated with the Birch Island settlement proper and is most likely associated with 20th century trapping.

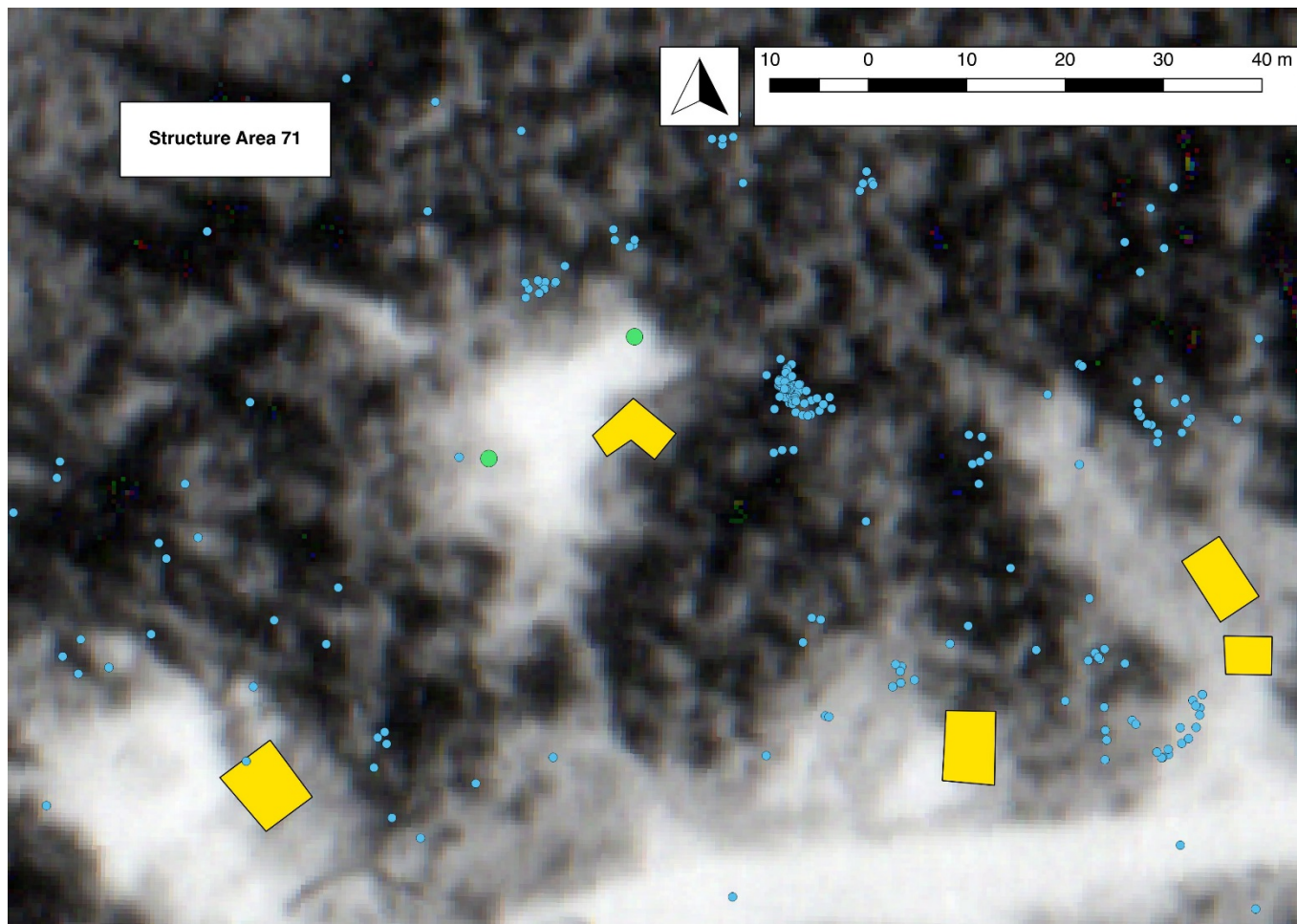


Figure 8 Structure Area 71 with test pits (green) in relation to surface debris (blue) and the known structure locations (yellow). Base image from 1972 (Courtesy of the Town of Happy Valley- Goose Bay, Image Credit: Julia Brenan, Anatolijs Venovcevs, Scott Neilsen, Hector Blake, Walter Perrault)

Test pits in areas 71 and 10 uncovered artifacts up to 30 centimeters below the surface, but no structural remains, buried features, or intact cultural layers were encountered. The lack of intact cultural layers indicates that the area might have been disturbed or a filled in pit. All test pits dug on Birch Island in areas 71 and 10 consist of an A and C-Horizon with a small B-Horizon sometimes present and beginning to form. The regular flooding of the island is shown in the sediment deposition observed within the test pits. The lack of structured sediment layering from regular flooding and the sediment's sandy make-up is most likely why there is no clear cultural layer (Neilsen 2016:201).

Online Survey

Surveys are a method of collecting data from a large number of individuals. With the popularity of the internet, surveys have moved online allowing for a broader range of people from different geographic locations to be represented in the data (Toepoel 2012:345). We chose to conduct online surveys due to the difficulty of reaching research participants, ease of alerting those who may be interested in participating in this work, and to enable former residents who have moved away the chance to participate. The online survey was created on Survey Monkey and 28 people began the survey with only 16 completing it. Out of the 16 that completed the survey, eight were former residents themselves and all but two of the 16 respondents had a family connection to the settlement. The survey began with an ethics approval process as required by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) at Memorial University in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct of

Research Involving Humans (TCPS). In addition to the suggested statements, this ethics approval process addresses the possible concerns around the Patriot Act since Survey Monkey stores data in the United States; we offered individuals the option to remain anonymous in their responses. At the conclusion of the survey we offered participants the option to participate in a formal interview about Birch Island. To see a copy of the full survey, please see Appendix 5: 1.

The survey was advertised on Facebook which is a popular method of communication in Labrador and popular Labrador Facebook pages like “Goose Bay History”, “Concerning Happy Valley-Goose Bay” and, “Healthy Waters Labrador” were used (Goose Bay History. 2007; Concerning Happy Valley-Goose Bay 2015; Healthy Waters Labrador 2014). Advertisements were periodically placed on these pages and specifically placed in the threads below photos, questions, and statements relating to Birch Island. Each post began with an explanation of what I was doing and defining the purpose of the survey (Appendix 5: 2).

The survey targeted individuals who had previously lived on the island, but were open to anyone who wanted to participate. There were ten questions, three multiple choice with a comment box, and seven open-ended answers. The only questions that required answers to submit the survey were those concerned with the ethics and permission. The survey also contained two maps with locations of known structures numbered for people to tell us more accurately where they and others on the island lived. The majority of the questions concerned obtaining data on Birch Island from people who may not want to participate in the interview process. Throughout the survey we found

that people mostly answered the check-box questions, but did not engage as openly with the open-ended boxes, leaving only short remarks or comments. Having a mix of questions played to our advantage in this way (Appendix 5: 1).

We anticipated several difficulties that did not come to fruition. We thought individuals would be uncomfortable using an American site for the survey due to the Patriot Act, legislation under which the US government has unprecedented access to information; however, this did not appear to deter participants. Since the community resettled in 1969, our target audience was a bit older, and we were unsure if all of those who wanted to participate would use Facebook or have the same familiarity with online surveys as those in a younger generation. To mitigate this problem, we also offered paper surveys at HWL events and gave out our email address so individuals could contact us directly and by-pass the online survey process. We received no surveys through the alternate methods.

The difficulties we did encounter are as follows. We experienced a high attrition rate for those who completed the survey. 28 began while only 17 completed it. The other difficulty we encountered was that individuals would often fill out the map portion with others, so we were not getting a single individual's memory; but several people's together, possibly skewing the data. Another dilemma was that several individuals who indicated they would like to be contacted for an interview did not respond to calls made to set up the interview. The last unanticipated challenge was that most of the older generation who would have the best memories of the island and most information did not want to participate in this work.

Interviews

Oral sources of information, such as interviews, are purposefully gathered personal narratives, stories, experiences, and observations. Over time these become oral histories (Pace 2007:50; Ritchie 2014:14). This method for collecting data is one that is highly valuable but should also be treated with caution. Oral histories allow us to obtain a greater breadth of data and personal experiences concerning a specific site or event that we would be unable to obtain otherwise. As with other methods of data gathering, oral sources of information may hold biases in the form of skewed memories, personal opinions, and the absence of what the interviewer perceives as key details (Keeling and Sandlos 2015:16; Ritchie 2014:1,14-19; Schneider 2002:54-55).

The interview portion of this project took place in the summer and fall of 2017. Interviews were done in two time periods to coincide with the need to divide the field season to take advantage of less vegetation during surface mapping. The methods used during the interview process were semi-structured so that questions could easily be modified to the participants' knowledge base and memory. All those interviewed were informed that this project had been approved by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) at Memorial University in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Humans (TCPS). All of the participants were asked to sign waivers acknowledging that they knew what they were participating in and there was a signature required on the same document to identify if we were permitted to associate their name with the interview and research. In addition,

they were all informed verbally that the interviews would be deposited in Them Days and the Labrador Institute Archives if permissible.

In total, we interviewed 16 individuals. They were recruited through HWL events and an online survey we placed on Facebook pages associated with HWL, Birch Island, the general history of the area, and a general page about the community of Happy Valley-Goose Bay. Six of those interviewed were male, and ten were female. The only inclusion criteria were that people had to have either lived or been familiar with Birch Island as a settlement.

14 out of the 16 interviews were recorded with the permission of the participants and notes were taken during all interviews. Prior to the interviews being deposited in the archives, some sections that were requested by participants not to be included will be removed and, if desired, their interviews will be sent to them for review before deposition. The same ethics process and approval was applied to those who wanted to contribute photos of Birch Island or other documents.

Interviews occurred in people's homes or the conference room of Labrador Institute, typically over tea and cookies. The interviews were formal, but as the interviewees became more comfortable, the conversation flowed more naturally and interview questions were often answered without prompt. When the conversation strayed I would let it continue for some time as long as it was within the general area of interest as often this showed what the participants cared about, were interested in, or what their knowledge breadth was. The age of individuals participating ranged from the mid-50s into the late 80s, although this was never an explicit question asked during the interview

process. Often individuals would offer up the names of others I should talk to unsolicited. These unsolicited offers were followed up with, time permitting.

To make the interview accessible to those who no longer lived in the geographic area we accommodated phone interviews. Two people opted for this option as they no longer lived in Labrador. The consent form was sent to them through email before the previously agreed upon interview time, so they had time to read it, sign it and send it back. A conference room at the Labrador Institute was used for these calls with either the conference phone or, when phone service was lost, a cell phone. All calls were recorded with the research participants' verbal permission. Prior to starting the interview, the consent form was discussed, and an opportunity to ask initial questions was presented. After this, the interviews continued in the same manner as the face-to-face interviews.

During the interview process, we ran into three difficulties. First, it was found that the older generation who would have been adults on the island were less willing to participate in the study than their children. Only one individual who lived on the island as a teenager agreed to be interviewed. Health, memory loss, disagreement with the larger HWL project, or concern over talking to an outsider with no First Nations, Inuit, or Métis background were cited as reasons for not wanting to participate. These individuals were always thanked for their time and encouraged to make contact if they changed their mind. There was no pressure to participate in this research, and those who declined were not contacted again. It was found that those who were children on the island did not have the same reaction to the project and were enthusiastic to participate (See Chapter 6 for further discussion). Second, occasionally, those who indicated their willingness to be

interviewed in the online survey did not return phone calls or emails when it was time for the interview process. They were each contacted twice, but when no answer was received, they were not contacted again. Finally, the interviews took place during the summer and fall and we frequently ran into the problem of individuals leaving to go into the country for extended periods of time.

Real Time Kinematic (RTK)

A Real Time Kinematic (RTK) device consists of a hand-held data collector (Mobile Mapper CX), two antennas, ranging pole, radio transmitter and receiver. The system works through an immobile base station calculating its location through the use of at least five orbiting satellites, with more satellites ensuring greater accuracy. While the base remains stationary the associated rover is free to move; but is in continual contact with the base station through radio transmission and satellites to calculate its location (Appendix 1: Photo 15). The RTK further allows for the instant processing of data through the data collector requiring less post-processing (Ogaja 2011:11, 56, 54; Robinson 2013: 25-26). For this project, we used the Magellan ProMark 500 Real-Time Kinematic. An RTK was employed because it allowed fast and accurate mapping of debris and features present on Birch Island, and does not require line of sight. We were not previously familiar with this equipment and Christina Robinson, a PhD Candidate at the University of Calgary and expert on the archaeological applications of RTK, was contracted to teach us how to use this equipment.

The RTK posed a unique opportunity for expediting fieldwork, but the vegetation caused difficulties. We often found that the height and positioning of the trees inhibited

the rover's ability to communicate with passing satellites producing long wait times until the handheld could guarantee we were within the tolerance we had set, (initially of 5 centimeters and later 10 centimeters). This error was often larger with the z-axis causing problems in post-processing. Due to these difficulties and with the knowledge that the island seasonally floods, we decided to accept a tolerance error up to one meter for movable objects. With features, we waited significantly longer to accept the lowest tolerance possible for our position.

GIS Mapping

The computer-based Geographic Information Systems (GIS) is a tool used to collect, manage, manipulate, analyze, and visualize spatial and geographic data (Conolly 2008:583). This system is capable of incorporating multiple types of data and enables a range of archaeological functions and connections. The analytical quantification used within GIS maps and aerial photographs is theoretically problematic as it is reductionist and favours the "western gaze" (Johnson 2006:85,87,90). However, a middle ground between reality, representation, and the construction of reality are achieved when quantitative methods of GIS are used as a tool for further analysis and not an end within itself (Llobera 2012:502, Wickstead 2006:256).

We were trained in GIS by Venovcevs on the software QGIS 3.18 throughout the summer of 2016. Two coordinate systems were used as NAD1983 CSRS MTM 4 was initially thought the better fit but not recognized by the RTK and NAD1983 CSRS UTM 20N had to be applied instead. This GIS work created layers from old aerial photographs, old maps of the Town of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, LiDAR imagery (from which Digital

Elevation Models were created), and RTK data. This research produced a series of GIS layers that show the use, deposit, and habitation areas of Birch Island.

Facebook

Adding Facebook to our methodology was initially not an option explored for this project. However, due to a large amount of activity and memories shared on the platform we decided to incorporate the social media site. We initially observed individuals posting photos they had of Birch Island and activities they recalled from childhood. The conversations and memory creation going on around the photos encouraged us to document the interactions. Anything posted on Facebook, particularly in a public group, is considered in the public domain, but because no ethics approval and permission was sought for this aspect of the project we did not collect any individual names or take any photos from Facebook without the person who posted the photo's permission. This was an overall amalgamation of data not intended to pinpoint any one individual. Social media is an effective method of engaging with a large group of individuals interested in a specific subject and has been used within archaeology to engage with the public; however, Facebook can rarely be considered representative sample (Bonacchi 2012:86; Huvila 2013; Jones 1997).

The Facebook groups, Goose Bay History (2007) and Healthy Water's Labrador (2014) were looked at for this portion of the project. Each group was searched using Facebook's search engine for any references to Birch Island back to the inception of each group. From there, all comments associated with each historic photo were read and

analyzed. Through these conversations, we can see memory reinforcement and creation in a short space of time.

Theory: Memory, Landscape, Modernity, and Grief

Within this thesis, we are using multiple theories to highlight the experiences of Birch Island residents. Both memory and landscape theory were used to inform the research methods and discussion of this project. Both concepts work well to highlight the flexibility of a communities' conceptualization of the past in connection to a physical place and the renegotiation of these concepts within the present (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:4,13-14). Memory and landscape theory further lend themselves to the nuances and intersections of grief and modernity which Birch Island residents experienced and came across prominently within the data.

Memory as a theoretical framework has been evolving within the archaeological context in recent years as a method to access viewpoints in the past. This thesis draws on theoretical memory studies rooted in the collective memory set forward by Halbwachs (1992:44-53); diminishing the agency of the individual to remember and pointing to memory as a collective endeavor done to identify and orient ourselves within a group (Boric 2010:8; Halbwachs 1992:44-53). This collective experience defines a groups' thoughts on the past and ideals for the future by embedding their experience in the present in past memory (Fentress and Wickham 1992:24-25).

Within this thesis, landscape theory is rooted in Basso's (1996) ideas of place-making which overlays acts of history and remembering onto a landscape. Place-making creates a site of memorialization; collapsing time and creating a deep connection

embodied in physical space (Basso 1996:5). Memorializing and the collapsing of time into a physical locale is an active part of remembering and place-based memory. The recently revitalized landscape of Birch Island also serves as a spatial record of reuse, reconceptualization, and reinforcement of memories and history (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:13-14).

The rapid change Birch Island residents have experienced within a generation is directly addressed through the theoretical frameworks of grief and modernity. These concepts are connected to the unresolved loss felt on the collective psyche due to modernization and environmental change. Grief due to the modernization of the province through resettlement has been recorded within the specific context of the Newfoundland and Labrador resettlement programs impacting the province culturally and economically for generations (Iverson and Matthews:1968; Kelly and Yeoman 2010:5). More recently, grief due to environmental change, within the context of Labrador and interrupting traditional lifeways, has become recognized and documented within an academic context (Cunsolo et al. 2011; Dawdy 2010). This environmental grief has been shown to interplay with landscape and memory as remembering is dictated by what continuously reminds us of pain (Boric 2010:9).

Modernity is the last theoretical concept that shaped this thesis. It must be acknowledged that the Upper Lake Melville area experienced a connection to the global capital network through the fur trade, but this connection was cemented during WWII in what Anthropogenic theory considers the 'great acceleration' (Steffen et al. 2007:617-618). Modernity during WWII was pushed through the creation of an increasingly

integrated and global economy expedited by technological leaps (González-Ruibal 2008; Heath et al. 2017: 2; Steffen et al. 2007:617-618). The greatest period of acceleration this thesis will be focusing on is when Birch Island came into existence and consumerism became linked to modernity (Heath et al. 2017:4; Steffen et al. 2007:617-618). The theoretical concept of modernity allows us to extend the archaeological record to today, no longer dividing the past and present but seeing their interplay (Lucas 2005:36).

Conclusion

The information gathered through the methods described - pedestrian survey, dendrochronology, test pitting, online survey, interviews, RTK, GIS, and Facebook - are used to obtain a broad look at Birch Island's past in the remaining chapters. Paired with the theoretical frameworks of memory, landscape, modernity, and grief, how Birch Island's past interplays with its present can be explored to further inform the work being done on the island. Bringing all of these methods and theories together allows us to conceptualize the recent past in a way that is meaningful to those who experienced it and those who study it.

Chapter 4: Interview Summaries

The most important and informative aspect of this project is the interviews which enabled a wider and more emotional depth of knowledge about Birch Island than the investigation of the physical remains alone. 16 people were interviewed with a set list of questions. How participants answered and what they added to the interview shows how they view their past and its interaction with the present. Within this chapter, I have summarized the overarching themes and experiences that were prevalent across the interviews and used the interviews to amalgamate a use map of the Birch Island area. Each interviewee has their own personal past, and this chapter is not intended to sanitize or homogenize the past but shows the overall trends in memory, emotion, and reflection of space and place⁷.

Throughout the summarized interviews the theoretical concepts of memory, landscape, modernity, and grief can be seen through the reflection of the past in the present. This chapter functions as a summary of experience and draws on the idea of collective memory (Boric 2010:8; Fentress and Wickham 1992:24-25; Halbwachs 1992:43-53). The following will summarize the interview participants' perspectives of holidays, stores, local food, roads and paths, the river and creeks, the house and homes, and resettlement.

⁷ Some individuals do not want to be identified by name so they are identified as Anonymous.

Holidays & Celebrations on Birch Island

Christmas, Valentine's Day, and Guy Fawkes Night were referenced as holidays with traditions that multiple people remembered and referenced throughout the interview process. The majority of interviews were done in the late fall around the time of Guy Fawkes, or Bonfire night, which may have assisted interviewees in referencing those and other winter memories.

Guy Fawkes, or Bonfire night, occurs every year on November the 5th often involving fireworks, firecrackers, and the burning of effigies of Guy Fawkes and enemies of society (Gross 2012). It is a tradition brought from England which is fondly enjoyed and remembered by the Birch Island residents who were interviewed. On Birch Island, the event was organized every year by Milton Goudie who would enlist young people on the island to gather grass and wood to pile on the beach at the upper end of the island in preparation for November 5th (P001; P002A; P003). The young people would then ready torches by tying fabric tightly around a stick and dipping the end in tar to light on fire. Goudie would convince Clarence McLean to give up his old clothes and replace them with new ones so the old could be used to dress the fake Fawkes and be burned in the bonfire (P001; P003; P004; P005). When everything was ready, Milton would read out the proclamation of Guy Fawkes, torches would be lit, candy would be thrown, there would a procession to the beach, and the bonfire would begin (P002B; P003; P006A). All of this usually went according to plan except one year when the bonfire was lit a day early, and all of the young people on the island scrambled to find enough wood to rebuild it (P002C).

Christmas was an important event on Birch Island. As the majority of those interviewed for this project were children while living on the island, gifts dominate the memories. One resident of Happy Valley-Goose Bay remembers presents of hats and mittens coming in the fall every year from her grandmother in Newfoundland. They would be reserved and distributed at Christmas to ensure the grandchildren were warm through the winter (P004;). Virginia Moriarty (Davis) recalls the family getting their first phone in their house at Christmas, another participant (P003) remembers a walking doll, and yet another (P006B) recalls her brother getting a camera one year. Most gifts were ordered from Eaton's and Sears as there were few places to purchase goods in the Upper Lake Melville Area (P001; P004). During the holiday season Christmas trees were cut down from outside, brought in to the home, and decorated (P004; P006A; P007). Helen Hickey remembers the house being so crowded one year they hung the Christmas tree up on the wall to save floor space (P007). Since there was no electricity on the island, Lillian Beehymer and Virginia Moriarty remember the novelty of Christmas lights; Lillian Beehymer remembers going up to the base at Christmas to take in the lights and Virginia Moriarty, even later in life, is still skeptical of lights on her tree and prefers not to have any (P001; P003). Those living on Birch Island were not wealthy, so the acquisition of something special at Christmas was an envious occasion (P004), and sometimes siblings would all be given a collective gift like a sled to share (P001).

Valentine's Day, Halloween, and Armed Forces Day also received a mention in the interviews. On Valentine's day, Margret Parsons recalls buying or making Valentine's for her class and friends out of paper. She recollected the island tradition of

making a Valentine for a friend or crush, sneaking up to their house, opening the door, throwing the card into the house, and running away before anyone could see who you were (P003; P005; P006A). On one fateful evening, a Valentine Mrs. Parsons' threw into a friend's house hilariously ended up in the family's slop bucket instead of just inside the door creating a fond memory for all involved (P005; P006A).

On Halloween, children would go door to door asking for treats (P003; P006A). There were no real costumes so a pillowcase over your head, or equivalent costume, would suffice (P004).

Armed Forces Day was put on every year by the Americans who would open the base to civilians. All the planes would be on display and civilians could tour the buildings, watch ice cream being made, see the hospital, and have a meal in the mess hall or restaurant (P006B).

Stores

The stores were inside their houses. Mary Rich, Uncle Jack, and Flossie all had special rooms in their houses for their store.

[Personal Communication with Jean Blake, January 11, 2019]

The stores located on Birch Island were run by Jack Martin, Mary Rich and Flossie Oliver (Figure 9). These stores were mostly known to the interview participants for selling candy, chocolate, and soda. Mary Rich would also sell milk, bread, ice cream

in the summer, and duffle⁸ she stitched with Labrador scenes. Jack Martin's store was centrally located, and in addition to treats, he would recycle bottles brought to him for two cents per bottle (P006AB; P008; P009A). Both Max Blake and Henry Rich remember making ice cream for Mary Rich; she used ice from the river and a machine they would churn by hand for which they received an ice cream (P008; P009A).

To obtain goods that were unavailable on the island, residents could walk up to the Hudson's Bay Store, Snelgroves Supermarket, mail order something from Sears and Eaton's, or a friend who worked on the base could get goods for you at the commissary, also known as the base exchange (BX). The Hudson's Bay store had a variety of goods including food, small housewares, and oil for lamps (P006B). It was located in what is now the Skipper Joe's building (P005; P010). Snelgroves Supermarket sold food and included a hardware section. It was located where Norte Dame is now, and they would let you have an account and pay at the end of the month (P007; P009A; P010). Everything mail ordered came from Sears or Eaton's which carried a wider variety of goods (P001; P003; P006A; P007; P011); but were usually only ordered from at Christmas time (P001; P004). If you worked on the base and had an identification card, there was also the option to shop at the Base Commissary (BX), for goods at American prices like cigarettes at 10 cents per carton. They carried a variety of products; Mary Rich would even get the CO² packs for soda at the BX (P007; P009A; P010).

⁸ Duffle is a thick wool fabric typically used for outerwear.

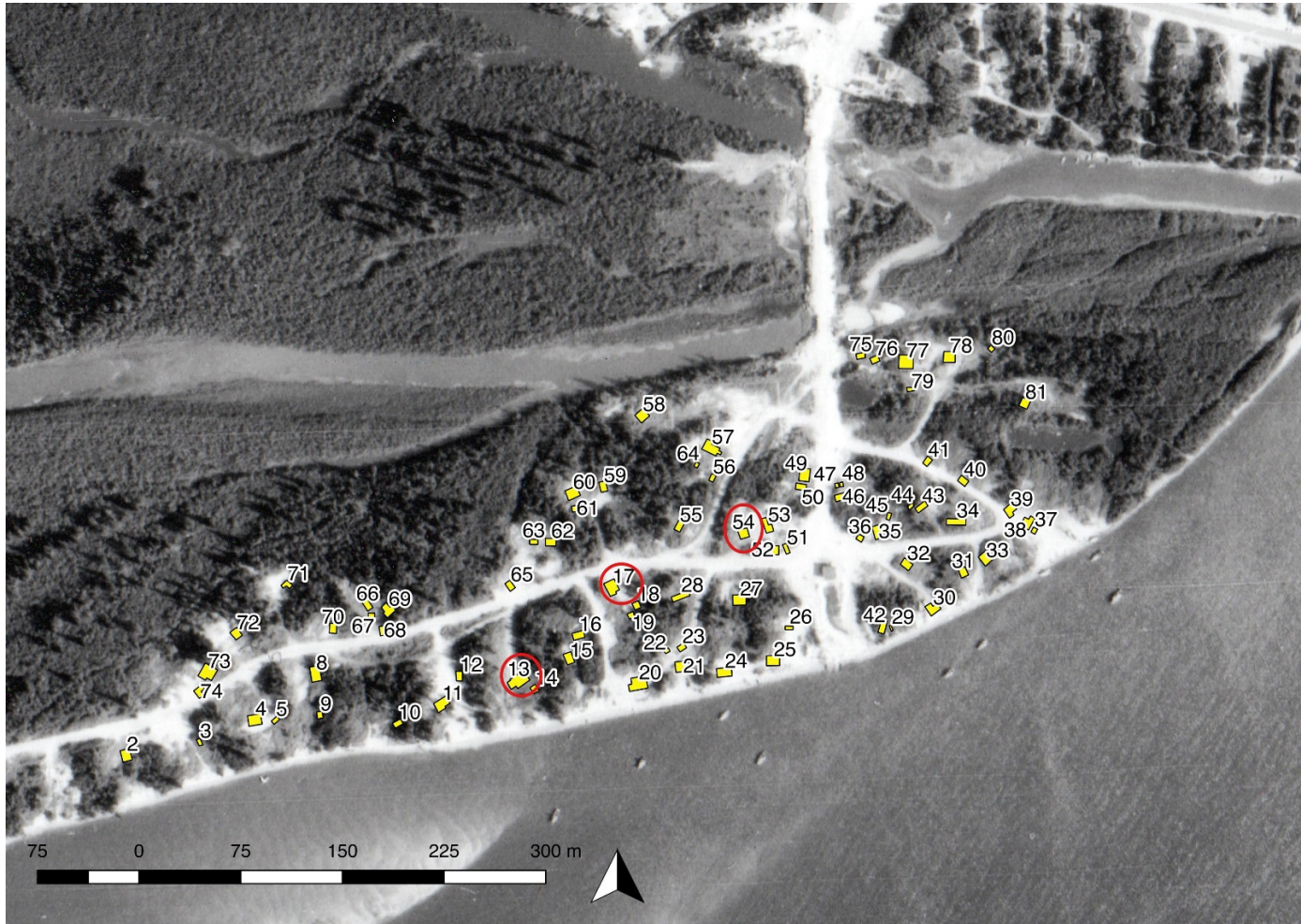


Figure 9 The stores on Birch Island are circled in red. Number 13 is Mary Rich, 17 is Flossie Oliver or White, and 54 is Jack Marten.

Local Subsistence

Subsistence living was a major aspect of life on Birch Island as the population shifted from trapping to wage labour. Residents would sometimes keep gardens, pick local berries, hunt, and fish throughout the year. Typically, gardens would have been planted, near the homes and contained root vegetable staples like potatoes, turnip, carrots, parsnip, and beets along with more seasonal produce like lettuce, cabbage, peas and strawberries (P001; P003; P006B; P012). To store the root vegetables Virginia Moriarty remembers they had a root cellar to keep things cool (P003; P012). Picking berries was an essential aspect of life on Birch Island as a sweet treat and to diversify diet.

Raspberries, squash berries, strawberries, and blueberries would all be collected both on and off the island sometimes berry collecting trips would involve spending the night somewhere along the Churchill River away from home. The berries would either be put in the porch of the house to freeze so small portions could be eaten throughout the winter, or the berries would be made into jam or dessert (P003; P006A; P010; P013). Gardening and berry picking allowed for a diversified diet ensured the continuity of a tradition from previous generations and allowed respondents to spend time with friends and family (P003; P010).

Hunting and fishing for subsistence and to sell furs primarily fell to men; however, women also participated. Birch Island residents hunted a wide variety of animals for food including: partridge, beaver, porcupine, caribou, muskrat, duck, and rabbit (Appendix 1: Photo 16). Hunting was done both away from, and within, what participants consider the Birch Island settlement (P003; P007; P008), and it only

happened as needed; meaning frequent small hunting trips were common to supplement store-bought food (P006A; P007). Some residents of Birch Island took time away from work or used weekends to continue trapping and selling furs for extra income and because they enjoyed aspects of the lifestyle (P002A; P003). It was also possible to buy wild game like caribou from Innu families who traveled through the area (P003). Fishing and to some extent sealing were also prominent. In the Birch Island creeks, pike were plentiful. Participants also went ice fishing near the boat club and the beach in the winter. Nets were placed in the river for salmon, and some would fish for cod and seal closer to the ocean (P001; P004; P005; P006A; P008). To preserve the fish once caught, it would be smoked, dried, or put on ice in the cellar for later consumption (P003; P006A).

Roads & the Bridge

A universal aspect of these interviews is the prevalence of the Birch Island bridge as a means of transport and socializing. This wooden bridge was built with assistance from the Base Commander in 1949 and maintained by Birch Island residents (P002A; P003; P008; P009A; P014) to make access to the ‘mainland’ easier for residents (Appendix 2: Image 4). It is estimated to have been 600 feet long, spanning the two creeks between the island and the mainland. The bridge was, to some extent, an unsupervised space between home and school for children where they played, teased each other, and socialized away from adults (P001; P003; P004; P008; P014). It is remembered as an integral part of the community, and the older participants recall the difficulty of transportation to the mainland by boat or walking over ice prior to the bridge being built (P002A; P007). The bridge was so important to residents that when the ice

pans were flowing underneath it in springtime, the older boys would be taken out of school to hang out under the bridge and push the ice away from the bridge to preserve it (P002A). Crossing the bridge held an element of danger participants remember. The boards underfoot were not always stable, and in the winter if a dog team came across, people would have to jump up onto the rails to get out of its way (P005; P009A). The bridge is still the symbol associated with the Birch Island settlement today, and HWL has printed it on the t-shirts which they sold to raise money for the overall project.

Birch Island respondents rapidly changed in their methods of transportation from the start of the community to the end. Early on, the main modes of transport were boats in the summer and dog teams in the winter. The river was vital for transportation as there were no roads in the Happy Valley-Goose Bay area until they were built by the military. Helen Hickey remembers the creation of a road;

Now we had a lot of friends who went up this road. I remember one friend they were up across up this way – this way, yeah, and they wanted to make a road and went to town council and asked them to make a road over there and they said no they couldn't do that. So of course I shouldn't even be saying this I suppose I'm not mentioning any names but he went and took the dozer one night because he worked with heavy equipment and he come over and took the dozer and went over and made the road and bought the dozer back and parked it right where he got it and there was never a word said. Nobody asked how come that road is there? How did

the road get there but that's the way it was back then you know. Do it but don't tell me you're doing it. A lot of our friends lived up that way.

[P007]

Most people who lived on Birch Island worked on either the American or Canadian Military base and in order to get to and from work every day they would walk up the island to the beach, across the creek, and onto a strip of land on what is known today as 'boat club road'; previously known as Henry's Point (Figure 3). From here the military trucks would come and collect or deposit workers (P002A, Henry Rich personal communication 11/27/17).

As more commercial goods became available, more roads were made, and people began buying cars in the early 1950s (P003). The people on Birch Island who owned cars would park them on the mainland and walk across the bridge to their homes (P005) in the evening until sometime in the 1950s when a causeway was pushed across from Birch Island to the Mainland in the span of a weekend (P003). Unfortunately, this first causeway washed out; but it was well-liked and rebuilt (Appendix 2: Image 5)(Henry Rich personal communication 11/27/17).

Creeks & Rivers

The creeks surrounding Birch Island and the Churchill River have drastically changed since the Birch Island settlement was occupied; to the point some residents no longer recognize them (P015A). Even the name of the river has changed from Mishta-

Shipu, to the Grand River, to Hamilton River, to now the Churchill River (P003). The physical changes of the river are attributed by most participants to the management of the Churchill Falls Projects; (P002A; P004; P012; P014; P015A), but others see it as a natural progression (P008; P013; P015A). Regardless of the cause, all participants have observed changes in the river and creeks near Birch Island.

One of the most marked physical differences between the river during the Birch Island settlement and now, is the erosion that has occurred along both banks of the river (P006B; P008; P011; P014; Henry Rich Personal Communication 10/22/17). One participant estimated it to be 350 feet of erosion (P008). The banks of the river also used to slope into the water more, facilitating pulling a boat up onto the banks of Birch Island (P006AB). The water is now more shallow with more and shifting sandbars and no deep channels (P002A; P006B; P008; P009A; P012; P014). Participants theorize that the increased sand in the river is coming from eroding banks farther upstream and being deposited in this section of the river as the water speed slows. Max Blake remembers when the river was so deep a steamship could come up the river to visit Muskrat Falls (P008;) and Stanley Oliver reports 30 foot motorboats anchored in the Birch Island creeks (Appendix 2: Image 6)(P013). The general fall in water level is associated with the Churchill Falls project (P014).

River & Creek Use

While the water levels were high during the spring, it would cause transportation issues for the residents of Birch Island (P006B; P007; P008). Usually it was the area around the houses that would flood (P001; P006B; P016) and many participants

remember playing in the water, paddling to each other's homes in boats (P009A; P015A), and watching an old home fall into the river and float away with the ice (P006B; P014). The flooding would only last for a couple of days, and then the children would be able to go back to school on their usual route (P003; P006B; P014).

The river and creeks were the heart of transportation and recreation for those living along their banks. Before road connections to North West River, the only way to get medical attention or groceries was by boat or dog team along the river making it the lifeline for Birch Island residents (P015B). It also provided the only transportation link to obtain the necessary firewood, hunting, fishing, and berry picking that sustained the families of Birch Island (P003; P004; P006AB; P008; P009A; P010; P012; P014). Skating was sometimes used for transportation to the other side of the river to hunt as well as for recreation (P004; P008). Often the kids would clear off an area of ice on the creeks to playing hockey using everything from willows and a can or chunk of wood to real hockey sticks (Appendix 1: Photo 20) (P001; P004; P006B; P014). In the summer, the beach at Birch Island was so popular with island residents, and mainlanders a lifeguard chair and changing booths were installed (P006A; P008; P009A). Participants report not going too far out in the river because of the steep drop with multiple drownings remembered on the island (P006AB). As the years progressed the current made it increasingly hazardous to swim at the beach and now signs are posted warning of the danger (Appendix 1: Photo 21)(P016).

Flooding & Ice

Research participants acknowledge that the only time the river used to overflow its banks was in the springtime and this would occur in accordance with ice movement in the river, typically in June. If the ice on the river had not broken up or was jammed near the mouth of the river, then the water level in the river would rise and flood low lying areas. To alleviate this, sometimes the military would use explosives like dynamite to break the ice and release the water into Lake Melville (P004; P009A). Watching the ice in the springtime was a pastime for the Oliver family. Jennifer Lyall and Lillian Beehymer remember the sound of the ice as loud and fast, “beats right through your body the sound goes, you know” (P001; P016). Jennifer Lyall also noted that the ice was no longer so loud and fast after the Churchill River project changed this regular springtime occurrence (P016).

Home & Houses

I mean everybody was poor and if a guy had a good house it was because he was a good carpenter [P002A].

As Hector Blake points out in this quote, the people on Birch Island had to rely on themselves. The houses on Birch Island were built with the wood people cut, what they scrounged from the American dump or an old building, and eventually from what they bought at Snelgroves store building supplies (P001; P003; P006B; P013; P014). John

Crane, Arthur Smith, and George Pardy set up sawmills on the Island during the time of the settlement to cut boards for building (P003; P004; P006B; P010). Houses were built, "...on Saturdays with a pot of soup and a dozen beer because all the friends would come, you know, and that would be it" (P007). Structures on the island were built in sections, so when more space was needed, a new segment could be easily added on (P003; P009A). The houses were small, about the size of a cabin, 15 feet by 20 feet or smaller (P003). Helen Hickey describes her first home's interior, "There was a kitchen and two bedrooms and a porch and then there was another bedroom down off of that..." (P007). The cooking was done and the house was heated with woodstoves initially and as time went on oil heating became popular. Woodward's Oil would even deliver to Birch Island (Appendix 1: Photo 17)(P001; P003; P004; P005; P006A; P007; P009A). Residents used outhouses on the island with only a couple homes putting together their own indoor plumbing (P001; P003; P006A; P007; P009A). Freshwater was pumped from a well under the house into the kitchen, and in the winter it would freeze and have to be primed with hot water before being used (Appendix 1: Photo 18)(P004; P005; P006AB; P007). Families on Birch Island would rent out rooms or extra homes they had for additional income and to make sure everyone had a place to stay (P003; P007; P008; P009A). The physical homes on Birch Island were small, made in off hours, and the building was flexible in that it could be constantly reimagined for additions.

The physical house does not dictate the activities or changes that went on in and around the home, how different individuals modified their living situations or thought about their lives. Participants continually mentioned how they were poor growing up on

Birch Island, but they were happy and did not know anything different. As time went by, the people on Birch Island acquired generators, and some got electricity when it was brought over to the island. As a result, people began getting lights, telephones, and televisions (P003; P006A). On weekends the children would get together to watch cartoons, and even a channel from the United States reached Birch Island (P003; P006A). Despite electricity and some modern conveniences, none of the research participants recalled a refrigerator for food preservation. Instead, families would only acquire food they could use in a short amount of time, preserve surpluses; or, in one instance, they created an icebox;

... in the winter time we had a porch on our house and my husband cut a – did you ever heard tell of – I don't know if you ever probably before your time orange crates they were like wooden crates and there was a divider in the middle of them and he cut a hole in the wall the size of that and he fit one of those in the wall and that was our fridge for the winter time then you know if you had something and you wanted to put it out and keep cold but you couldn't keep it out there too long in the winter time because it was too cold you know things would freeze up...[P007] (Appendix 1: Photo 19).

The people of Birch Island made the best with what they had and relied on their own ingenuity to do so.

Resettlement

...you just feel like that's you're still – that's your home you know that's like Birch Island is still a big part of us. [P016]

The Birch Island community was resettled between 1967 and 1969 (Iverson and Matthews 1968; The Rooms Provincial Archives, St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador, Statistics Federal- Provincial Resettlement Program Community Consolidation Program First Resettlement Agreement (1965-1970) & Second Resettlement Agreement (1970-1975), PANL GF 512 N4 S72 1972, 1975). There is confusion today around why Birch Island residents had to leave their homes and who was making the decisions.

Virginia Moriarty, former Birch Island resident,

...[resettlement] didn't make much sense because we were still going – we walked to school, we went to the same schools, the same stores, the same hospital and it didn't make any sense [P003].

No participant remembers wanting to leave or hearing their parents want to leave the settlement. From a child perspective “Well, I know we had lots of friends it was really good and like when we talked about moving off of Birch Island none of us wanted to move and if we did move then we all wanted to move on the same street and that didn't happen...” (P006B). Reportedly, from a parental perspective, some refused to go near the

island for years afterward due to painful memories (P003). Several participants brought up the fact that the majority of people on Birch Island were First Nations, Inuit, or Métis and that this might be why they were asked to move with reportedly little choice, paid so little, and why the general population of the province does not know about their resettlement (P001; P004).

After resettlement was decided, people began to prepare themselves for the move. This involved either leaving their homes or moving their houses to the mainland (Appendix 2: Image 7). The homes that were left on the island were reportedly burned (P004; P006B; P009A), and the lower end of the island was bulldozed (P009A). Several former residents remember their sheds being burned, one of them with a boat and generator still inside that were going to be retrieved (P004; P006B; P008). If a home was being moved off the island, then it was put up on rollers and pushed by tractor onto the mainland (P001; P007; P009B). On at least one occasion the tractor broke down, and a house was left in the middle of the road for a couple years (P008;). Some people's homes were also damaged or cracked when they moved and required repair (P006B). As part of the move, dog teams belonging to island residents were put down. Some residents cite the increasing popularity of snowmobile as a contributing factor; others mention they had less room for them on the mainland (Appendix 2: Image 8)(P004; P009A). The former residents of Birch Island received \$1,000 per household and then \$200 per person for moving to the mainland (P003; P004; P006B). After the move, a park was put on Birch Island but was not kept up (P001; P013; P016).

Online Survey

Presented below is a summary of the information obtained from the online survey except for house location which is discussed in Chapter 6. The survey questions were a mix of quantitative and qualitative information to understand who survey participants were, and what they remembered. Not every respondent answered every question within the survey which is reflected in some of the result numbers. The quantitative data in this survey is more useful than the qualitative because it allowed us to address a chronology previously ambiguous to us.

Out of eight responses, four individuals agreed residents began leaving Birch Island in 1967. The other four respondents remember people leaving the island between 1964 and 1972. When asked what happened to the structures on Birch Island, three people responded that the houses were moved, one said their possessions were lost on a boat, one responded that their house became dilapidated and was torn down, one said their home was abandoned, one responded that they moved it off the island, and three responded that their home was burnt, and two of them remember their possessions being in the house when it burned. Finally, we asked respondents to share with us a short memory about Birch Island. Out of the 17 responses to the question, nine responses were associated with an outdoor activity, five concerned family, one memory concerned school, one a natural event, and one an accidental death. These memories were overwhelmingly positive. The responses received during this process show the wide variety of experiences and memories individuals carry with them.

The quantitative data learned through this survey was helpful in understanding the chronology of Birch Island and where on the island different families lived. The

qualitative data obtained around memories of Birch Island was sparser but informative about what happened to structures on the island post-resettlement. Qualitative questions are not a medium that lends itself well to this setting. Constructing a written memory for a stranger is different than telling a story to someone in person, which we think resulted in less detailed qualitative data.

Conclusion

This chapter summarized participant stories about life on Birch Island through the overarching categories most participants remembered. Holidays and celebrations, stores, local subsistence, roads and bridges, creeks and rivers, homes and houses, resettlement, and the results of the online survey were all summarized to show the use, habitation, and life that occurred within the settlement. The resulting use map of the area based on this interview information can be found in Figure 10. Throughout these interviews, the theoretical frameworks of memory, landscape, modernity, and grief were pulled to the forefront as prominent lenses for understanding the settlement.

Memory and landscape became intertwined as the changing orientation of the landscape impacted people's ability to recall memories of the settlement. With the change in landform due to erosion, the building of the boardwalk, and the maps created to showcase the settlement, some found it more difficult to recall some details of the past due to the reorientation of the settlement from what they remember. This disconnect between the past and present landscape impacts how past events are recalled and showcases how a space can function as both a memory trigger and inhibit memory recall (Basso 1996:5; Knapp and Ashmore 1999:13-14; Lucas 2005:36).

The theoretical frameworks of modernity and grief are connected through the uncertainty that is associated with the progress rapidly experienced on Birch Island. Modernity is not inherently associated with grief as can be seen in the positive description of the increase in material goods and accessibility evident in the descriptions of Christmas toys and food (Graves-Brown 2013:256; Heath et al. 2017:4; Steffen et al. 2007:617-618). However, grief is evident in the confusion around resettlement and the uneasiness associated with the ecological changes many participants noted (Cunsolo et al. 2011; Kelly and Yeoman 2010:5).

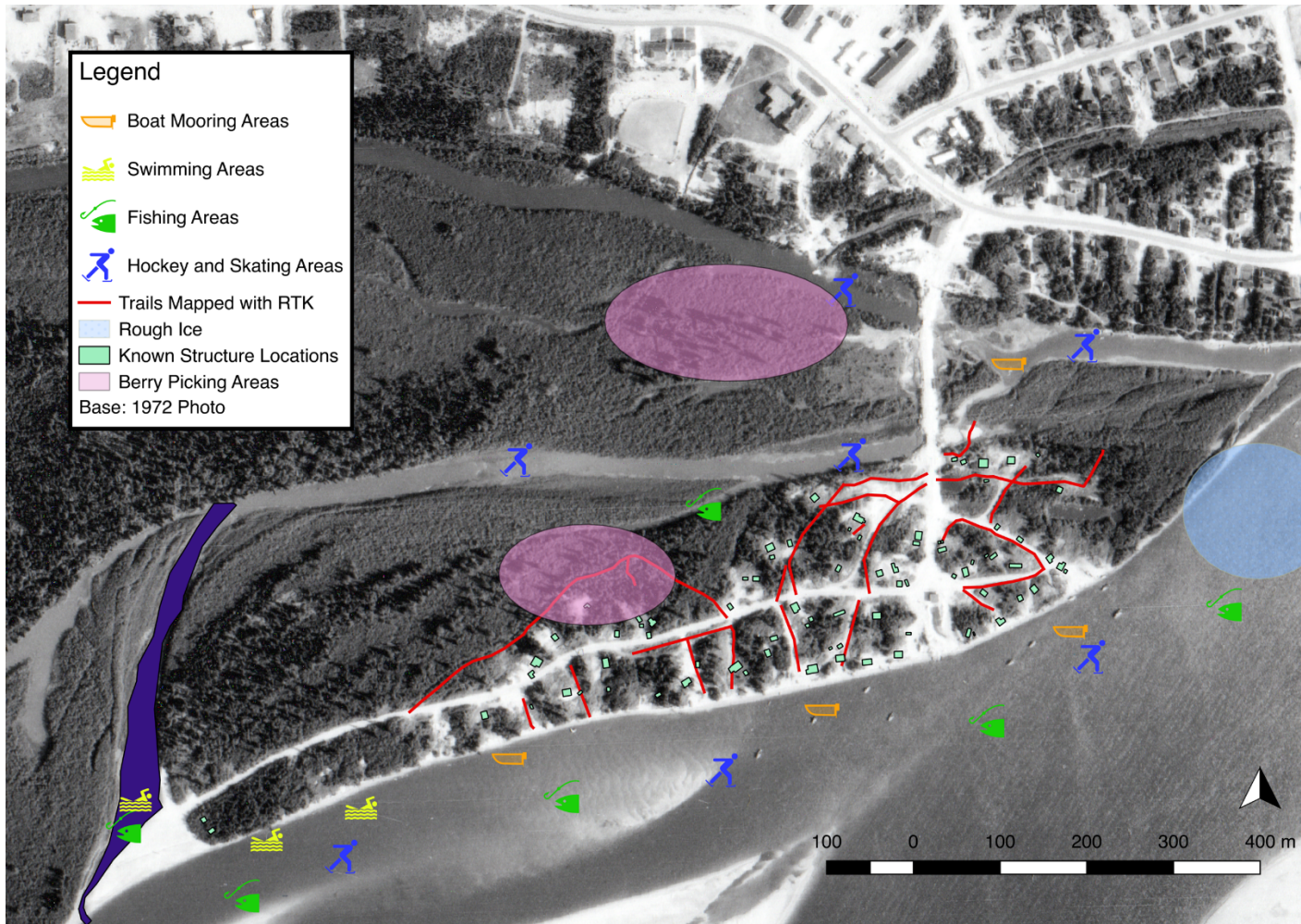


Figure 10 Use Map based on interviews, base is 1972 imagery. (Modified, Courtesy of the Town of Happy Valley- Goose Bay, Image Credit: Julia Brenan, Scott Neilsen, Anatolijs Venovcevs, Hector Blake, Walter Perrault)

Chapter 5: Images and Artifacts

Images and artifacts were collected to inform the broader interpretation of the Birch Island site. This chapter intends to discuss what the images, maps, and artifacts show about life on Birch Island and the surrounding environment. This has primarily been done as a comparison to the present and through the theoretical frameworks of memory, landscape, grief, and modernity.

Images and Maps

Within the following section, the images and maps obtained during this project will be discussed. Photos and maps allow for detailed records of the past, a modern day record, and the possibility of image manipulation to assist in analysis (Clark 2017; Glennie et al. 2013; Johnson 2006:90).

Aerial Photos

The aerial photographs that were obtained for this project span 70 years and illustrate the growth and changing landscape of Birch Island and the surrounding area. These photos were georeferenced in QGIS to recognize locations of habitation and patterns of movement on to the island. It should be recognized that aerial photography often disagrees with the local understandings of landscape as it is a vantage point not usually experienced (Locatelli et al. 2011; Johnson 2006:87-90). No structures are visible in the photos, but the sandy areas that surrounded most structures on the island are visible and aid in identifying areas of habitation and correspond to changes in the vegetation patterns that can be seen today.

The 1947 aerial photo is the earliest imagery we have of Birch Island showing the earliest settlement patterns, roads, and historic environment (Appendix 3: Map 1). What is now considered the main road was not in existence at the time the photo was taken, instead what is referred to as the “Old Truck Road” is the only visible path. No structures are visible, but there are patches of cleared trees along the river and close to the creek that match known structure locations. Habitation areas along the shoreline are no longer visible in the present as erosion has occurred along the Birch Island shore. In the 1947 picture, there are also several ponds visible on the island, one of which is no longer visible in more recent photos and maps. The island is the least eroded in this image, and the creek that surrounds the island is seen within this photo. Another detail visible in the 1947 photo is that Happy Valley is significantly more built-up than the settlement on Birch Island (Figure 3).

The photo from 1972 (Appendix 3: Map 2) was taken about three years after the resettlement of Birch Island and clear markers of the settlement are still evident. What locals refer to now as the “Main Road” of Birch Island is clearly cut and driveways, paths, and other roads are easily seen. In this photo, the road over to Birch Island is also well established. The majority of the known structure locations match with cleared areas on the island. The only structure that is easily seen in this photo is the pump house. When compared to the 1947 georeferenced photo, it is clear that the island has eroded. There are boats in the river close to the shoreline of Birch Island indicating continued use of the area after resettlement. The creek that once surrounded the island is now a trickle, and

possibly seasonally dependent. In this photo, Birch Island has eroded and changed shape. A large sandbar is beginning to form offshore that was not present in the 1947 imagery.

The 1988 georeferenced photo is the only photo in color. The island has continued to erode, particularly at the east end. There is a large sandy area there with a possible structure or boat, but this area has since mostly eroded. The driveways, roads, and areas where structures once stood are becoming overgrown, with the exception of two driveways that lead to several boats anchored close to shore. The sandy area where the pumphouse is has also increased in size since the 1972 imagery. This space is still used to some degree, but with the decrease in activity, the roads are becoming overgrown (Figure 11).

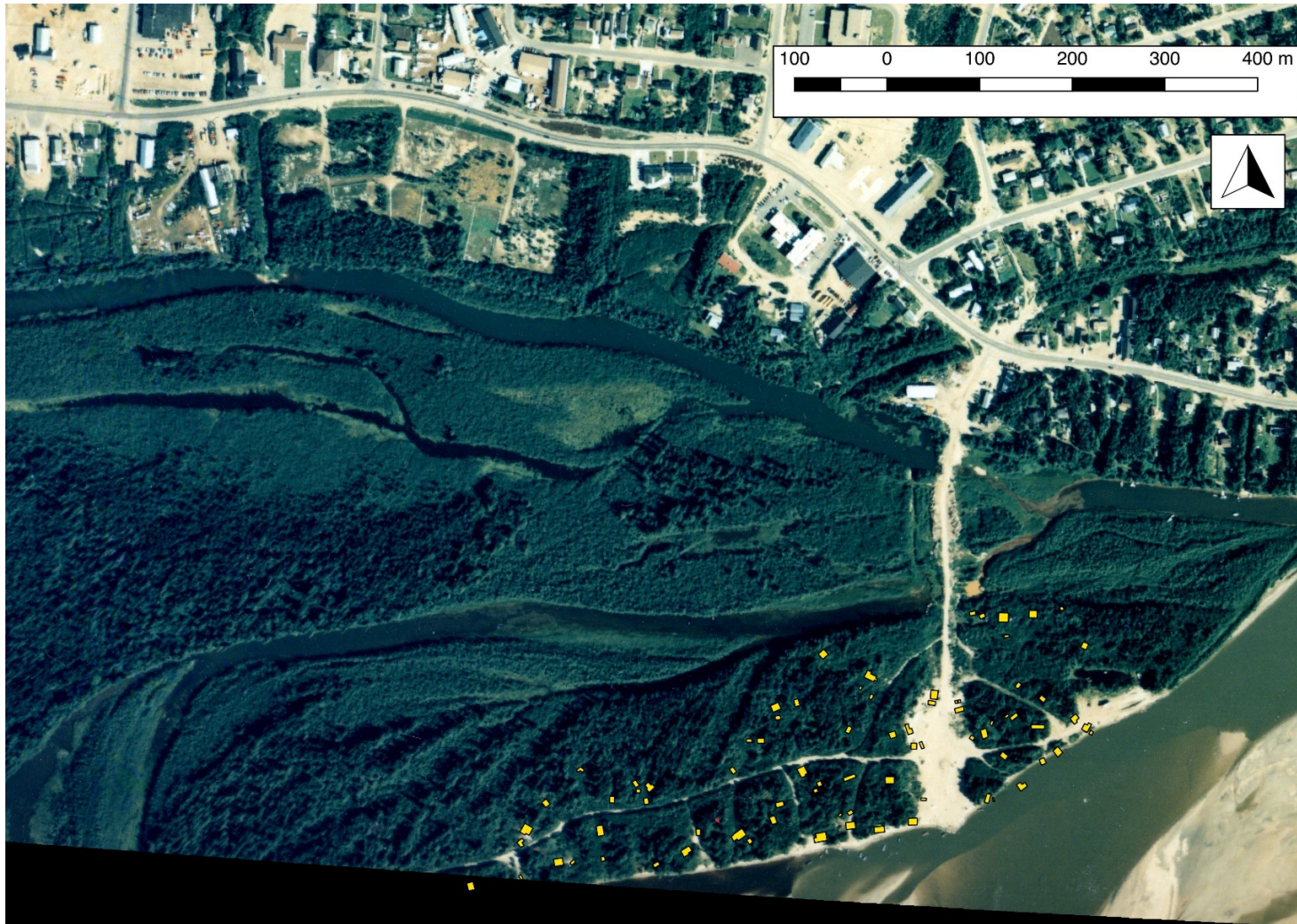


Figure 11 1988 photo of Birch Island, yellow are the known structure locations on the island (Modified, Courtesy of the Town of Happy Valley- Goose Bay, Image Credit: Julia Brenan, Scott Neilsen, Anatolijs Venovcevs, Hector Blake, Walter Perrault)

Historic Photos

Historic photos were requested from individuals, found in archives, and copied from books in order to construct a record of the material culture in use during the time of the settlement. Historic photos can be treated like artifacts, giving us an actual view into the past, collaborating other forms of evidence and allowing for analysis of architecture, space, and object use (Clark 2017; Locatelli et al. 2011:305). The following section examines 35 photos of Birch Island. From these, building materials, architectural patterns, use of space, and everyday items are visible to record and compare to the artifacts documented on the island. This section has been split up into architectural elements, landscape, and lifeways.

The architectural elements seen in these pictures give an idea of the construction material available and the building style on Birch Island. From interviews, we know that building was informal, done by the inhabitants with the assistance of friends and family and that rooms were added to homes as required (P007, P009). This informal type of building is seen through the appearance of additions adding extra rooms to the original structure (Appendix 2: Image 9, Appendix 2: Image 10, Appendix 2: Image 11, Appendix 2: Image 12, Appendix 2: Image 13, Appendix 2: Image 14, Appendix 2: Image 30). Most structures have white siding on them, the foundations of houses were wood, and the living space is slightly raised and exterior stairs can be seen (Appendix 2: Image 11, Appendix 2: Image 17, Appendix 2: Image 9). Not all of the structures have painted siding (Appendix 2: Image 10, Appendix 2: Image 12, Appendix 2: Image 14, Appendix 2: Image 15, Appendix 2: Image 16, Appendix 2: Image 18, Appendix 2: Image 19). The

windows are not uniform between houses which may be due to available goods (Appendix 2: Image 9, Appendix 2: Image 11, Appendix 2: Image 12, Appendix 2: Image 14, Appendix 2: Image 17). In Appendix 2: Image 9, at the top of the house, a ladder can be seen over the peak of the roof, indicating that snow had to be removed regularly in the winter. In some photos, stovepipes can be seen coming out of the roofs of structures further showing the lifestyle of residents (Appendix 2: Image 10, Appendix 2: Image 11, Appendix 2: Image 12, Appendix 2: Image 17, Appendix 2: Image 18). As demonstrated in the photos there was typically a significant amount of cleared space around the structures used to store practical objects like boats, oil drums, and wood (Appendix 2: Image 9, Appendix 2: Image 11, Appendix 2: Image 12, Appendix 2: Image 14, Appendix 2: Image 15, Appendix 2: Image 16, Appendix 2: Image 18, Appendix 2: Image 24).

In some photos telephone or electric poles are visible, indicating that some people had electricity or phone access (Appendix 2: Image 11, Appendix 2: Image 12, Appendix 2: Image 14). In one photo, near the Monemie's house, there are electric or telephone poles that appear to be informal and do not match the treated wood poles put in by the town that are found near the road on the island today. The poles near the house appear to be made from local wood, and the tree knots are easily visible. The tops of the tree poles near the house have wires coming off of them and hold an antenna. In the background of the photo, a more formal telephone or electric pole can be seen just over the house. On top of the formal pole, it looks like one of the informal tree poles has been affixed to the top as an informal extension, from the top of which, a wire is running. This scene shows

the extent to which individuals were going to modify the surroundings on Birch Island (Appendix 2: Image 9).

We are also fortunate enough to have photos of the bridge and road as it was being built. The bridge is a long wooden structure with wooden beams sunk into the ground for support and two cribs. Participants told us that the cribs were filled with rocks, and set in the center of the creek. There is a handrail and secondary rail below it running the length of the bridge. The road to Birch Island also appears in these photos, running roughly parallel to the bridge. The road is constructed of sand with culverts laid where it crosses the creek to allow water to continue flowing (Appendix 2: Image 4, Appendix 2: Image 5, Appendix 2: Image 20, Appendix 2: Image 21, Appendix 2: Image 25).

The physical landscape of Birch Island can be seen in the background of many photos focusing on structures, or in landscape specific photos taken of the creeks and rivers. Overall, the deciduous trees appear young with sparse Larch and spruce trees in clusters and lots of cover at medium height; the forest is still maturing to what it is today. In the space around the structures where there is evidence of working, the ground cover is low and typically grass (Appendix 2: Image 9, Appendix 2: Image 11, Appendix 2: Image 14, Appendix 2: Image 16, Appendix 2: Image 5, Appendix 2: Image 4, Appendix 2: Image 18, Appendix 2: Image 20, Appendix 2: Image 21, Appendix 2: Image 22, Appendix 2: Image 8, Appendix 2: Image 23, Appendix 2: Image 24, Appendix 2: Image 25). The sandy roads and areas around some of the homes are very visible in Appendix 2: Image 25 showing the east end of the island in an aerial photo.

In historic photos of the creeks near the Birch Island bridge, there is observably more marsh present than today. Historic photos show grass-like plants, typically found in areas that flood, and what looks like dogwoods, willows, or alders (Appendix 2: Image 5, Appendix 2: Image 20, Appendix 2: Image 21, Appendix 2: Image 25). The creeks themselves are larger, deeper, and more clear of vegetation than they are today (Appendix 2: Image 5, Appendix 2: Image 26, Appendix 2: Image 27) as evidenced by the boats moored in Appendix 2: Image 6. The changes in the river are less obvious in the photographs, but there are fewer sandbars visible than there are today in Appendix 2: Image 28, supporting participant interviews. The use of the river in winter as a road is seen in the tracks made in fresh snow in Appendix 2: Image 29.

These historic photos allude to the lifeways of Birch Island residents. The connection and reliance residents had with the water and the types of boats they favoured can be seen in the several boats found outside of homes, near the river bank, and anchored in the creeks (Appendix 2: Image 11, Appendix 2: Image 16, Appendix 2: Image 25, Appendix 2: Image 6, Appendix 2: Image 29). Similarly, residents' reliance on wood for heating and cooking can be seen in the woodpiles, photos of cutting, and everyday appearance of wood for fuel within the cleared area around some of the homes (Appendix 2: Image 14, Appendix 2: Image 22, Appendix 2: Image 24). The introduction and influence of oil also does not go unnoticed as oil drums are visible in the background and next to structures in many of the historic photos showing the rise in globalization, and accessibility to goods (Appendix 2: Image 9, Appendix 2: Image 11, Appendix 2: Image 14, Appendix 2: Image 15, Appendix 2: Image 16, Appendix 2: Image 18,

Appendix 2: Image 24). Most of the historic photos taken are from the early 1960s by which time sled dogs were already being replaced with snowmobiles; however, there is one photo of sled dogs on Birch Island tethered in the snow near a fence (Appendix 2: Image 8). There has been a recent push from former Birch Island residents to put their photos online for others to view and comment on, generating conversation about the island and life there, this is further discussed in the next chapter. The photos put on Facebook were not considered for research unless prior permission from the original owner was obtained.

Modern Photos

The modern photos of artifacts created an inventory of refuse still on the island for contextualizing the RTK data, recording new infrastructure, and use of Birch Island (Locatelli et al. 2011:305). One example of an artifact is the telephone, or electric pole (Appendix 1: Photo 22) found near the road on Birch Island that is cut down and has begun to grow moss. The physical landscape changes that occur on the island were documented through photography. An example of this is the ice damage the east end of the island received. During the springtime, there was a significant amount of ice that was pushed up against the bank, and the resulting damage was documented along with evidence of debris that either floated in or was exposed as a result (Appendix 1: Photo 23). The last use for the modern photos was to document the work done on the island and how those that used the new facilities were interacting with them. During our time on the island, we were able to document the building of the boardwalk and other infrastructure

(Appendix 1: Photo 8). We were also able to see the decorations along the boardwalk and the overall change in how people are interacting with the island (Appendix 1: Photo 24).

Historic Maps

The maps acquired from the town of Happy Valley-Goose Bay for this project were an excellent resource that provided information about previous structures and roads present on Birch Island, and how the Town of Happy Valley-Goose Bay interpreted the island during different periods (James et al. 2011; Meini et al. 2014). We also obtained one map through HWL. The maps range from 1950 to 1985 and, within that time-span, the island gets electricity, as seen in the map progression.

The map we obtained through HWL shows Birch Island with roads, paths, structures, and vegetation types. It is our earliest map, dating from the 1950s, and was created by Hector Blake and Walter Perrault who obtained an aerial photograph of the area and traced the image to create a map. It was informative in shaping our methodology because it indicates the location of several structures. It became the basis for our survey of Birch Island and was georeferenced in order to approximate positions for all of the structures present.

The map from 1970 shows Birch Island with no structures. The roads are visible, but no paths are demarcated. The river is labeled here as the “HAMILTON RIVER” and a frog pond that does not appear on other maps is shown close to the river in an area that has since eroded. The creek that former residents remember surrounding the island is shown here fully encompassing the landform (Appendix 3: Map 3).

The map from 1980 shows Birch Island in detail (Appendix 3: Map 4). The cartographer included the paths, driveways, roads, and vegetation growth. Uniquely, this map includes the placement of the electric poles on the island, fenced off areas that do not appear on earlier maps, and areas where structures once stood that are now labeled “RUIN.” Some of these areas labeled “RUIN” do not match up with areas where structures were at the time of the community according to our 1950 map. However, when Henry Rich (personal communication 2018) was asked about this, he said that towards the end of the settlement Innu families had begun to camp in this area. There is also a trail on this map that is not marked on the others.

Even fewer features are recorded on the map from 1985 suggesting that Birch Island had fallen out of regular use. The main road still is present with an access road to the water, and another road around a structure that appears to be the pump house. There are only two structures on the island, one is in the area of the pump house, and the other is along the main road towards the sandbar in an area where there previously were no structures we know of, or saw evidence for. The creek that residents remember surrounding the island is shown here as a merging shoreline indicating water is sometimes present there (Appendix 3: Map 5). No frog ponds or vegetation cover are denoted on this map.

LiDAR Data

The use of LiDAR data within this project gave us the ability to visualize the landscape without the interference of vegetation and the ability to see former stream paths, and roads more easily (Glennie et al. 2013). From the Digital Elevation Models’

(DEM) created, the creeks and their former waterways are easily visible showing the path which with they surrounded the island. The frog ponds are also visible from this imagery despite one of them being more seasonal in the present. The roads and footpaths that appear on the aerial photos and maps are also evident within this imagery and, it guided us to look for patterns on the ground perhaps otherwise ignored. The last thing this imagery allows us to see is the elevation patterns of the island. This imagery was taken in 2014, and one of the most noticeable attributes it shows is the drastic erosion that has occurred on the east end of the island reshaping the island rapidly in comparison to older aerial photographs (Figure 12).

The LiDAR data was primarily, used for public consumption. From this data, we were able to compile a three dimensional model including the terrain, structures, artifacts, pits, and roads were visible (Figure 13). Since the LiDAR data is from 2014, it also illustrates how much erosion there has been and where some of the structures are now (Figure 12). This gives a different view of the settlement spatially to researchers and the public alike.

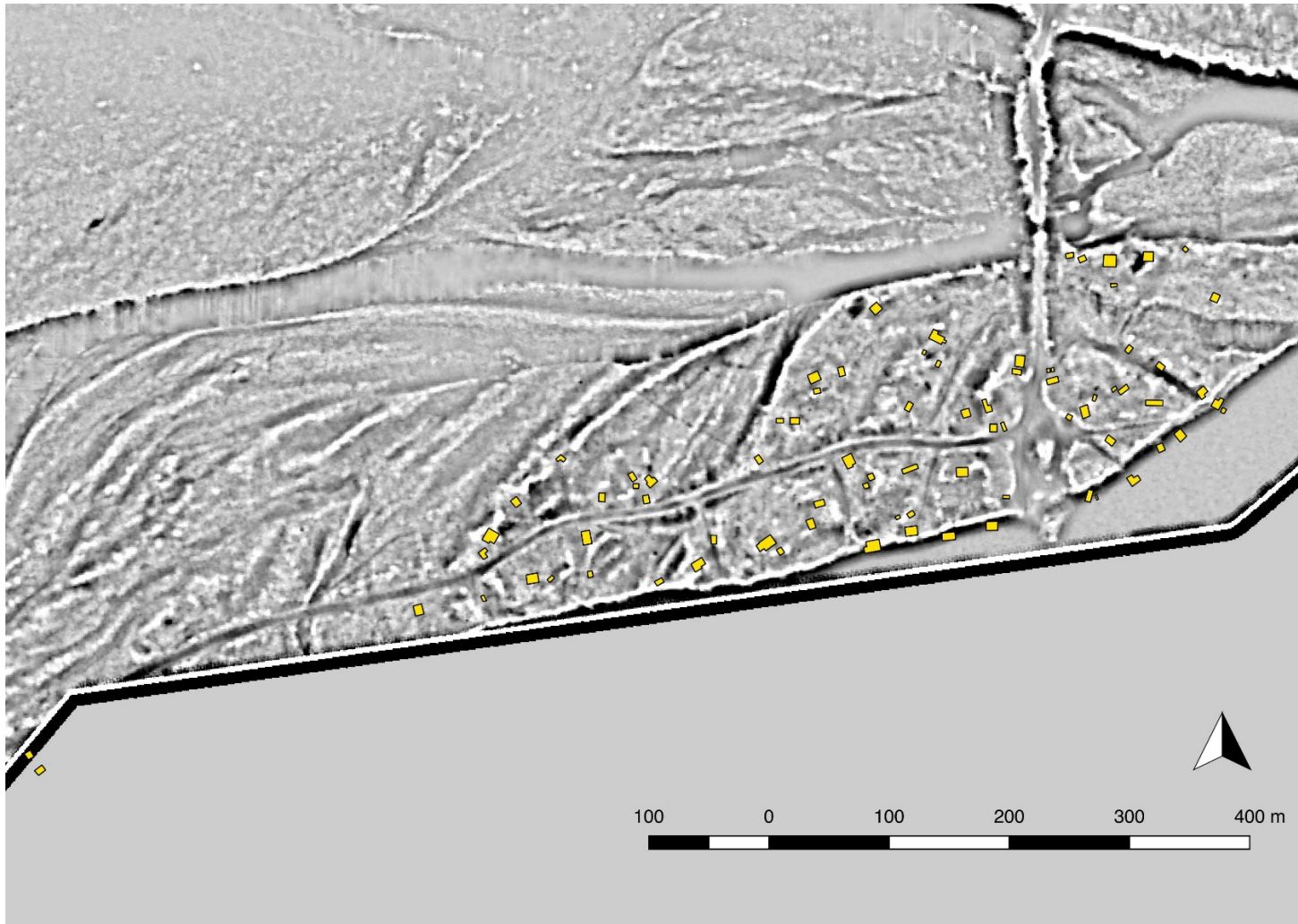


Figure 12 DEM created from LiDAR data from 2014 by Anatolijs Venovcevs. The yellow structures show the erosion of the island since the time of the settlement (Modified, Courtesy of the Town of Happy Valley Goose Bay, Image Credit: Julia Brenan, Scott Neilsen, Anatolijs Venovcevs, Hector Blake, Walter Perrault)

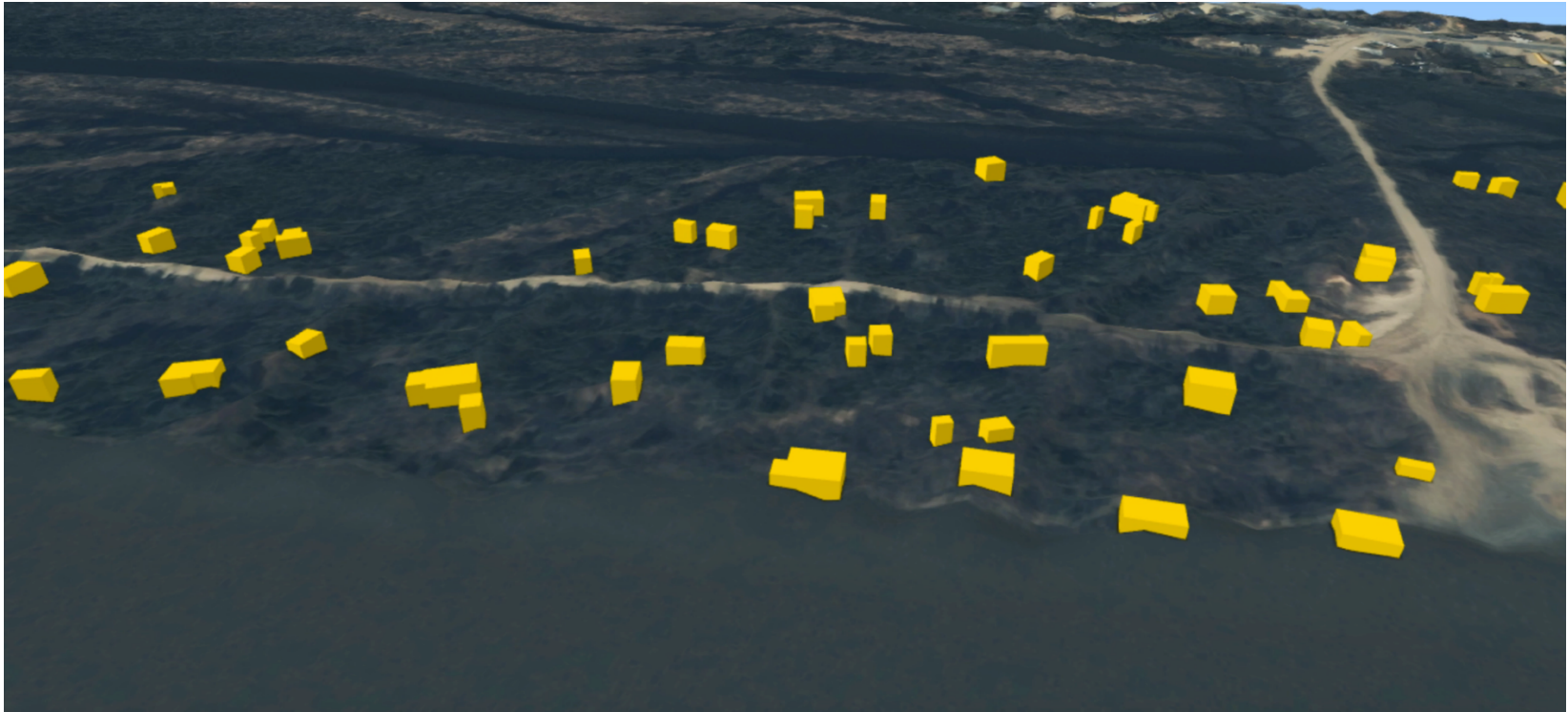


Figure 13 3D model created from the LiDAR data and structure locations, some structures are in what is now the river
(Courtesy of the Town of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Image Credit: Julia Brenan, Scott Neilsen, Anatolijs Venovcevs, Hector Blake, Walter Perrault)

RTK Visualizations

For this project, we undertook a general survey of the archaeological potential of Birch Island, and an RTK was used to record the distribution of artifacts (Ogaja 2011:11, 56, 54; Robinson 2013: 25-26). As a method of recording the data on the island, the RTK worked well for general use, giving accurate information about the location of artifacts and enabled us to group artifacts and features into categories in the field with very little post-processing allowing quick visualization of the artifact distribution. Initially, it was thought that this method, along with artifact identification, would enable a map of settlement patterns to be produced. However, due to the distributions, the margin of error, and uncertainty of where structures and other living spaces were, this was not possible. The RTK survey then serves to record and visualize artifacts and features, the only drawback being thick vegetation causing a greater margin of error.

Artifacts and Objects

The artifacts and objects will be discussed in this section based on the method of recording used: test pit and monitoring, photo survey, and RTK artifact survey.

Test Pit and Monitoring Artifacts:

The artifact analysis of FhCb-10 was done primarily by Anatolijs Venovcevs for an analysis report for sites FhCb-10 and FhCb-11 on Birch Island as part of the monitoring for the Healthy Waters Labrador work on the island (Venovcevs 2017b). Monitoring and test pitting are used to determine the sub-surface potential for cultural material and ensure no cultural remains are being disturbed (Nance and Ball. 1986:458; Toniolo et al. 2015). In this section, I will focus on Venovcevs' findings, and analysis for

FhCb-10 as this is the defined study area. The artifacts analyzed from this site come from a surface collection near structure 9, monitoring as part of the HWL project, and test pitting done at structure areas 10 and 71 (Figure 5). These artifacts allow for a more nuanced view of life on Birch Island and help us to understand what the civilian population of Birch Island was provisioned with at the beginning of consumer culture in Labrador (Cadigan 2007, Venovcevs 2017b: 256). In total 789 artifacts were collected for FhCb-10 with a breakdown of 42.3% architectural, 26% kitchenware, 12.8% indeterminate, 10.5% equipment and hardware, 4.4% furnishings, 3.4% personal, and 0.6% organic. One artifact came from structure area 9, 337 from structure area 10, 444 from structure area 71, and seven from monitoring in the area (Venovcevs 2017a:1-2).

The architectural artifacts consisted of wire nails, shingles, plastic wallpaper, and four large pieces of glass, none of which was dated. No furnishing artifacts could be dated. These consist of a lantern fragment, two rubber mat fragments, 30 tacks or upholstery nails, and two pieces of pressure treated wood. The organic artifacts include five small pieces of mammal bone. The personal items are parts of clothing including a glove and piece of leather, a tobacco tin, a plastic sword, and filters for cigarettes. The cigarette filters are from before the 1970s; the tobacco tin is most likely from the 1940s or 50s. The glove and plastic sword indicate the presence of children in structure 10. The equipment and hardware found on Birch Island consists of charcoal, coal, a fragment of a clothespin, a grommet attached to canvas, an electrical connector and washer, nail clippers, a pencil, a screw, three shell casings, five shooting target fragments, two pieces of strapping, 57 tinfoil fragments, twine, wire, and a wrench. The only artifacts

identifiable were the shell casings with the .22 round from Montreal between 1890 and 1984 and two .50 shell casings, both from New Haven, Connecticut with one shell dated to 1945 and the second found in the area of structure 10 and dated to 1942, the earliest artifact dated on the island. The undetermined artifacts are mostly small fragments of aluminum, cardboard, fabric, glass, metal, milk glass, plastic, rubber, and wood, all of undetermined age (Venovcevs 2017a:3-8; Venovcevs 2017b: 254). For a complete list of all artifacts, please see Table 1 below.

Table 1

Table 1: Birch Island (FhCb-10) Artifacts						
Artifact	Structure 9	Structure 10	Structure 71	Monitoring	Total	Percentage
Architectural		144	190		334	42.3%
<i>Glass Pane</i>		4			4	
<i>Linoleum</i>			47		47	
<i>Nail</i>		76	21		97	
<i>Paint</i>		1			1	
<i>Plaster</i>			2		2	
<i>Shingles</i>		54	50		104	
<i>Tile</i>		1			1	
<i>Wall Paper</i>		6	70		76	
<i>Window Glass</i>		2			2	
Furnishings		22	13		35	4.4%
<i>Lantern</i>			1		1	
<i>Matt</i>		2			2	
<i>Tack</i>		18	12		30	
<i>Treated Wood</i>		2			2	
Kitchenware	1	39	159	6	205	26.0%
<i>Bottle Cap</i>		2	4		6	
<i>Bottle Glass</i>		35	144	4	180	
<i>Can</i>	1		3	1	5	
<i>Carrot Bag</i>				1	1	
<i>Jar</i>			5		5	
<i>Jar Lid</i>			1		1	
<i>Plate</i>		2			2	
<i>Salad Dressing Container</i>			1		1	
<i>Tumbler</i>			1		1	
Organic		5			5	0.6%
<i>Bone</i>		5			5	
Personal Items		14	13		27	3.4%
<i>Cigarette Filters</i>		4	11		15	
<i>Cloth</i>		5	2		7	
<i>Glove</i>		1			1	
<i>Leather</i>		2			2	
<i>Tobacco Tin</i>		1			1	
<i>Toy Sword</i>		1			1	
Equipment and Hardware		58	24	1	83	10.5%
<i>Charcoal</i>		9			9	
<i>Clothes Pin</i>			1		1	
<i>Coal</i>		2			2	
<i>Electric Connector</i>		1			1	
<i>Grommet</i>		1			1	
<i>Nail Clippers</i>		1			1	
<i>Pencil</i>				1	1	
<i>Screw</i>			1		1	

Table 1: Birch Island (FhCb-10) Artifacts

Artifact	Structure 9	Structure 10	Structure 71	Monitoring	Total	Percentage
<i>Shell Casing</i>		2	1		3	
<i>Shooting Target</i>		5			5	
<i>Strapping</i>		2			2	
<i>Tin Foil</i>		28	19		47	
<i>Twine</i>		2			2	
<i>Washer</i>		1			1	
<i>Wire</i>		3	2		5	
<i>Wrench</i>		1			1	
Indeterminate		55	45		100	12.8%
<i>Indeterminate Aluminum</i>			2		2	
<i>Indeterminate Cardboard</i>			2		2	
<i>Indeterminate Fabric</i>		10	1		11	
<i>Indeterminate Glass</i>		4	4		8	
<i>Indeterminate Metal</i>		33	13		46	
<i>Indeterminate Milk Glass</i>		1			1	
<i>Indeterminate Plastic</i>		6	15		21	
<i>Indeterminate Rubber</i>			2		2	
<i>Indeterminate Wood</i>		1	6		7	
Total	1	337	444	7	789	100.0%

(adapted from Venovcevs 2017a)

Artifacts associated with kitchenware consisted of six bottle caps, 180 pieces of bottles and fragments, five jar fragments, one jar lid, two plate fragments, a salad dressing container, a base fragment from a glass tumbler, and five cans and fragments (Venovcevs 2017a: 3-6). The bottles were the most diagnostic of this collection with indicators showing bottles from the manufactures Dominion Glass Company, Consumers Glass Company, and the Owens-Illinois Glass Company. The Dominion Glass Company bottles include a Coca Cola bottle (Appendix 4: Plate 1), a clear glass base (Appendix 4: Plate 2), and a short, brown, stubby bottle (Appendix 4: Plate 3). The stubby and Coca Cola bottle was recovered during monitoring, and the clear glass bottle was recovered near structure area 71. Oddly, for such a large company, all of the Coca Cola bottles came from Point St. Charles, Montreal from a time period between 1954 to 1957. Of the

two Consumers Glass Company bottles recovered during monitoring, one is a Pepsi bottle recovered during monitoring and the other is a square base recovered at structure 10 (Appendix 4: Plate 4, Appendix 4: Plate 5). The Pepsi bottle was identified as being from Ville St. Pierre in Montreal and manufactured between 1920 and 1962. The last bottle with a maker's mark within this collection is green, stippled, and from the Owens Illinois Glass Company's factory in Fairmont, West Virginia. The cursive pattern on the bottom was used until 1964 (Appendix 4: Plate 6)(Venovcevs 2017a:3-6; Venovcevs 2017b:254).

A "Double Cola" can was found during monitoring that lacks a pull or self-opening tab on the top meaning that the can was made before the invention of the pull-tab in 1965 (Appendix 4: Plate 7)(Venovcevs 2017a:5; Venovcevs 2017b:255). The Seminole Flavor Company out of Chattanooga, Tennessee began making the beverage Double Cola in 1933 dating the manufacture of can between 1933 and 1965, or the majority of the time to settlement existed (Venovcevs 2017a:5; Venovcevs 2017b:255). A second dateable can was also recovered during monitoring near structure area 9. It is a Canada Dry can with a tear-drop shaped pull (Appendix 4: Plate 8) meaning it was produced after 1965 and is possibly not part of the artifact assemblage associated with the community (Venovcevs 2017a:5; Venovcevs 2017b:255). A third dateable can is from the Habitant soup company (Appendix 4: Plate 9) which was bought by Cantelli Co. in 1958. As their name does not appear on the can it most likely pre-dates the acquisition (Venovcevs 2017a:6).

Photo Survey Identifiable Artifacts:

The following are the artifacts identified and dated through the photographs taken during the RTK survey done on the island. As this project was intended to be an overall survey, we wished to leave the site intact and did not recover any artifacts during the RTK survey. Instead, photos were taken of the artifacts surveyed, from which we identified and dated 21 artifacts. Allowing us a non-intrusive method by which to gain knowledge of the artifact assemblage present (Locatelli et al. 2011:305). This section includes sub-sections on bottles and glassware, identifiable metal, and noteworthy trends.

Bottles and Glassware

Bottles and glassware were the most diagnostic artifacts from the Birch Island site, with products from the Dominion Glass Company dominating the assemblage with five definite glasswares.

The first bottle is clear glass with the words on the base, “BOTTLE MADE IN CANADA” around the outside of the base with all words legible from a single orientation. The “D” in a diamond is featured in the center of the base with a “4” directly over the diamond, and a dot on the lower left side of the diamond and underneath the diamond is the series “V-7999-C” (Appendix 1: Photo 25, point 428⁹). The “V” was a prefix to mould numbers used from late 1945 to the mid-1950s (Miller and Jorgenson 1986:4) placing the bottle within the time of the settlement. The next specimen is a clear glass bottle that reads “COCA-COLA L.D.” with the “D” in a diamond underneath, a square to the left followed by a dot, a “5” to the right of diamond, and a 2 underneath the

⁹ The points referred to in parentheses throughout this thesis correspond with the RTK data and are present as supplementary information.

diamond (Appendix 1: Photo 26, point 587). The dot to the left of the logo indicates the bottle was made at Point St. Charles, the square indicates the bottle was made in July or August, the “5” on the right indicates the bottle was made in either 1945 or 1955; however, the horizontal and vertical lines began use in 1950 meaning this bottle is from 1955, within the time of the settlement (Lockhart et al. n.d.a 147- 149).

The second is a clear glass bottle whose base reads “BOTTLE MADE IN CANADA” with the letters all right-side-up from the center around a diamond with a “D” in the center. To the left of the diamond is a completed square, underneath the diamond is a “2” and to the right of the diamond is a “2” (Appendix 1: Photo 27, point 141). This bottle can be dated to between 1953 and 1970. The progressive box system came into use in 1953, the box on this bottle indicates it was made in July-August. The Dominion Glass Company trademark changed in 1970 from a “D” in a diamond, to bottle mould with the profile of a “D” in the center. However, some bottles with the old trademark continue to appear into the 70s (Miller and Jorgensen 1986:3-4). The horizontal and vertical lines used to determine what months the bottle was made in were only used from 1950-1969 placing the bottle’s creation within the time of the Birch Island settlement (Lockhart et al. n.d.a 148). The third bottle is what I believe is a Dominion Glass bottle; however, part of the marks on the base could not be traced. It is a green bottle with what appears to be a “D” in a diamond, a 5 to the right of the diamond and the word “SUSSEX” written above the insignia (Appendix 1: Photo 28, point 710). Sussex Ginger Ale was being produced in Dominion bottles around this time period (Pooroldcancollector 2016). We found no evidence of “SUSSEX” being written on the bottom of a Dominion bottle, but the rest of

the markings fit Dominion's pattern. The 5 on the right-hand side indicates that the bottle was either created in 1945 or 1955, unfortunately, there appears to be further markings on the bottle that are not clear in the photograph (Lockhart et al. n.d.a 147-148).

Two Dominion Glass jars were also photographed on Birch Island. The first is clear glass with the "D" diamond logo in the center of the base, a "4" above it, "3610" underneath the diamond, two lines a dot to the left of the logo, and a "6" to the right (Appendix 1: Photo 29, point 438.1). There is no "V" prefix used indicating that the jar is from after the mid-1950s and the dot to the left indicates the jar was made in Point St. Charles (Lockhart et al. n.d.a 149). The two lines to the left of the logo also indicate the jar was made in March or April and the "6" to the right indicates the bottle was either made in 1946 or 1956, most likely 1956 as the horizontal and vertical lines are in use (Lockhart et al. n.d.a 148). The second jar is brown and the most recent Dominion product with this logo in use between 1976 and 1995 (Lockhart et al. n.d.b 207) (Appendix 1: Photo 30, point 660). On the base around the outside of the bottle mould with the profile of a "D" in the center, are the words "MADE IN CANADA" at the top and the bottom "GREEN GIANT OF CANADA L.D." above the logo is the number "14" and below it is "5967". The newer makers mark on the bottom means the bottle is from after 1970. This item has been identified by collectors as a Jolly Green Giant reusable glass canning jar from the 1970s (TheCollectableBug n.d.), showing the continued use of the Birch Island area after resettlement.

The glassware that is not the Dominion Glass Company came from Matthews Wells Company Limited, United Glass Products, the Federal Glass Company, Pepsi, and

Gaden's. The Pepsi bottles were not identifiable by their maker's marks but were ubiquitous enough to mention, and the visible designs were compared to collections found online for a rough date estimate.

The first jar comes from Matthew-Wells Co. and reads "16 FL/OZ" below the shoulder of the jar (Appendix 1: Photo 31, point 248) and "MATTHEWS-WELLS CO LIMITED EST. 90" on the bottom with a three-sided box. The Matthews-Wells Co Limited had plants in Guelph, Ontario and Prince Edward Island. They were best known for their pickles, vinegar, olives, marmalades, sauces, jams, jellies, (Guelph Mercury Tribune 2013). The next glass receptacle has an interlocking "U" and "G" signifying that it comes from United Glass Products Co. (Appendix 1: Photo 32, point 238). The logo was used between about 1921 and 1960 placing it within the settlement time period (Lockhart et al. n.d.c). The company is international and part-owned by the Owens-Illinois Glass Company in the US starting in 1966. It also had ties to English glass manufacturing through the acquisition of Key Glassworks and Johnson Radley (Grace's Guide 2017).

The only white milk glass found during the survey was identified as manufactured by the Federal Glass Company (Appendix 1: Photo 33, point 736). Milk glass was originally invented in late 15th century Venice and is the general term of glass made with tin oxide (Miller 2003). However, this vessel's makers mark consists of an upper case "F" in a shield with the words "HEAT PROOF" above the shield and "USA" inscribed below it. The Ohio based company produced heatproof glass sets from 1959-1966 and then reintroduced them in 1978 (Adler 2012; Bowey 2016). This Federal Glass Company

milk glass is most likely from the time of the community, but there is a possibility it was introduced into the record post-resettlement.

Two Pepsi bottles were also identified, the first reading, “PEPSI COLA” at the base of the neck, followed by, “PEPSI COLA” embossed in the glass at the shoulder, and the final label around the body reading “REFRESHING” “PEPSI (most likely COLA)” “SATISFYING” on a clear glass bottle (Appendix 1: Photo 34, point 921). According to collectors, this bottle’s design matches Pepsi bottles from the 1950s (icollector 2004). The second bottle’s base and part of the body were broken off, and around the body, it simply says, “PEPSI” (Appendix 1: Photo 35, point 594). According to collectors, the design of this second bottle matches with designs from the mid-1960s and early-1970s meaning it is an artifact manufactured after the settlement showing either artifact movement or continued use of the area (Tera Peak n.d.).

Two Keep Kool soda bottles were recorded, a rare Newfoundland product for the Birch Island site. The first is a broken clear glass bottle with a red and white label featuring a seal on an ice pan with “KEEP” as the only visible word before the label is cut off (Appendix 1: Photo 36, point 647). The second bottle is much like the first made of clear glass with a faded red and white label of a seal on an ice pan and the only the word “KEEP” legible (Appendix 1: Photo 37, point 986). The Keep Kool soda brand was owned by the company Gaden’s located in St. John’s. It began operation in 1871 focusing on aerated water and associated products. The company was sold and bought within St. John’s and operated until 1977 when Gaden’s Limited, as it was last known, was purchased by Wometco Enterprises, Inc out of Miami, Florida (Wicks 2002:9-11).

According to collectors, both bottles match designs from the 1940s and 1950s placing them both within the time of the settlement (Wicks n.d). These bottles are particularly notable because they are the only artifacts in the Birch Island assemblage identified as coming from Newfoundland during the time of the Birch Island settlement.

Metal

The metal found on Birch Island is often rusty with few diagnostic attributes visible in photographs. Food receptacles that retained part of their design are dated by collector selling websites providing additional information on the intersection of food and commercial availability. Due to the method of data collection, the most accurate method for dating beverage cans by the types of openings was possible with only one can. The only other dated piece of metal is a Coleman heater.

The first cans are two Klim powdered milk cans found partially buried in the ground and spotted with rust. The first (Appendix 1: Photo 38, point 897) reads from the top of the can down, “KLIM” “TRADE MARK” “POWDERED WHOLE MILK” before the rest of the can is obscured. The second, (Appendix 1: Photo 39, point 911) reads from top down “KLIM” “POWDERED” “MADE IN CANADA” “Borden Company, Limited” “TORONTO” “CANADA.” Despite being made in Canada, Klim was sold throughout the world as part of Merrell-Soule Company, which was then acquired by Borden, Inc. in 1927 (Funding Universe n.d.). Collectors place the graphic style on the can within the 1940s and 50s (Christopher 2013). Klim powdered milk was used to feed infants in the 1940s in Happy Valley-Goose Bay (Tyson 1987: 177). The other identifiable food can found is lard from the Tenderflake brand. According to the manufacturer, traditionally

lard would have been used for pastry dough. The still yellow can reads, “TENDERFLAKE” over the faded words “PURE LARD” and then in smaller blue lettering “CANADA PACKERS LIMITED” and lastly “OFFICE TORONTO, CANADA” (Appendix 1: Photo 40, point 670). It is agreed by collectors that this can is from the 1950s dating another Canadian product to the time of the settlement (KampyVintage n.d.) The Tenderflake company began making lard in 1943 (Tender Flake 2018). Both of these brands reflect the daily consumption patterns of Birch Island residents and suggest the lack of fresh ingredients available to residents.

The most recent identifiable can reads, “PEPSI COLA” with “CANADA LTD OF MONTREAL” as part of a longer unreadable message running along the side (Appendix 1: Photo 41, point 873). The tear-drop pull-tab opening is visible in the photo allowing for a date range from 1965 to the 1980s as it that opening was only in production during those years (Maxwell 1993:105-111). This can straddles the resettlement of Birch Island opening the realistic possibility of continued site use post-resettlement. The last can is known to collectors as a steel military army gas drum although it should be noted that those identifying markers do not appear on the body of the drum. Instead, the center of the barrel is emblazoned with “REUSABLE CONTAINER” as the first line, “DO NOT DESTROY” as the second, followed by “FRAGILE”, then “DELICATE INSTRUMENT”, and lastly, “HANDLE WITH CARE” (Appendix 1: Photo 42, point 953) (lloydstreasures n.d.).

The rest of the cans that were found are consistent with designs collectors agree are from the 1940s and 1950s. These cans include a Red Rose Coffee can (Appendix 1:

Photo 43, point 674) and a Crosby's Gold Star Molasses can (Appendix 1: Photo 44, point 352). The next two artifacts are interesting; the first is a can that reads "LUNCHEON MEAT" and the second line is "PRODUCT OF DENMARK" and then "INGREDIENTS: PORK BEEF..."(Appendix 1: Photo 45, point 352). The second artifact is also a Lunchmeat can that reads "LUNCHEON MEAT" and the second line is "PRODUCT OF DENMARK" and then a photo of the meat is also on the can (Appendix 1: Photo 45). These artifacts show a shift in commercialization and availability with the luncheon meat cans coming from a European market.

Larger metal objects on the island were often so rusted that they were unidentifiable or they were taken apart with few recognizable parts leaving little to be identified. The metal object with the most identifiable markings is the Coleman Oil Burning Heater (Appendix 1: Photo 46) found along the route of the boardwalk closest to the Churchill River. It still held an identification plate identifying it as a "Coleman Oil Burning Heater" "Can. Patent No. 314622" "Made in Canada" "The Coleman Lamp and Stove Co. Limited Toronto, Canada." The Canadian Patent for the stove was filed in 1931 at the Canadian Intellectual Property Office showing the movement of Canadian goods, the possibility that it was present at the time of the settlement and it aligns with the oil heating participants recall on the island (Canadian Intellectual Property Office n.d.).

Other metal artifacts that could not be specifically dated were identified and show additional lifeways and disposal from possibly the past and present. First, furniture or bedding springs can be found in four separate locations on the island (Appendix 1: Photo

47, point 658.1) points 449.1, 485.6, 924.1). Secondly, what appear to be 11 bed frames can be found on the island, often associated with berms or pits (Appendix 1: Photo 48, point 214.1) (points 348.1, 350.1, 366.1, 369.1, 370.1, 386.1, 658.1, 774.1, 1019.1). These heavy pieces of metal show possibly what was done with heavy or bulky items during the resettlement process, since several of them are partially buried within berms I do not believe they were dumped post-settlement but were left when people moved, and then buried by bulldozer or structure collapse.

Due to Birch Island's proximity to the mainland, it was often used for dumping after resettlement. The artifacts that follow are of undetermined date but were possibly present on the island at the time of the settlement. On Birch Island two motorcycles were recorded, one Yamaha and the other is of an undetermined brand but due to the early inconsistency of serial numbers no date could be found (Appendix 1: Photo 49, point 195) (point 680.1). Next, five bicycles were recorded throughout the island. Only one held a visible mark, "Made in England," showing a new trade network. However, this bicycle was possibly connected with the base with which the British were involved (Appendix 1: Photo 50, point 524.1 Appendix 1: Photo 51, point 497) (point 459.1, 686.9). There were four or five cars and one possible early snowmobile recorded during the RTK survey on Birch Island with several more being pulled out of the sides of the bank during the bridge and culvert work done by HWL (Appendix 1: Photo 52, point 952) (point 156.16, 244.1, 245.1, 267.1, 909.1). The cars found during construction were most likely there for bank stabilization, according to participants. The vehicle at 909.1 is possibly a car, but it also resembles an early snowmobile (Appendix 1: Photo 53). Due to

the method of data collection and lack of obvious datable markers, we do not know if these items are contemporary with the settlement or dumped post-resettlement, but they do offer a look at the types of transportation used in Labrador's recent past.

Miscellaneous

The majority of the identifiable artifacts found during the Birch Island RTK survey were either glass or metal and could be roughly identified. However, some artifacts did not fall cleanly into either of these categories. Among this assemblage was a gas can specifically used for boats found at point 934 (Appendix 1: Photo 54) and a wooden boat of undetermined age that an interview participant showed us (Appendix 1: Photo 55). The boat was in pieces scattered nearby and practically buried. It is relatively close to the modern shoreline but is potentially from much earlier. Along what would have been the enclosed cabin of the ship was a series of wire cut nails interrupted by what appears to be an older nail of undetermined age (Appendix 1: Photo 56). This amalgamation of time period specific artifacts shows the continued use of the area and the reuse of items on Birch Island. Both objects show the use post-resettlement of the area as essential for water accessibility.

Evident within the general assemblage are five children's items, two found within the context of a test pit near structure 10 and the rest identified during survey (Venovcevs 2017a:7; Venovcevs 2017b:254). During the pedestrian survey in 2016, a doll of undetermined age was photographed (Appendix 1: Photo 57). The test pits near structure 10 yielded part of a child's plastic sword and a child's glove (Appendix 4: Plate 10, Appendix 4: Plate 11)(Venovcevs 2017a:7; Venovcevs 2017b:254). From the RTK

survey a rusty child's sled was recorded in the settlement (Appendix 1: Photo 58, point 951), and a plastic motorcycle (point 144.19) on the edge of a marshy area near the settlement. All of this indicates the presence of children not only directly related to structures, but also outside of the settlement area.

Lastly of note is the plastic found on the island. During the time of the community, consumer goods were on the rise as was the availability of plastic. The plastic we came across during the RTK survey was assumed to have floated in or was deposition in the area post-resettlement. However, during the RTK survey, monitoring, and test pitting, plastic was found within the context of the settlement period causing us to reevaluate our previous assumptions of the availability of plastic goods during the time period. Unfortunately, we were unable to date any of the plastic identified to be within the settlement period.

RTK Artifact Survey

The second collection of artifacts on Birch Island comes from the RTK survey and photo record taken in 2017. The RTK results are a data set of what and where features, construction, and artifacts are on the island within a margin of error (Ogaja 2011:11, 56, 54; Robinson 2013: 25-26). All artifacts and features were split into general categories by material or type and photographs were taken. Following is the total artifact and feature breakdown of what was surveyed on Birch Island using the RTK.

The RTK survey produced 751 individual artifact points, and the number of artifacts on the island increases to 1045 when artifacts associated with pits, paths, the top of slope, and those identified through photos in the 44 debris extent areas are also

included. Due to shifting artifacts and vegetation cover, these numbers are only a snapshot of the artifacts and archaeological potential of the island. Out of 751 individual artifact points, we identified 122 cans, six concrete artifacts, three pieces of ceramic, 77 glass bottles, three pieces of undetermined glass, three oil drums, 48 structure points, three pieces of window glass, 92 miscellaneous artifacts and fragments, and 385 pieces of miscellaneous metal.

Conclusions

These artifacts offer a snapshot of Labrador life at a time of rapid adjustment and new access to goods, allowing us to see fragments of everyday life otherwise inaccessible. Through the variety of artifacts, we can see intangible behaviours, like, people were using the area for access to the water, and oil heated stoves which require less of the natural resources in their immediate surroundings. There is strong evidence of children present on this site through their toys, clothes, and powdered milk confirming that this is a family setting. The artifact assemblage also shows the continued use of the site post-resettlement.

Birch Island is an excellent transition site to view the rise of commercialization and access to goods from outside of Labrador. There is evidence of buying food in the cans and bottles that are ubiquitous around the island showing an increase in the use of processed food which reflects changing diets. Access to a wider variety of products is also noticeable, and this transition to reliance on outside food is evident today. Only the two Keep Kool soda bottles found on the island were produced in Newfoundland at the time despite Newfoundland and Labrador being a single province and, during the early

part of the settlement, their own country. Out of the identifiable artifacts, the majority are from Canada with some from the United States, and two cans from Denmark with English labels. This shows that Birch Island did not have material ties nor did it rely on Newfoundland for goods and services (Heath et al. 2017: 2; Steffen et al. 2007:617-618).

Chapter 6: Discussion

The previous two results chapters have focused on summarizing the data obtained throughout this project. The intent of this final chapter is to discuss the intersections and interpretation of the data previously summarized. The discussion chapter is intended to bring all methods of inquiry together for a robust interpretation of the past concerning economics, the material past, memory, Facebook, and present day Birch Island.

Artifacts, Archives, and Interviews

Through modernity, globalization, and the growing accessibility to disposable life-ways post-1945 the lifestyle of Birch Islanders changed dramatically. The technological and material explosion that occurred globally with WWII occurred on Birch Island alongside more traditional life-ways causing residents to marry the two in unique ways of life within living memory. The following sections address the economic policies that influenced the island, the nuances of artifacts and features recorded, and the disposal of goods and materials during the time of the settlement.

Access and Economic Policy

Birch Island is uniquely poised at the junction of modernity and with this, a changing material culture. As addressed in Chapter 2, Upper Lake Melville rapidly shifted from a subsistence and fur trapping way of life to one based on wage labour, interconnected to the global economy.

This shift to modernity with greater access to goods occurred with the building of the base and was again renegotiated when Newfoundland and Labrador became part of

Canada. With the opening of the U.S. and Canadian Military bases in the area, there was a quick influx of goods and pre-packaged food to supply the new workforce which replaced some of the food Labradorians would have traditionally hunted, fished, and collected. Isaac Rich (1987:33) in *Them Days* talks about the change in diet he witnessed in the people around him from wild meat consumption to the younger generation eating Kraft Dinner, showing the fast commercialization and globalization of the Labrador diet. This is corroborated by the few animal bones found on the island and the abundance of cans, some with labels of processed food like luncheon meat still visible.

The only artifacts on Birch Island identified as coming from Newfoundland were the Keep Kool Soda bottles referred to in Chapter 4, indicating few Newfoundland goods were coming to Labrador. There were significantly more artifacts identified as coming from the United States and Canada, presumably through the military base. These artifacts show an inconsistency in Newfoundland and Labrador economic policy at the time as stipulations were put in place to encourage local labour use by foreign military entities, but not local manufacturing. The building of all bases throughout Newfoundland and Labrador were negotiated with the United States, Canada, and Great Britain. The Newfoundland Government specifically stipulated a requirement for local labour to be used as much as possible by the foreign countries (Canada and Newfoundland.

1944. Memorandum of Agreement between Canada and Newfoundland Relating to the Establishment of an Air Base at Goose Bay, Labrador: Signed at St. John's, Newfoundland, October 10, 1944. In Force October 10, 1944. Treaty Series, 1944; No. 30. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1947; Kennedy 1995:176; Zimmerly 1975:232). However, as

can be seen with the Keep Kool bottles, these economic benefits were not extended to the food and manufacturing sectors of the province, with no stipulation for the use of other local goods and services.

The second economic oddity was that, despite having little access to provincial goods, the Upper Lake Melville Area was still subject to Newfoundland and then Canadian regulations. Locals were taxed for buying things through the U.S. and Canadian Military Base. An early complaint for the Rangers was that people were not paying duty. Local Robert Davis remembers buying through the Sears Roebuck catalogue. “We could almost get more than we can these days...It used to come in to the Americans and they were good enough to let us buy some things from their catalogue until the Canadians got organized and cut that off... (Golder 1969b:20)” (Zimmerly 1975:236). The informal networks for obtaining goods were shaped by the economic policy of the time. In 1949, the province joined Canada, and the RCMP took over the area again reshaping the economic landscape in Labrador, most notably, the price of alcohol tripled causing discontent for some (MacDonell 1967:12).¹⁰

The Nuance of Artifacts and Features

This project puts us in the unique position of finding artifacts or features and being able to ask research participants or look back in the archives to find out what they are and their possible functions. The use, re-use, and now debris present on the island

¹⁰ “[Labradorians] Being citizens of the Crown Colony of Newfoundland, they must pay duty on all Canadian or US goods, and they were not allowed to buy at the low-price, duty-free commissary. Fortunately, many [servicemen] recognized this unfairness. They scrounged materials for their Labrador friends and bought food for them at the commissary. Generously, they bought bottles of whisky for some of them too, which added to the problems.” [Merrick 1987:74]

speaks to the global network of goods accessible to Birch Islanders, but also the adaptation of goods to secondary uses as well as the negotiation between past traditions and commercialization of Labrador. Artifacts recorded on the island for which we were able to gather more refined knowledge of their use are as follows. Concentrations of machine or car parts scattered and rusted throughout some structure areas. No interview participants, remembered cars being repaired on the island, but Lillian Beehymer explained that they were probably boat parts. She recalls people working on their boats on the island (P001). The Them Days archive was used to contextualize some of the ceramic and glass debris found on the island. Marion Crane Blake (1992) mentions that girls were given empty bottles, cracked plates, and cold cream jars to play house with. Several of these were found on the island (Appendix 1: Photo 59)(Blake 1992:57). Square metal containers were recorded on the island and there is no unique indicator on the body of the vessel allowing for identification. However, Hector Blake recalls these containers associated with American Forces issue cooking oil. Once the oil was used, the end of the container would be cut off and used as a food bowl for dogs (Hector Blake personal communication 12/13/17). The 45-gallon oil drums recorded on the island were used to store oil next to homes (P006A).

Due to the remnants of poles, wires, and electric poles indicated on a 1980 map, we also inquired about the use of electric or telephone poles (Appendix 3: Map 4). Not everyone remembers this introduction, possible due to their age at the time of introduction, when they left the island, or proximity to the amenities. Those who did remember said that electric lighting in homes was common for those who had access to

generators, but when the generators were turned off for the night, the island was pitch black and difficult to navigate without a flashlight (P009B). Electricity on the island would have provided the opportunity to have lights on in the evening independent of a generator, and no doubt influenced movement during the night. Access to telephones on the island was not evident in the material record beyond the cut poles observed, but information about communicating was supplemented with interview information.

Virginia Moriarty recalls getting a phone in their home at Christmas for their grandparents to call (P003). Others recall having the option between a party line and individual phone number for the house (P009B). In historic photographs, there is additional evidence of electric or telephone infrastructure in the background of Ben Monemie's house. In the photo, a stripped tree has been attached to the top of the telephone pole with wires coming off the tree in a different direction indicating that Birch Island residents were molding formal infrastructure to their surroundings (Appendix 2: Image 9).

During the 2016 pedestrian survey of the island, we frequently came across features of unknown origin that we were able to ask former residents about. The first feature included two pits directly next to each other. In asking research participants, we were informed that often there would be what is known as a 'double outhouse' that consisted of two holes dug next to each other (P007). Also during the pedestrian survey, we came across berms with heavy pieces of metal, possibly bedframes, protruding from the soil. In talking to interview participants, we were told that the houses left on the island were burnt or bulldozed, which may explain the presence of these berms (P006B;

P004; P008; P009A). Lastly, on several occasions interviewees remembered flooding occurring on the island, but not usually coming inside the house (P006B; P004; P001; P007; P003; P005), leading to the possibility that many of the flat, raised, berms, that exist on Birch Island are potentially the former structure locations. Unfortunately, consistently documenting berms with metal, and flat raised berms was not built into our methodology, and the LiDAR data is too coarse to address the theory specifically, but it is a possible area of inquiry for future work on the island.

What happened to garbage and structures?

As part of this project, the question of garbage disposal and structures post-resettlement came to our attention and was inquired about during the interview portion of the project. The question “What happened to your garbage?” was specifically asked in the interview process resulting in a wide variety of answers. Several people did not remember that aspect of life. Garbage disposal on the island seems to have varied depending on family, season, and the time period the participant is most familiar with. Most agree that garbage was generally burned or taken off the island. Hellen Hickey remembers burning garbage in the stove, one anonymous resident (P004) recalls the garbage being burned and then buried near the house, and Jennifer Lyall mentioned that one year some of their garbage was put onto the Guy Fawkes Bonfire (P004; P007; P016). Several participants also mentioned that it was taken off the island and dumped elsewhere, Anonymous (P006A) and Helen Hickey (P007) think it may have gone to the base, and Lillian Beehymer recalls it was taken off the island and burned on the mainland (P001). Henry Rich remembers placing garbage on the ice in the winter to be washed out

with the spring thaw, and Helen Hickey recalls garbage in some cases just being left by the door of the house to rust (P007; P009A). Jack Martin would also accept recyclables at his store in exchange for 2 cents (P006B). As the banks of Birch Island changed with the river, there was an effort to prevent erosion and garbage, such as old cars, became fill (Appendix 1: Photo 60)(P014). Eventually, there was actual garbage collection on the island, and residents no longer had to take care of their own disposal (P006B; P009B).

From the pedestrian survey, it is not evident what happened to structures on the island when the community was relocated. Interviews with participants and archival sources were helpful in determining this. From interview and archival sources, we know individual homes were physically moved off the island in many cases using rollers and a tractor (P006B; P001; P008; Henry Rich personal communication 11/27/17). Of the structures that were left, lumber and other items were removed and taken with people to be reused where they resettled. Lastly, there are several reports of structures being burned down and the lower end of the island being bulldozed post-resettlement (P006B; P004; P008; P009A; Goudie 2011:7). This would leave very little material trace on the landscape, but perhaps inform further inquiry into the berms throughout the island as either former structures or places where they would have stood.

Through these multiple areas of inquiry, the impacts of modern economic policy influencing accessibility, the changing and amount of material culture, and the physical removal and destruction of structures have been influenced and implemented by the theoretical framework of modernity. The structure of globalization represented on Birch Island can be seen in the way the artifacts, archives, and interviews built on each other to

assist in detailed and nuanced view of life on Birch Island (Graves-Brown 2013:256; Heath et al. 2017:4; Steffen et al. 2007:617-618).

Memory in Action

...I'm just telling you what I remember. I'm not saying all this as gospel 'by, I'm just saying that is what I remember. [P014]

Memory is the dynamic activity of remembering the past, and it occurs within the context of a person's present political, economic, and cultural surroundings. It is a true process in the sense that it is an individual's truth (Keeling and Sandlos 2015:16), but not necessarily an objective one as individual's truths can often be in conflict. In these cases, presenting the facts and allowing the viewer to interpret or acknowledge the difference is important. This section looks at memory within the context of understanding who lived where and what has influenced memory.

Where did you live?

Initially, we assumed there was not a significant amount of movement on the island and that families generally stayed in the same area throughout the settlements' existence - this is not the case. Families moved, rebuilt, rented structures, and there is even one mention in an interview of a mobile home. Assigning areas to individual families is a difficult endeavor that proved increasingly challenging with contradicting information from sources and limited knowledge of structure locations throughout the time of the settlement. In addition to people moving, the island's shape has also

significantly changed over the years due to erosion. We also attempted to get information from individuals as opposed to groups of people so that memories were not swayed by a dominant individual in the group, but this was not always possible as groups sometimes filled out this aspect of the survey together. Over the course of this work one of the maps with the structure area numbers was put on Facebook and two out of the eight individuals in the online survey who responded to the online survey saw it and either tried to correct it or mentioned it within their answers. As a result of this, we chose to record the information from Facebook and include it here. The general areas individuals lived in are correct, but it is remembered differently by different people based on their frame of reference and time period they are most familiar with. All of this data will be available through the local archives for public access at the completion of this project.

Facebook and Mapping Interactions

Facebook has played an unanticipated role within this project. The map shared with interviewees to assist with structure identification, ended up on The Goose Bay History (2007) Facebook page and many individuals who did not contact us to participate in the research commented on Facebook. The information from the public Facebook site was collected in aggregate and is not associated with individual names. The majority of the posts on Facebook were not about correcting previous information. Instead, people asked questions, explored the past, and reinforced memories. This group was monitored by the research participant who posted the picture, and it was interesting to watch individuals interact in this format, talking amongst themselves about different people who lived in different locales. Some individuals posting kept coming back to the idea that the

list of people who lived on the island that was displayed with the photo was not complete, and that there were structures missing. The research participant who monitored the post explained that the target was to collect data from the time of resettlement. This was not our initial goal, but this clarification on how our research was being perceived is important to note. These posts provided a lot of information, but because the conversation was amongst other individuals who lived on Birch Island, it was often clear there were parts of the thread not meant for those outside the community to understand. Only a couple of the individuals who engaged in this post filled out the online survey or contacted us. These Facebook threads formed a kind of collective consensus, as opposed to confrontation, about memory. There were a number of edited posts where a memory was slightly tweaked to match the result of the conversation indicating that those involved in the conversation saw this as a record of the past and were aware of other people reading it.

House Numbers Map

In an attempt to present the data of who lived where on the island accurately and inclusively we have decided to amalgamate the information collected from individual interviews, the online survey, and Facebook into one map. Since we do not know where all the structures on Birch Island stood over the course of the settlement we thought it was best to split up the island into areas of habitation as opposed to assigning families and people to specific structures in an effort to be more inclusive and realistic with the data available (Figure 14). This is in an attempt to recognize how often people moved, rebuilt, and rented homes while trying to present the data accurately.

It is abundantly clear that this work is not complete. It could be a focus onto itself to accurately pinpoint where structures were built, moved, abandoned, and who lived in them. As this project was an overall survey of Birch Island this specific line of inquiry was more to capture a general data set. There was far more movement, interaction, and migration on and off the island than initially anticipated showing the complexity of the settlement with regard to who it was attracting, the social ties residents had, and the swift ability of residents to establish an area as home.

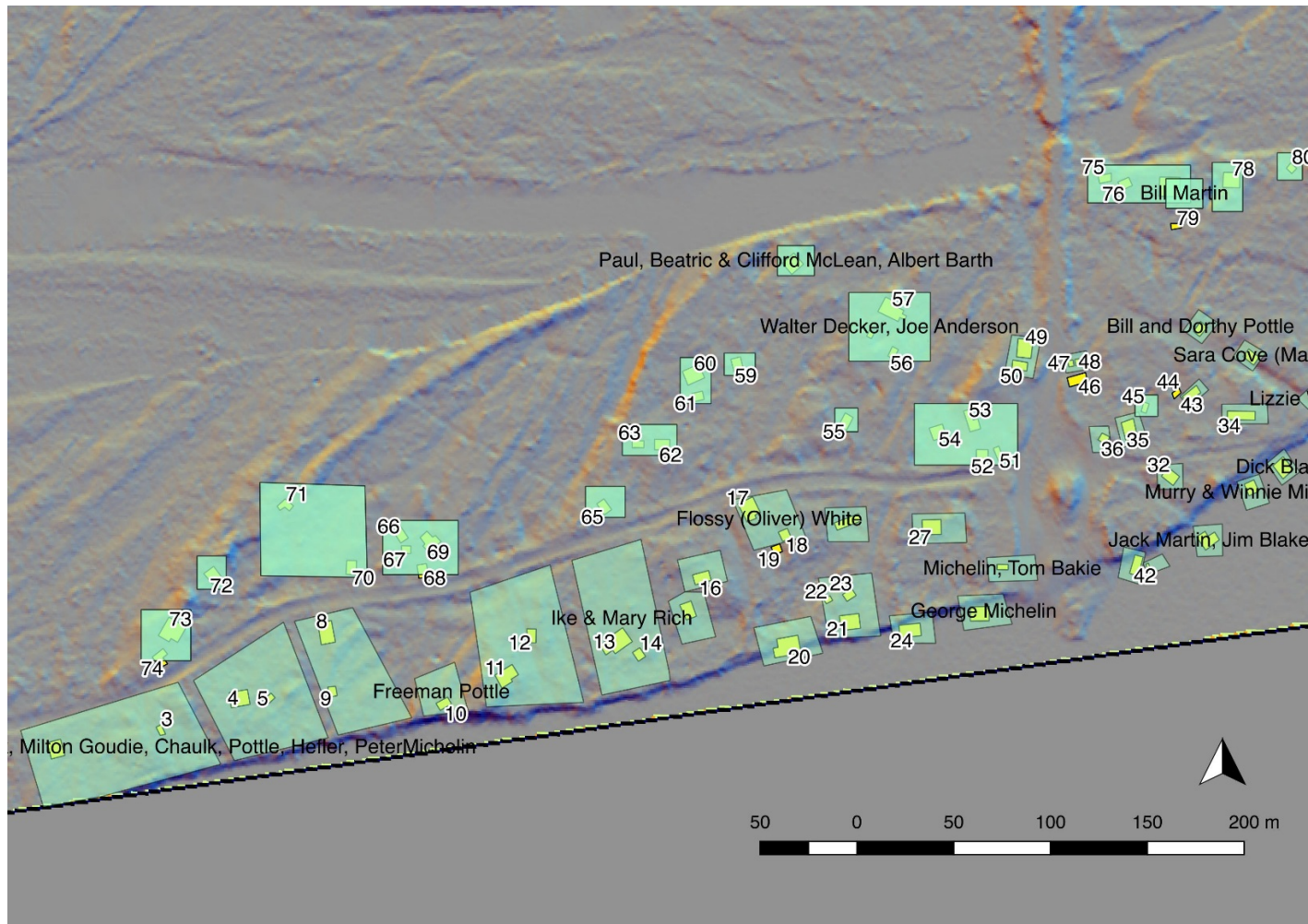


Figure 14 Habitation Areas in green imposed over the known structures in yellow and a hill shaded DEM of Birch Island (Courtesy of the Town of Happy Valley- Goose Bay, Image Credit: Julia Brenan, Anatolijs Venovcevs, Scott Neilsen, Hector Blake, Walter Perrault)

Creating and Enforcing Memories

Throughout the interview process, it became clear that individuals were sharing more than just their personal memories with us, but also including what they had heard, read, and been told about the island by others. Often the sources were older generations, peers, historic books, or local archive publications. In this amalgamation of sources into memory, it is possible we are witnessing the beginning of collective memory solidifying around the Birch Island settlement.

The archival sources and books suggested by and referred to by research participants varied a widely but helped then to situate themselves and Birch Island within the greater geopolitical, temporal, and Labradorian landscape. The literature most referred to was *History of Happy Valley* (1967), *Checkmate in the North* (1944), and Them Days Magazine stories. Typically, the account referenced for the founding of Happy Valley is from the school teacher Alice Perrault in the book, *History of Happy Valley* (1967) where she recounts her move from Otter Creek to what is now known as Happy Valley. This account does not include reference to the settlement of Birch Island which occurred at the same time. *Checkmate in the North* (1944) by William Carr was referenced during several interviews as a guide to the early days of the community, what the military thought of locals, and how Birch Island was founded. Them Days Magazine *On the Goose* (1987) and *The Grand River* (2013) offered a wealth of stories and facts. Some of the stories were even written by research participants. During the interviews, some of the information and stories brought up by participants learned in one of these archival sources. Since some of these events stretch beyond the memory of the former

Birch Island residents that were interviewed, the literature can be considered as an authority used to tie in events outside of living memory.

An unanticipated consequence of posting information on Facebook was that Facebook Groups became platforms for people to share stories, photos, and memories of the Birch Island settlement. People would purposefully go through their old photos, post them, share the story behind them, and others would comment, add, reinforce and edit these stories. It was also interesting to return to the same Facebook thread after a couple of days to see that some of the older posts associated with a picture had been edited by the original author. Facebook now allows authors of a comment to edit their comments and a small “Edited” shows up underneath the post hyperlinked to the original post and all the iterations of the post the author has published. This occurred semi-regularly throughout the posts with individuals typically editing posts to make them sound more ambiguous or, if unsure of the facts, inviting others to correct them. In one instance, someone was corrected on their memory in a thread, and the individual who had been corrected announced they had gone back and edited their original post to now reflect what everyone agreed upon, effectively rewriting what they considered their personal history (Goose Bay History 2007). People are now conscious of the way they present the past and are looking for memory affirmation from the majority.

Through the formal literature, Facebook, and interviews we can see the past mediated, changed, and retold, perpetuating pre-existing stories and facts. As those from the former settlement move farther in time from their life there, the memories of the island move from being more focused on individual experience to include stories that are

not their own, but are part of now the Birch Island cannon that ties former residents together and in a common and recognizable thread within all of the interviews. As this history gets retold these stories become part of the collective memory as they are retold within historical, archival, and public forums (Boric 2010:9; Halbwachs 1992:43-53).

The Present Day

This section will address the modern use of Birch Island, the role of Facebook, and concerns over the hydroelectric dams upstream from Birch Island. Birch Island as a landscape is embedded with memories (Basso 1996:5) making the modern work on the island reignite memories of the place that are being shared on social media. Birch Island, physically and digitally, has become a place of reflection and renewal as the space gets reworked and negotiated by HWL and the public. Birch Island is also a landscape and symbol of grief as a place of resettlement and ecological helplessness as former residents compare the present environment to their memories. The modern iteration of Birch Island is a dynamic reminder of the impact a physical locale can have (Basso 1996:5; Cunsolo et al. 2011; Kelly and Yeoman 2010:5; Knapp and Ashmore 1999:13-14; Pace 2008).

The Island's Modern Use with HWL

The present day use of Birch Island is currently being renegotiated by the conservation and rehabilitation work done by the non-profit HWL. Prior to their efforts, Birch Island was a place people drove ATVs and cars could drive onto and down to the beach to look out at the water. People used to swim here regularly, but due to multiple drownings, there is a sign posted warning people against swimming (Appendix 1: Photo 21)(Bird 2016). Since the time of the Birch Island settlement, the island has also been a

dumping ground for old cars and other unwanted items. During the 2016 fieldwork season, we saw few people walking in the area.

HWL has obtained grants to build up infrastructure on the island for the rehabilitation of the wetlands and to turn the area into a park. They have replaced both sets of culverts over the creeks leading to the island (Appendix 1: Photo 1, Appendix 1: Photo 61) to increase water flow and enhance fish habitat, and built a series of connecting boardwalks around the island to allow easy access and encourage walking on the island. They have also barred all vehicle access along what was the main road with a fence, gate, and large rocks. People can still drive onto the island, and there is a parking lot in which they can leave their car and enjoy the park. In response to complaints, they also created access to the beach from a road on the west of the island. There is evidence of historic use along this access road, but no survey work has been done to document the present resources or assess the area's potential. Prior to the HWL Birch Island work being done, several community consultations were held, and a survey was disseminated looking for feedback on the project. There was some negative feedback once the suggested changes came into effect, but overall the project has been well received, and during the time we spent on Birch Island in 2017 there were frequently individuals walking and utilizing the new facilities.

Moving into the future, HWL plans to build an outdoor classroom, linking the boardwalks to the tourism information center, and display historic information on the island gathered by this project (Figure 15).

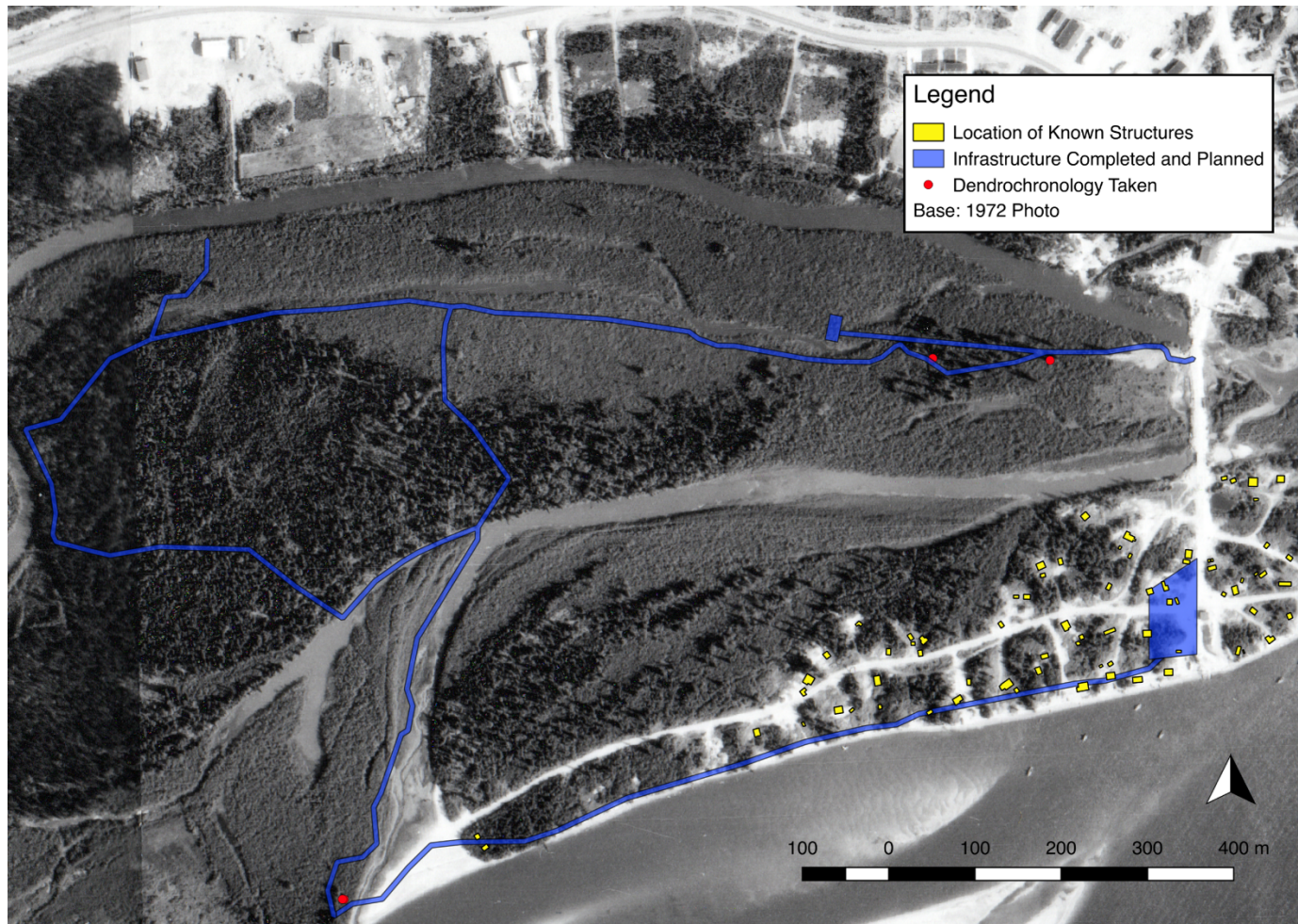


Figure 15 Work planned work and boardwalk by HWL, base image from 1972 (Courtesy of the Town of Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Image Credit: Julia Brenan, Anatolijs Venovcevs, Scott Neilsen, Hector Blake, Walter Perrault)

Renegotiation of Space

Birch Island is a space that was left to individuals to negotiate and interact with until the recent HWL work when people were required to follow the rules and interact with nature in a specific manner not previously imposed on the island. The previous iteration of interaction with this area is still evident, with evidence of individuals ignoring the boardwalks and walking through the woods. There are artifacts, features, and vandalism on the island that show the continued pre-HWL use of space. Disturbed artifacts can be found off the trails in the woods. Walking off the trails on the island it is occasionally clear that someone else has been through the area recently looking at, and moving artifacts like an oil drum at point 143.10 which had been rolled away from its prior position which we surmised by dents fitting the drum in the ground. During the RTK work, we also came across a very recent trail blaze that leads to a depression where firewood was stacked up and remains of a fire (point 201.2). This new interaction has been sparked by the recent publicity the island has received, renewing interest in the area. People have their own way of interacting with the area and navigating the island outside of the established paths and trails and have continued to do so despite efforts to discourage it. The individuals participating in these activities seem to be familiar with, and possibly reinforcing, memories of the island maintaining old interactions with the island despite the new organization of space through the HWL work (Knapp & Ashmore 1999:13-14).

Fairies and Events

The renegotiation of space continues outside of HWL activities with a group of people interacting with the Birch Island boardwalk in ways not anticipated by the nonprofit. Centered around the idea of getting children interested in the boardwalk and interacting with their surroundings, this group has been encouraging children to paint and hide 'fairy rocks' along the boardwalk for others to find, pick up, and replace with their own. In addition, October, it was suggested that the trees in a portion of the boardwalk be decorated for Halloween and an event be held there for children (Concerning Happy Valley-Goose Bay 2015). HWL stepped in to discourage the Halloween activity on the grounds that this would create garbage and goes against the overall aim of the current project (Concerning Happy Valley-Goose Bay 2015). These new interactions were not universally liked by other users of the boardwalk and created some community tension on Facebook when some of the items were removed from the boardwalk in an effort to pick up garbage, and the fairy elements were not distinguished and thrown away (Concerning Happy Valley-Goose Bay 2015). These interactions and events were observed on Facebook and in person over the course of 2017 and show the renegotiation of space on Birch Island.

The Modern Role of Facebook

In Labrador, Facebook is an essential method of communication, and people often interact on community Facebook pages to share opinions and knowledge. The Goose Bay History page (2007) is the most engaged with the time period associated with the Birch Island settlement and targets both local residents and those associated with the base who may live elsewhere. In following this page, we noticed that individuals would post

pictures from their time on Birch Island and, that other people interacted with the photos and each other. The following section will focus on the Facebook posts from the Goose Bay History page (2007) as these were the most engaged in Birch Island's past. Two YouTube videos have also been put together and mentioned on the Goose Bay History page (Bradford999 2013; Larkham 2018). These have significantly fewer comments associated with them, but screenshots from one of these videos have been posted and commented on.

Memory interaction and editing, reminiscing

The function of the Goose Bay History Facebook page (2007) concerning Birch Island seems to be assisting with a better understanding of the past, reminiscing, and revitalizing memory. These interactions, typically come about through the posting of a historic photo of the settlement or a daily task that triggers memories and interaction in the comments (2007). The conversation does not always stay on the topic of the photo at hand and can veer off into re-introductions of old friends, tangential questions, and stories vaguely associated with the photo. Overall this is a positive and happy space with people remembering happy events or aspects of life. The negative memories brought up are associated with drownings that occurred on the island and the danger of sled dogs. The Goose Bay History page (2007) is a space for Birch Islanders to remember, relive, and better understand their past.

There are disagreements in memories among individuals, but they are usually amicable and are often around genuinely attempting to understand what occurred and reconcile it with personal memories. The possible pitfall to this method of truth-seeking

is that often those who are the most sure of themselves impose their memories as objective history¹¹.

Hydro Projects

Due to the timing of these interviews, the relationship between Birch Island and the River, and the continued construction and protests of the Muskrat Falls Hydro Project some participants discussed the impacts the project has had and will have on the river. The Muskrat Falls Project is a multi-billion-dollar hydroelectric dam being built by Nalcor Energy, a crown corporation of the NL Government, on the lower Churchill River (CBC News 2016).

After WWII, Labrador was poised for primary resource extraction (Carr 1944) creating a periphery zone with which to supply a growing southern market (P015A). In recent years the Churchill Falls, and now Muskrat Falls Hydro Projects have been the focus of natural resource extraction in the area. These projects have created jobs, but they have also changed the landscape and environment, which has impacted people who rely on the river, and their knowledge of it for survival. One participant summed up Labrador's situation:

We really don't know what's going to happen, but if everything stay how it's supposed to be and everything is done in a nice

¹¹ I would like to reiterate that anything on Facebook is in the public domain, and these posts can be accessed by the reader on the pages referenced above. No personal information was recorded or is provided here. As a result, this data is only in aggregate.

manner the way the project is supposed to be done then I guess
it's the price you have to pay for prosperity and for life... [P014].

There is no way to know definitively that these hydro projects have caused the following environmental changes, but they are almost certainly a contributing factor (Luttermann 2007:102-103). Over the long term, research participants have witnessed drastic erosion along both river banks of the Mishta-shipu and have watched the river become more shallow with continually shifting sandbars (P002A; P006B; P008; P009A; P011; P012; P014). Flooding is now a regular occurrence, The only time flooding previously took place on Birch Island was in the springtime and this was associated with the ice preventing proper water flow (P004; P009A). May of 2017 produced a flood that caused an evacuation from the town of Mud Lake, and it was the first time in memory this has happened. The flooded river also significantly damaged the infrastructure on Birch Island. Along with possible flooding, locals are concerned about the potential Methylmercury levels rising and impacting a major food source:

...now even our fishing is screwed up now. The
Newfoundland government poisoned our river now and our lake
so we can't even get fish now. It's alright for me because I'm
going to die anyway but the younger people can't eat the fish no
more [P008]

Since the river is now managed by Nalcor, they are held responsible for these shifts and potential pitfalls feeding into the ecological grief that is already prevalent within Labrador (Cunsolo et al. 2011).

Some residents feel that their concerns over the Muskrat Falls project have gone unheeded. Due to their intense local knowledge of the river, its behavior, and changes that have occurred since the Churchill Falls Project, they do not feel the Provincial Government from the south understands or acknowledges the complexities of the river and the potential harm it can cause (P015A). Local fears have not been quelled by the consistent arrest of peacefully protesting elders, the recent flood of Mud Lake, nor by a landslide at the North Spur section of the dam (CBC News 2018a, 2018b). These fears are increased with the overall lack of a safety plan and seeming indifference to local knowledge and pleas. Some feel that there is a racial component to the general disregard for the people by the provincial government.

Conclusion

This chapter was intended to intersect the interviews, artifacts, and archival work summarized in the previous chapters through the lens of memory, landscape, modernity, and grief. These theoretical frameworks allow a focus on the change from the past to the present, how it is viewed, the changes in remembering occurring in a digital format, and the physical changes that have occurred to the island.

Interview participants often speak about Birch Island in terms of how it has changed from the past to the present. The environment and habits individuals once had on

the island are no longer present in daily life, and that change is entrenched in the memories of interview participants. This makes it increasingly difficult to pinpoint exact places of activity and habitation as the physical landscape changes.

Consensus-forming related to memory among individuals is something difficult to witness, but social media has made this possible. Facebook and YouTube have changed the way the world interacts, and in the case of Birch Island, it has changed the way in which former residents remember their past. Photos, stories, and information can be shared easily with a large group of individuals regardless of geographic area, meaning a more cohesive group can reference and access the same material. Social media allows people to negotiate and correct each other, guiding one another to the same memories and reinforcing them over time.

The changing environment and use of space on Birch Island is summarized above to illustrate change and a move towards Birch Island becoming a more regulated space. Encouraged methods of interacting with the island are now being enforced through the construction of physical boundaries mediating the interaction people have with the physical surroundings. The landform is also eroding causing previous perceptions of space and orientation on the island to change as the physical boundaries of land, and accessible space are modified.

Conclusion

The previous chapters have provided a broad overview of Birch Island's past using images, artifacts, GIS, interviews, and social media. This thesis has evaluated the surface features and debris present at Birch Island, using interviews and archival sources to provide insight into the settlement and its current renegotiation by the community. The methodology of this project and the interpretation of the data have been guided by the theoretical frameworks of memory, landscape, modernity, and grief set forth in Chapter 2 as a means of capturing what and how the settlement is remembered. Through this thesis, a more nuanced interpretation of the importance of Birch Island as a place of memory has been presented.

Creation of Memory

The Birch Island project illustrates the beginnings of memory creation (see Chapter 6) through the amalgamation of personal memories with archival sources and Facebook interactions. Those interviewed often compare the past and the present as a reference for change and refer to earlier texts as authorities when referring to time outside of their living memory. Social media has shown to be an effective method of sharing, correcting, and perpetuating events and stories former residents' recall. Within this format they mediate and reinforce the past, perpetuating the narrative established within these platforms.

These examples further illustrate how an aspect of life in the past is remembered, negotiated, and renegotiated over time, depending on the present context. Through this

thesis, we can see how time collapses for former residents in connection to a physical place and through renewed connections to a particular time where many individuals experienced the same events (Lucas 2005:36). Birch Island is a testament to change and memory as remembered through the physical landscape, globalization, and the loss sometimes associated with change.

Grief and Modernity

This thesis illustrates aspects of the theoretical framework of grief through the negative impacts of modernity. With globalization and the push to modernize the province, resettlement has had a significant and ongoing impact on the feelings of grief and loss, creating tangible results within the provincial population. These feelings continue with the loss of the familiar physical environment due to climate change and hydroelectric projects in the area.

The loss and grief associated with resettlement has continued to impact former Birch Island residents. The motivations behind the move off Birch Island are still unclear, and the impact the resettlement plans had throughout the province is still evident. The use of Birch Island did not stop after resettlement; the area has been continually used for traditional activities into the present. Modernization has been extremely beneficial to the Upper Lake Melville area, but there has been little chance to reconcile and understand the grief associated with the move.

The physical landscape of and around Birch Island has drastically changed throughout the years through ecological shifts and human modifications to the island. The ecological changes seen in the river and seasons elicit grief and loss of a more predictable

environment in the past and an uncertain future where connection to the landscape becomes more tenuous. The recent human modifications to the island elicit memories of the settlement and some discontent at the renegotiation of this space in a less familiar way. However, more people are now successfully interacting with the space and shaping it into something memorable and accessible.

Modern Changing Role of the Island

Birch Island is undergoing a shift in use, association, and identity due to the HWL project. Once thought of as a settlement it has been relabeled as a conservation area with reduced access to the physical environment in favor of flora and fauna. As a new park, the larger community is coming to terms with the new use of space as a place to be active using the formal infrastructure and interact with nature in a new way. Former ways of moving about the landscape have been altered, and new use patterns are still being negotiated.

This thesis does not represent all former Birch Island residents, nor is this the only lens through which to interpret the data set out here. This thesis captures how Birch Island was thought of in a specific moment in time. The way in which Birch Island's past is thought of will continue to change with the remembering of more stories and present events connecting to past memories. This island will continue to be interpreted and reinterpreted by former residents and visitors alike.

What does this project contribute to the field of archaeology?

Pairing archaeological inquiry with formal interviews from those who took part in the creation of Birch Island we were able to gain significantly more detail about the Birch Island settlement than would otherwise be possible. The approach used in this project can be used to interpret similar sites as they begin to be considered as falling under archaeological purview. This research has shown how individuals actively create memory of a physical landscape and interact with memories in social media to create consensus around a shared past.

This being said, the most important contribution of this project is that it assists the community and the larger Birch Island Project. This thesis has opened up an inquiry into the resettled community of Birch Island where there was previously little academic analysis creating an academically accepted narrative of Birch Island's historic past. This project has given former residents a space to record their experiences of life on Birch Island which will go into the local archives. Lastly, this inquiry has enabled former residents to shape the information, informing the historic interpretation of the park.

Possible Future Inquiries for the Birch Island Area

The Birch Island area is an excellent example of a 21st century site with great potential for further inquiry. With increased knowledge of the site, there is potential for further work into the berms and known bulldozed areas on the island that were left unrecorded during this fieldwork. The 21st century material culture observed on the island was left undisturbed allowing multiple areas of examination available for future research. The extent to which the area around the settlement at Birch Island was used by residents for subsistence was underestimated by this fieldwork and is open to future work. Birch

Island is ideally situated for further investigation into the communities' changing interactions with the area and the commemoration of the settlement that is to come.

Conclusion

This research has amalgamated multiple sources of data to develop a nuanced narrative of Birch Island and has shown how memory and the present interact with the past. The on-going HWL project at Birch Island has not only revitalized wetland habitats but also the memories and identity associated with the Birch Island settlement. The current renegotiation of the island has given space for these subjects and memories to be further shared, documented, and physically marked on the landscape for community-wide education on the recent past.

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Appendix 1: Fieldwork Photographs



Appendix 1: Photo 1- One of two sets of culverts HWL replaced



Appendix 1: Photo 2- Bridge construction over to Birch Island.



Appendix 1: Photo 3- Completed Construction on the Birch Island bridge.



Appendix 1: Photo 4- The first portion of boardwalk built on the way to the viewing deck.
(Courtesy of Dr. Neilsen)



Appendix 1: Photo 5- The road entrance to Birch Island put in by HWL



Appendix 1: Photo 6- The fence along the road and around the parking lot at Birch Island



Appendix 1: Photo 7- The fence along the road to Birch Island with damage from the May flooding



Appendix 1: Photo 8- The second boardwalk, closest to the river, under construction



Appendix 1: Photo 9- The area next to the parking lot seeded with grass and the boardwalk more complete in this area



Appendix 1: Photo 10- The dense forest at structure area 10 South West view



Appendix 1: Photo 11- Dendrochronology done by Beckett Stark at the MAD Lab of the University of Saskatchewan, the oldest tree is about 100 years old.



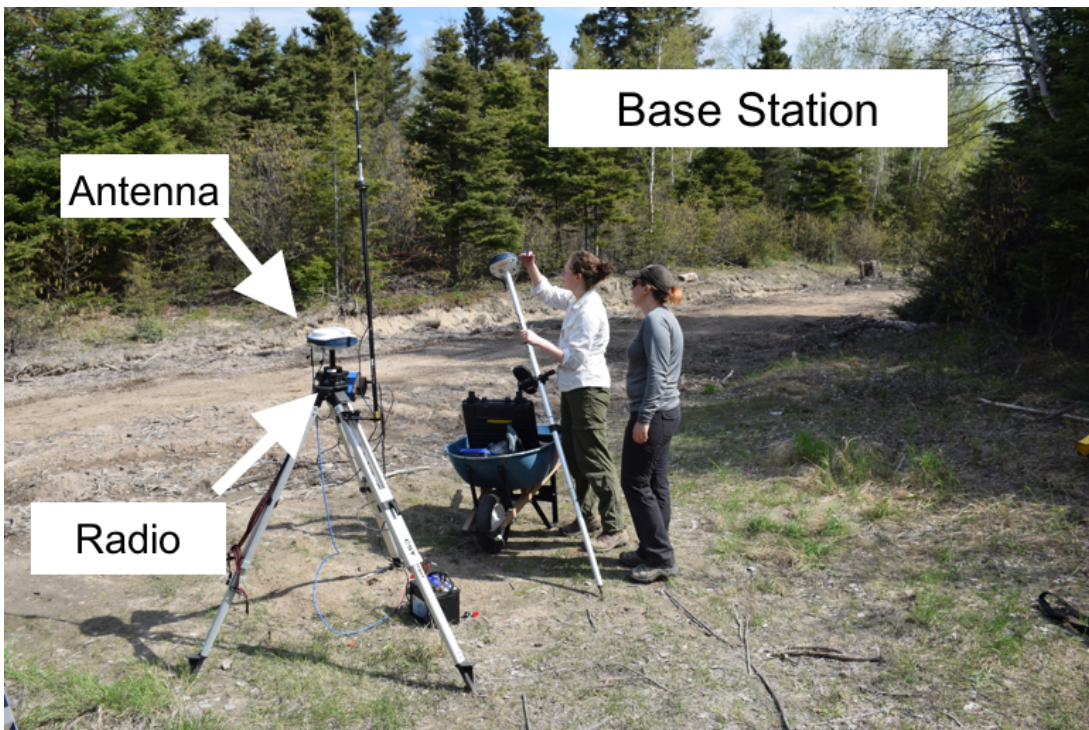
Appendix 1: Photo 12- Structure area 10, photo of the sill which is the only known structural remains on island



Appendix 1: Photo 13- Structure area 71, looking Norther Easterly



Appendix 1: Photo 14- Structure area 71, transect 1, test pit 3, soil profile example



This is the RTK base station with the radio and antenna shown



Appendix 1: Photo 15- This is the RTK rover with a secondary antenna on top of the rod and the data collector part way



Appendix 1: Photo 16- Modern day snare on Birch Island summer 2017



Appendix 1: Photo 17- Oil drum like the ones that would have been outside of homes to fill up



Appendix 1: Photo 18- Water spout that would have existed inside of homes



Appendix 1: Photo 19- Crate similar to the one Helen Hickey used as a make-shift icebox



Appendix 1: Photo 20- Skates that came out of the creek during summer 2016's work on the culverts and bridge



Appendix 1: Photo 21- Danger sign discouraging swimming at the Birch Island beach



Appendix 1: Photo 22- Remnants of a telephone or electric pole on Birch Island



Appendix 1: Photo 23- Ice damage in the summer of 2017



Appendix 1: Photo 24- A decoration put up along the Birch Island boardwalk



Appendix 1: Photo 25- Dominion Glass Company bottle, point 428



Appendix 1: Photo 26- Dominion Glass Company bottle, point 587



Appendix 1: Photo 27- Dominion Glass Company bottle, point 141



Appendix 1: Photo 28- Sussex bottle, point 710



Appendix 1: Photo 29- Dominion Glass Jar, point 438.1



Appendix 1: Photo 30- Jolly Green Giant Dominion Glass Jar, point 660



Appendix 1: Photo 31- Matthew-Wells Co. jar, point 248



Appendix 1: Photo 32- United Glass Products Co. bottle, point 238



Appendix 1: Photo 33- Federal Glass Company jar, point 736



Appendix 1: Photo 34- Pepsi Cola bottle, point 921



Appendix 1: Photo 35- Pepsi Cola bottle, point 594



Appendix 1: Photo 36- Keep Kool bottle, point 647



Appendix 1: Photo 37- Keep Cool bottle, point 986



Appendix 1: Photo 38- Klim Milk Can, point 897



Appendix 1: Photo 39- Klim Powdered Milk Can, point 911



Appendix 1: Photo 40- Tenderflake can, point 670



Appendix 1: Photo 41- Pepsi Can, point 873



Appendix 1: Photo 42- Reusable Container, point 953



Appendix 1: Photo 43- Red Rose canister, point 674



Appendix 1: Photo 44- Crosby Molasses Can, point 352



Appendix 1: Photo 45- Luncheon meat can, point 352



Appendix 1: Photo 46- Coleman Heater



Appendix 1: Photo 47- Bedsprings and frames in a pit, point 658



Appendix 1: Photo 48- Bedframe sticking out of a berm, point 214



Appendix 1: Photo 49- Yamaha motorcycle found in the woods, point 195



Appendix 1: Photo 50- Two bicycles found at point 524



“MADE IN ENGLAND” written on handlebars, point 497



Appendix 1: Photo 51- Bike at point 497



Appendix 1: Photo 52- Car overturned in the woods at point 952



Appendix 1: Photo 53- Possible early skidoo at point 909



Appendix 1: Photo 54- Gas can for a boat, point 934



Appendix 1: Photo 55- Cabin of boat of undetermined age on Birch Island



Row of wire cut nails on undetermined boat



Appendix 1: Photo 56- Older wire cut nail of undetermined age



Appendix 1: Photo 57- Child's doll on Birch Island



Appendix 1: Photo 58- Child's sled, point 951



Appendix 1: Photo 59- Broken tea cup, similar to household items described for child's play.



Appendix 1: Photo 60- Old car being pulled out of the creek that was most likely put there for bank stabilization HWL



Appendix 1: Photo 61- Culverts replaced by HWL

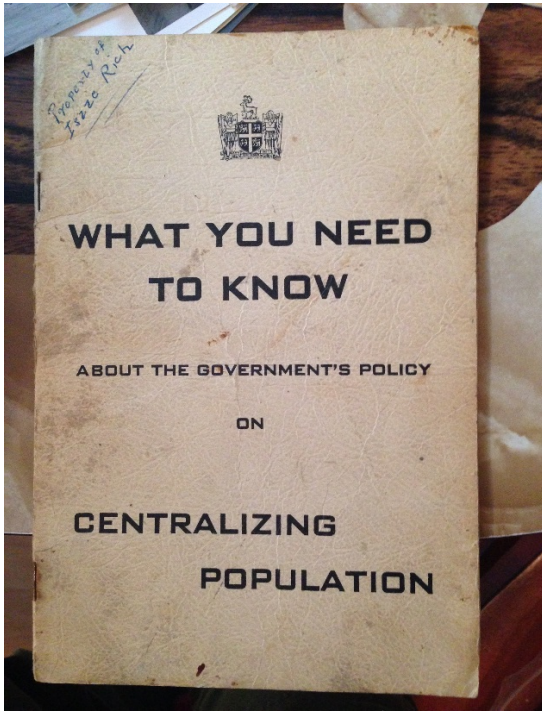
Appendix 2: Birch Island Historical Photographs



Appendix 2: Image 1- Building at Goose Bay (Modified from Carr 1944)



Appendix 2: Image 2- Top photo has been identified by Henry Rich as his father, Ike Rich's home at Otter Creek (modified from Carr 1944)



Appendix 2: Image 3- Resettlement book given to Ike Rich (Courtesy of Henry Rich)



Appendix 2: Image 4- Bridge over to Birch Island in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 5- The causeway being built to Birch Island in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 6- The Birch Island Creek in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 7- Moving a home off Birch Island during resettlement with a tractor (Courtesy of Henry Rich)



Appendix 2: Image 8- Sled Dogs on Birch Island (Courtesy of Henry Rich)



Appendix 2: Image 9- Ben Monemie's house on Birch Island in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



50 years ago.....

Birch Island was
never the same
again.

*En Pitte - baby - Stanley
Lawrence - holding Andy & Jenny
Flossie - indoor*

Appendix 2: Image 10- Home of Flossie and Lawrence Oliver (Courtesy of Jenny Lyall)



Appendix 2: Image 11- The Rich house (Courtesy of Henry Rich)



Appendix 2: Image 12- John Martin's in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 13- Homes on Birch Island in the 1960s (Courtesy of Elmer Stevens)



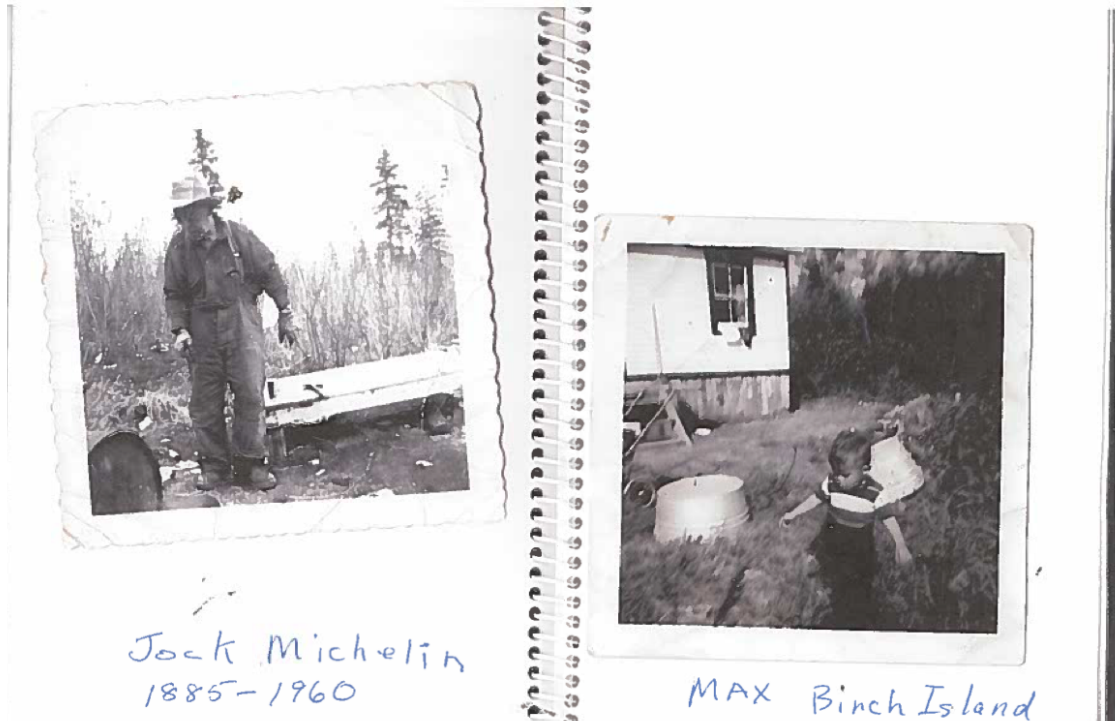
Appendix 2: Image 14- Houses on Birch Island in October in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 15- John Martin and Ruth Vanstone with the Churchill River in the background in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 16- John Martin's house with the Churchill River in the background in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 17- Courtesy of Max Blake



Appendix 2: Image 18- Houses on Birch Island in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 19- Houses on Birch Island in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 20- The bridge to Birch Island in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 21- Causeway to Birch Island being built in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 22- Ben Monemie on Birch Island in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 23- Creek between Birch Island and Happy Valley- Goose Bay in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 24- Ben Monemie on Birch Island in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 25- Overview of Birch Island taken in 1961 from a plane in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 26- Creek between Birch Island and Happy Valley- Goose Bay in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 27- Birch Island Creek in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



Appendix 2: Image 28- The Churchill River from Birch Island in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



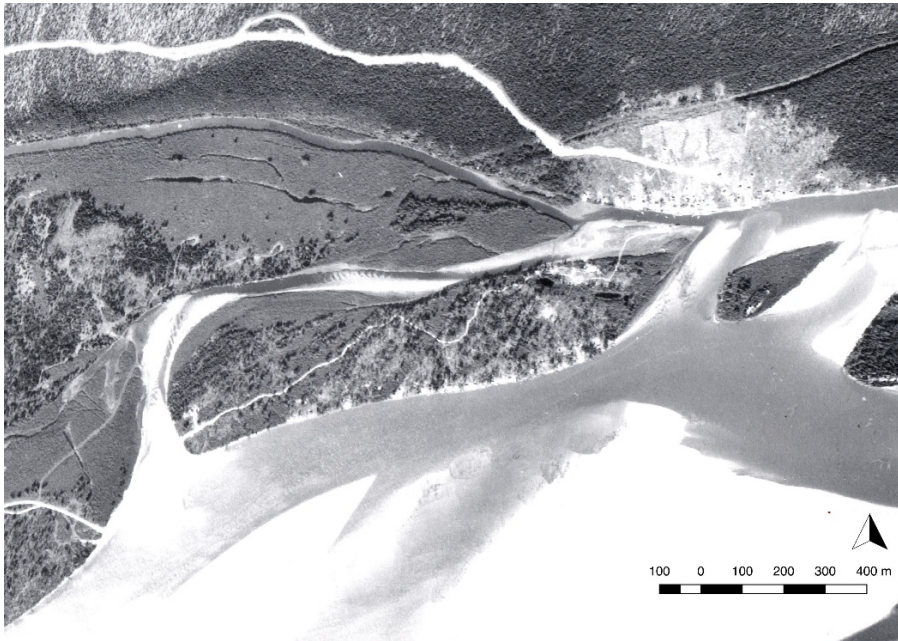
Appendix 2: Image 29- The Martin's house on Birch Island looking across the Churchill River in the early 1960s (Courtesy of Susan Felsberg)



goosebay 1960s

Appendix 2: Image 30- Clip from the goosebay 1960s youtube video of a structure on Birch Island (Bradford999 2013)

Appendix 3: Additional Maps



Appendix 3: Map 1-1947 aerial photo of Birch Island (Photo modified from Newfoundland and Labrador Government Services and Lands Air Photo and Map Library File 13158-071)



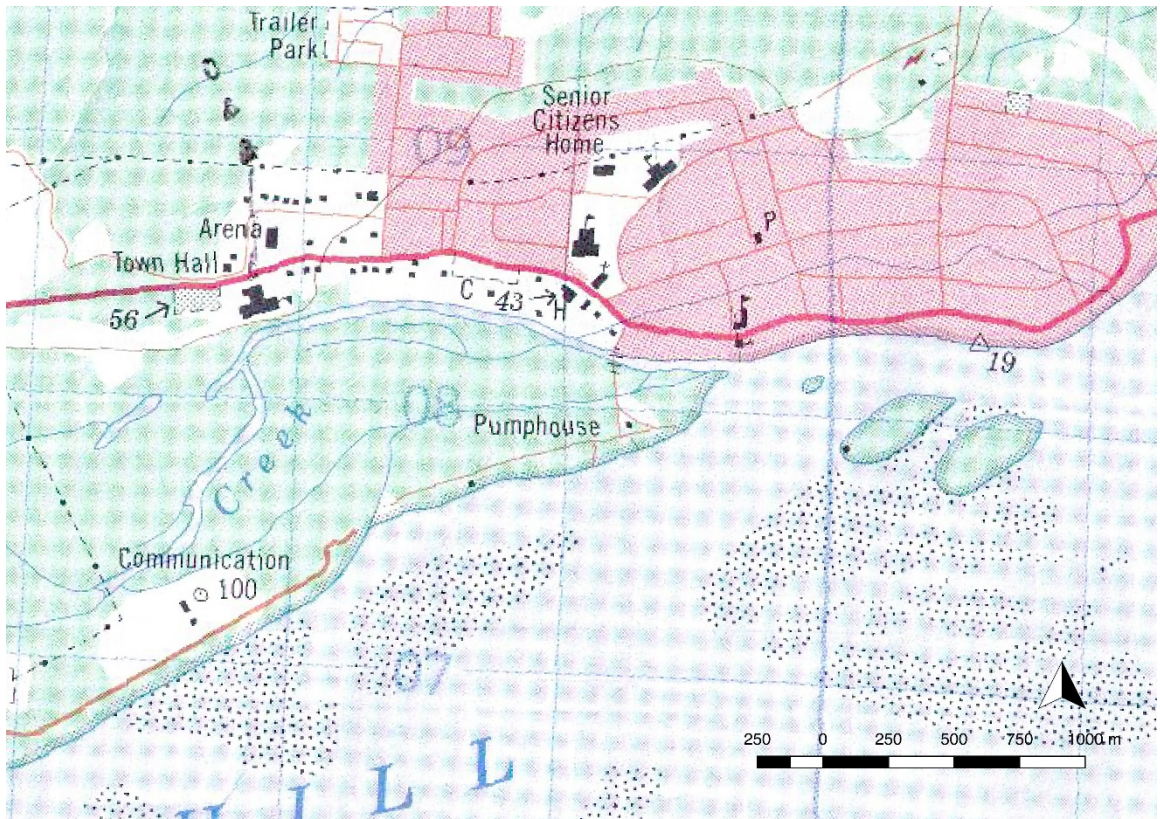
Appendix 3: Map 2-1972 photo of Birch Island (Modified, 1:50, 000 National Topographic Series map, 13F)



Appendix 3: Map 3-1970 map of Birch Island (Modified, Courtesy of the Town of Happy Valley Goose Bay)



Appendix 3: Map 4- 1980 map of Birch Island, note the “RUINS” on the map (circled in purple), telephone or electric poles are the dots along the road (Modified, Courtesy of the Town of Happy Valley Goose Bay)



Appendix 3: Map 5-1985 map of Birch Island (Modified, Courtesy of the Town of Happy Valley Goose Bay)

Appendix 4: Artifact Photographs



Appendix 4: Plate 1- July-August 1956 Dominion Glass Company bottle (Cat. #3) (adapted from Venovcevs 2017a)



Appendix 4: Plate 2- September-October 1956 Dominion Glass Company bottle (Cat. #20) (adapted from Venovcevs 2017a)



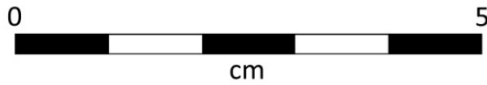
Appendix 4: Plate 3-1954 Dominion Glass Company bottle (Cat. #1) (adapted from Venovcevs 2017a)



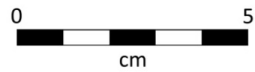
Appendix 4: Plate 4- Consumer Glass Company bottle (Cat. #2) (adapted from Venovcevs 2017a)



Appendix 4: Plate 5- Square Consumer Glass Company bottle base (Cat. #186) (adapted from Venovcevs 2017a)



Appendix 4: Plate 6-1957 Owens-Illinois Glass Company (Cat. #186) (adapted from Venovcevs 2017a)



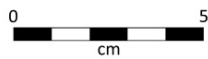
Appendix 4: Plate 7- Double Cola can (Cat. #7) (adapted from Venovcevs 2017a)



Side View



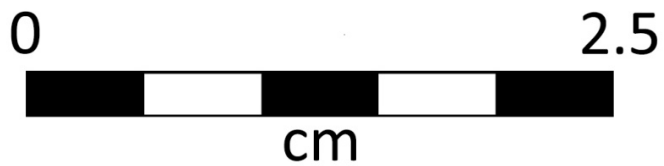
Top View



Appendix 4: Plate 8- Canada Dry can (Cat. #15) (adapted from Venovcevs 2017a)



Appendix 4: Plate 9- Habitant jar lid (Cat. #31) (adapted from Venovcevs 2017a)



Appendix 4: Plate 10- A toy plastic sword (Cat. #70) (adapted from Venovcevs 2017a)



Appendix 4: Plate 11- A knitted child's glove (Cat. #46) (adapted from Venovcevs 2017a)

Appendix 5: Consent Form and Recruitment Ad

Consent Form:

Title: Birch Island Memories

Researchers:

Memorial University/Labrador Institute

Advisor: Scott Neilsen

PO Box 85

North West River, Labrador, NL

A0P 1M0

Tel: (709) 497-8392

E-mail: scott.neilsen@mun.ca

Researcher: Julia Brennan

12 Brennan Field

St. John's, NL

A1G 1H9

Tel: (781) 413-4110

E-mail: jlb626@mun.ca

You are invited to take part in a survey related to the research project entitled “Birch Island Memories”. This form is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any other information given to you by the researcher.

It is entirely up to you to decide whether to take part in this research. If you choose not to take part in the research or if you decide to withdraw from the research once it has started, there will be no negative consequences for you, now or in the future. However, if you chose to exit during this online survey your answers will not be automatically withdrawn, this is a function of the website which we have no control over. If you do begin the survey and change your mind part way through your answers can be removed by notifying Julia at jlb626@mun.ca and she will delete your data. Survey Monkey can only use your email to contact you about this survey and your data will not be sold or used in any way outside of the survey in accordance with SurveyMonkey's policy. Participation in this survey is optional and will have no negative effects on your relationship with the research or researchers.

Introduction:

This is a Master's research project from Memorial University, St. John's NL on Birch Island's archaeology and oral history. The information gathered will be used within a

Master's thesis and by Healthy Waters Labrador to create interpretive signage about the former Birch Island community on the island.

Purpose of study:

For this study, I would like to gather and record the stories of individuals who used to live on Birch Island. These will be used with archaeology to form a better understanding of what it was like to live there. This is being done to preserve these stories and memories of this community for the future.

What you will do in this study:

This is the first step in the study where we identify people within the community to follow up with. You will be asked to share basic information of your life on Birch Island including where you resided, how long you lived there for, what kinds of objects you used, basic questions about the environment of the island, and what life was generally like at the time. There will also be a chance to identify locations on maps of the island concerning where the majority of individuals lived and where food was gathered and game was hunted. Depending on your responses and the number of participants you may be contacted for a formal interview that would take place in the early fall. At the end of the survey you will have a chance to nominate three people you feel we should talk to in order to gain the most insight into life on Birch Island.

Length of time:

This online survey will take approximately 30 minutes. Depending on your answers you may be invited to participate in a formal interview in the early or late summer. You are free to decline the formal interview but if you wish to participate there would be between 1-3 formal interview sessions at around an hour each. These would take place in the early fall. In addition, if you chose to come to site and assist in archaeological survey over the course of the day this will be considered an informal interview where information will be collected over the course of the entire day.

Possible Benefits:

By participating in the project you will ensure that your knowledge about the history of the community, the land, and environment will be preserved for future generations. In addition, this work will also contribute to the wellbeing of the community and tourism in Happy Valley- Goose Bay.

Possible risks:

Although your name and identifiable traits will not appear in public data unless you give permission, the community is small and tight knit so there is the possibility that someone will recognize your story or description.

Confidentiality:

Your name will not appear in any of the public documents, unless permission is given, and the data you provide will not be available to people outside the research team, or for

secondary research (research done by other people in the future) without your written consent. Survey Monkey can only use your email to contact you about this survey and your data will not be sold or used in any way outside of the survey in accordance with SurveyMonkey's policy. Once you begin the survey and hit the 'next' or 'submit' button your answers will be reported to the researcher even if you navigate away from the page and do not finish the survey. Also, SurveyMonkey has data storage facilities in various countries such as the United States in which your data is subject to such laws as The Patriot Act. For more information please see SurveyMonkey's privacy policy: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/policy/privacy-policy/> and security statement: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/policy/security/> . By checking the following appropriate boxes at the end of this consent form you are giving us consent use your name and data provided within this research project.

Anonymity:

This survey can be answered anonymously by default. You can choose to have your name and information made available only to the researchers or to the public through checking the appropriate box. If you do not check either of these boxes you will remain anonymous.

To ensure further anonymity and privacy I have turned off the IP address tracker through Survey Monkey.

SurveyMonkey is hosting this questionnaire and although they are not exclusively located in the United States of America there is a chance that data from this survey will be stored there. This means that the data from this survey could be subject to U.S. laws including the US Patriot Act which allows US authorities to access the records of internet service providers. By participating in this survey you understand that your data may be stored in the U.S. and be subject to U.S. law. The Privacy Policy for SurveyMonkey can be found through the following link: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/policy/privacy-policy/> .

Use, Access, Ownership, and Storage of Data:

As the creators of the survey we own the data generated, not Survey Monkey. At the end of this work the data will permanently reside in the Them Days and Labrador Institute Archives indefinitely. The researchers will keep copies of the data for a minimum of five years, as required by Memorial University's policy on Integrity in Scholarly Research. During this time the data will be kept in password protected folders on password protected computers or, if printed, a secure area under lock and key. Consent forms will be kept separate from data. Access to the data will be granted to the research team and our partners and the data will permanently reside in the Them Days and Labrador Institute Archives. Any data provided will be anonymized unless otherwise requested.

Third-Party Data Collection and/or Storage:

SurveyMonkey is the company being used to collect information for this survey. They do not own your data nor will they sell your information or use your email address. SurveyMonkey has data storage facilities in various countries such as the United States in

which your data is subject to such laws as The Patriot Act. Survey Monkey reports data to the researcher as soon as you hit the 'next' or 'submit' button even if you navigate away from the site part way through your survey. For more information please see SurveyMonkey's privacy policy: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/policy/privacy-policy/> and security statement: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/policy/security/> . By checking the following appropriate boxes within this survey, you are giving us consent use your name and data provided within this research project.

Data collected from you as part of your participation in this project will be hosted and/or stored electronically by SurveyMonkey and is subject to their privacy policy, and to any relevant laws of the country in which their servers are located. Therefore, anonymity and confidentiality of data may not be guaranteed in the rare instance, for example, that government agencies obtain a court order compelling the provider to grant access to specific data stored on their servers. If you have questions or concerns about how your data will be collected or stored, please contact the researcher and/or visit the provider's website for more information before participating. The privacy and security policy of the third-party hosting data collection and/or storing data can be found at: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/policy/privacy-policy/> and security statement: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/policy/security/>.

Reporting of Results:

Data from this research will be presented in a Master's thesis, in the archaeological permit report, within an academic publication, an article for Labrador Life, Them Days and Inside Labrador. There will be plaques placed around Birch Island within information placed on them and some information may be added to the Them Days walking tour. I will also be talking to school kids in the outdoor classroom and will be giving a talk through a lecture series at the Labrador Institute that will also be placed on YouTube. The data will be reported using direct quotations or personally identifying information if you give permission. Otherwise the data will only appear in a summarized form.

Upon completion, my thesis will be available at Memorial University's Queen Elizabeth II library, and can be accessed online at:

<http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/search/collection/theses>.

Sharing of Results with Participants:

The results will be shared with participants through the Labrador Institute speakers series, articles in Labrador Life, Them Days and Inside Labrador. The information will also be available through the plaques placed on Birch Island and through the Them Days walking tour. Notice of most of these events will be posted on the Healthy Waters Labrador Facebook page. In addition, the thesis will be available at Memorial University's Queen Elizabeth II library, and can be accessed online at:

<http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/search/collection/theses>.

Questions:

You are welcome to ask questions before, during, or after your participation in this research. If you would like more information about this study, please contact: Julia Brenan at jlb626@mun.ca or by phone: (781)-413-4110 or the supervisor: Scott Neilsen by phone: (709) 497-8392 or at scott.neilsen@mun.ca

ICEHR Approval Statement:

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research, such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant, you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

Permission:

I give permission that my name can be associated publicly with my answers to these questions Yes___ My name is: _____
No ___

I give permission that my data can be archived in Them Days and the Labrador Institute Archives and used for research outside of this project in the future Yes___ No___

I give permission that my answers can be given to Healthy Waters Labrador to help inform the park being built on Birch Island Yes___ No___

I wish to provide my name and contact information to the researcher but not the public

My name can be used publically with this data ___
My name is: _____

By checking the boxes below, you are acknowledging that you read, understood, and are agreeing to the terms and conditions of this survey.

If you do not agree with these terms and conditions and still would like to participate in the survey please leave your name, email and phone number and you will be contacted to take this survey in a formal interview setting. _____

I have read and do agree to the terms and conditions of this survey___

I have read and do NOT agree to the terms and conditions of this survey___

I have read and do NOT agree to the terms and conditions of this survey but I would still like to be involved. My name is _____ and I can be best reached at _____

Questions in the online survey:

Did you or someone in your family ever live on Birch Island? If not you, please let us know what relation they are to you in the comment box below.

How long did you or your family member live on Birch Island?

How old were you or your family member when you lived there? Or about what age were you when people lived on Birch Island full time?

How did you or your family make a living while living on Birch Island or while living in the area?

On the maps above, can you identify which house was yours or your family members on this map? If you remember, could you please identify other homes, sheds, or structures you remember? (example: number 17 was John Doe's house, number 18 was his shed, ...)

When did you or your family move off of the island? or, When do you remember people moving off the island?

Where did you move to after leaving the island? You can answer this question as generally as you would like.


What happened to your home and possessions when you moved? Or, what do you remember other people doing with their homes and things when they left Birch Island?

How often do you go visit Birch Island? When was the last time? Please answer in the comment field below.


Could you please write out one memory you have of Birch Island?

If you are interested in sitting down for an interview, or you would like your name associated with your responses, please leave your name and contact information below. If not, thank you for your responses.


Appendix 5: 1




 **Julia Brennan** shared a link.
June 14, 2017

Hi Everyone, I'm an archaeology MA student at Memorial University doing some work on Birch Island in Happy Valley-Goose Bay. If anyone has any memories of Birch Island as a community and would be willing to share please fill out the following survey:
<https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/BirchIsland>
Thanks so much!



SURVEYMONKEY.COM
Birch Island Survey
Web survey powered by SurveyMonkey.com.
Create your own online survey now with SurveyMonkey's expert certified FREE templates.

 Scott Neilsen, Anatoly Venovcev and 2 others 4 Comments 6 Shares

 Like  Comment  Share

Appendix 5: 2- This is a copy of the Facebook advertisement for the online survey