

TIME AND CONTINGENCY:
TEMPORAL ORGANIZATION IN SOUTHERN LABRADOR

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this dissertation is the examination of theoretical concepts and assumptions which have informed the study of time in cultural anthropology. In the anthropological literature, the notion of time is recognized as being a uniquely human phenomenon, having a dualistic if not paradoxical nature, that is, it is simultaneously cyclical and lineal. These two characteristics have been viewed as being separate and opposed to each other. In this dissertation, however, I argue that they are not opposed and separate but are closely intertwined. A multidimensional helical model is employed to illustrates this interconnectedness.

I present the view that one key to understanding cyclical and linear characteristics of time can be found in examining the element of contingency. My examination of the role that contingency plays with respect to temporal organization is situated within the context of the culture of southern Labrador where contingency commands a prominent position in the lives of fishers, trappers and hunters and their families. From the ethnographic context, I address some of the important anthropological ideas that have informed the study of time and contingency in anthropology. A framework of key notions or understandings emerge from this examination, namely: (1) that time is dynamic, (2) that cyclical and lineal

aspects of time are interrelated rather than opposed, (3) that time has multidimensionality and finally (4) that contingency in its various environmental and cultural expressions can effect the way in which time is conceptualized and organized. The dissertation is based on fourteen months of field research conducted in the summer of 1976, 1979-1980 and in the fall of 1988.

It begins with an examination of anthropological perspectives on the study of time and contingency. I move on to an exploration of historical and social events which provide a baseline for interpreting the relationship between contingency and time. Next, the contingencies based in the environmental cycle, particularly breakup and freezeup are explored along with adjustive responses employed by Labradorians to accommodate them.

The relationship between contingency and predictability are examined in light of work and leisure patterns of women and of men respectively. Family commensal routines provide a venue in which contingency is modulated and predictability is introduced in the daily cycle. While women and men experience different levels of contingency and predictability in their daily lives, a complementary relationship exists between male and female temporal domains. Examination of the daily cycle also reveals that the daily schedule is ordered into domains of public and private time. During ritual time, distinctions between public and private

time, between male and female, and between stranger and friend undergo symbolic inversion. Here contingencies of both the environmental and social sort are celebrated. Disguise, in the form of janneying (masking) and social drinking, provide the vehicle for such inversion. In light of this data, questions concerning the effect of contingent events on temporal organization are explored.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

Environmental, social and ritual contingencies play a prominent role in the lives of the hunters, trappers and fishermen and their families who live along the coast of South Labrador. Against the backdrop of this cultural context, I address some of the concepts and assumptions which have informed the study of time and contingency in anthropology. This dissertation presents an integrative view of cyclicity and linearity by focussing on the interrelationship of these two attributes through the examination of the key element of contingency and the role it performs with respect to temporal organization. The community of Paradise River in particular and the region of Sandwich Bay more generally constitute the field locale of this research.

OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In the anthropological literature, the concept of time is recognized as being a uniquely human phenomenon, having two primary attributes: cyclicity and linearity. While these attributes have been viewed by earlier anthropological

researchers as fundamentally separate and opposed, I suggest in this dissertation that cyclicity (i.e., repetitive aspects of time) and linearity (i.e., successive aspects of time) are closely intertwined. It is around the issue of how contingency influences these two attributes of time that this research revolves. I put forward the view that a key to understanding how cyclicity and linearity are related is the element of contingency. For the purposes of this work, I define contingent temporal events as those occurrences which are overtly characterized by a condition of chance or unpredictability. This contingency can occur on various levels of intensity and can be environmental, economic and cultural in form.

While philosophers have been engaged over the centuries in speculative metaphysical inquiry concerning such concepts as time, space, substance and essence, this dissertation is not involved with broad philosophical questions such as the existence of time. In this dissertation, I accept time as a culturally constituted phenomenon, and operate under the assumption that human activity occurs in time. I hold that attitudes about and concepts for thinking about time are fundamental aspects of all human cultures throughout the world. Furthermore, this dissertation advances the view that human beings continually remold time to conform to their specific cultural perspectives and environmental exigencies -- time is in this sense, always

changing. Finally, while there exists a body of very interesting and illuminating research conducted in the biological and psychological sciences I have chosen to focus on the cultural aspects of time in this work.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STUDY

Training manuals on field techniques for anthropologists and other cross-cultural investigators recognize and stress the vital need to become sensitive and reoriented to such fundamental cultural principles as time and space. Many ethnographies that mention time discuss preliminary observations or difficulties encountered during the initial entry or cultural shock stage of field research. However, once recovery from culture shock occurs, attention is withdrawn from temporal issues and the focus shifts to other topics of research interest. Because of this, anthropological understandings of temporality until recently, have remained largely rudimentary and descriptive. In light of this, my dissertation poses the general question: if time is such a key concept in understanding culture before more specific topics can be investigated, then would it not be reasonable, if not expedient, to assign greater analytical attention to time? Thus, in its broadest terms, this dissertation derives its ethnographic significance from an effort to stimulate and advance anthropological thinking about time.

My choice of Labrador as a field locale was influenced by a number of factors. Firstly, I had already conducted field research for a master's thesis in a small coastal village in Fortune Bay, Newfoundland and had some familiarity with the region. In analyzing this data I became interested in aspects of temporal and spatial orientation among people involved with the inshore fishery.

In discussing my interests with my colleagues at the Department of Anthropology at the Memorial University of Newfoundland who had conducted preliminary research on the coast of Labrador, I began to wonder what kind of temporal and spatial orientation existed among a people living in the Eastern sub-arctic, who speak a dialect of English that is akin to that spoken in Devon and Dorset, England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and who practice a twice yearly migration to pursue what is essentially a foraging subsistence pattern of hunting, trapping and fishing.

As I began my doctoral programme I became even more intrigued with time and space because of their importance in the fabric of cognitive universes for all societies. It was also my observation that much of the discussion of time in anthropology was conducted on an abstract level.. I felt that there was a need to think and consider on a more grounded level, the elements that influenced the configuration of temporal concepts that are manifested in any society. As I prepared for my doctoral research I considered Labrador

especially with regard to the practice of bi-annual migrations. I believed that if people divided up their spatial world into separate domains according to types of subsistence activities, this might, in turn, influence temporal constructs such as seasons and the division of the year as a whole. In the summer of 1976 I visited the coast of Labrador to investigate the feasibility of this research on time. While there, I came to understand that not only was there a different sense of space between the summer fishing quarters and winter hunting and trapping areas, but there was also a different sense of time. At the summer quarters there was a hectic, compressed sense of time. By comparison people told me that there was a less hurried sense of time while passing the winter months in the interior. I wanted to come back for a whole year and discover for myself how time passed during the long winter along the coast. While my speculations about the relationship between migration and different notions about the pace of time seemed to be sound, I did not expect contingency to play as important a role as it does in Labradorian temporal orientations. During my summer reconnoiter I learned that the weather can be harsh and variable, creating a condition which heightens contingency. During this preliminary visit I discovered that these conditions interfered with or postponed a wide variety of activities. I came away from Labrador with the understanding that contingency was not only a characteristic of Labrador

weather but also that contingency had a pervasive impact on most of Labradorian life. I found the idea of exploring what interconnections there might be between various forms of contingency and temporal constructs intrinsically compelling.

METHODOLOGY

St. Augustine once observed that he understood what time was as long as he didn't have to explain it to someone. Time's elusiveness continues to challenge philosophers and anthropologists today. St. Augustine's dilemma is compounded in the case of social and especially cross-cultural research because of: (a) the intrinsic complexities presented to the researcher in phrasing meaningful, straightforward and culturally appropriate questions about a highly abstract phenomena like time and (b) because the people I worked with were also affected by a similar difficulty to St. Augustine's. These factors played an important role in how my research took shape and methodology I chose to employ. While time cannot be seen, heard or touched, its effect upon social phenomena can be observed. The techniques of participant observation and informal interviewing enhanced not only my understanding of southern Labrador culture in general but in addition facilitated my experience with and understanding of the Labrador temporal system.

During the three periods that I conducted field research in Labrador: August 1976, September 1979-August 1980

and November 1988, I hunted, trapped, fished, cut timber, set gardens, collected berries and other wild foods, cleaned and preserved fish and wild meat, and did work in the homes where I lived. I tried my hand at a variety of skills and mastered a few. I participated in ritual celebrations and attended meetings, religious services, auctions, parties, bingo and dances. I traveled by snowshoe, snowmobile, steamer, salmon collector boats, speed boats and plane. During the course of my research I talked with most of the people living in Paradise River and its environs. I also talked with many non-Labradorians who lived or passed through the region including: school teachers, clergy, health care and social workers, fish merchants, pilots, extension agents, government workers and political officials.

For the largest part of my sojourn along the coast, I lived with families. During the summer of 1980 however, my husband was able to join me and we lived as a separate domestic unit. I was thus able to understand something of the roles of "adult daughter" as well as married woman. My involvement in these activities helped me to not only observe life along the coast but to enact it. My willingness to engage in most activities provided me with important understandings that come from first hand experience. This willingness also opened avenues of acceptance by the people I lived with, removing some of the preconceptions they had about this woman "from away".

I recorded genealogical data for all living individuals and for their deceased kin, along with census data. Information on local history was also collected during these interviews. Mapping sessions were conducted to record, on topographical maps, the location of trap lines, hunting territories, fishing berths, wood cutting locations and wild food gathering areas. This data helped me develop an understanding of the significance of contingency to temporal orientations.

My primary method of recording data was by keeping daily notes, which were handwritten the day data was collected or the morning after. These notes were coded and cross-indexed on a monthly basis while still in the field. A tape recorder was used primarily during the collection of life history narratives and during mapping sessions. Due to the general discomfort most people had with tape recorders and the fact that electrical currents varied and batteries were difficult to keep fresh, this equipment was poorly suited to my field location. The photographing of various forms of subsistence activities throughout the annual cycle was also completed. Archival research was conducted at the Provincial archives in St. John's. At the Memorial University of Newfoundland I conducted further archival research at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies and at the archive of the Department of Folklore.

Given the abstract nature of concepts such as time, I depended a great deal on not only participant observation but also on informal interviewing. Understandings gleaned from conversations and observations helped determine the direction which subsequent interviews took. The daily process of note taking along with my ongoing review and cross indexing of notes served to reshape and focus the research as it progressed. With respect to notions such as time and space, I listened carefully to how people talked about time amongst themselves and to me in the context of their daily lives. I listened to and recorded stories of the past as well. I asked coastal people who had traveled to other parts of Labrador and places outside of the province to tell me about their experiences with the temporal orientations of non-Labradorians and Labradorians who lived in the towns of Goose Bay and Happy Valley. I used this as a technique to help them find a context in which to compare and articulate features characteristic of their own temporal orientations. I noted as well peoples' attempts to organize their time and the meanings associated with their temporal divisions. I was also observant of how children were socialized with respect to time orientations. Finally, I was mindful of my own resocialization and my reactions to the stresses of having a time orientation rather different from that held by coastal Labradorians.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHAPTERS

In Chapter Two, I survey some of the major trends which have characterized the examination of time in anthropology. I also explore research which deals with contingency on broad social terms and on the level of specific adaptive responses to various environmental and social contingencies. From these two bodies of literature, I develop a framework which enhances my analysis of time within the specific ethnographic context of South Labrador.

This framework is based on four notions, namely: (1) that time is dynamic, (2) that cyclical and lineal aspects of time are interrelated, (3) that time has multi-dimensionality and finally (4) that contingency, in its various environmental and cultural configurations, can affect the way in which time is conceptualized and organized. I also introduce in this chapter, a multi-dimensional helical model which addresses in the abstract, the integrative relationship between cyclical and lineal features of time and contingency. In subsequent chapters this model is further developed to illustrate these relationships in the realms of annual, daily and ritual time in South Labrador.

Chapter Three describes the social and historical setting. Here, I develop a discussion which focusses around climatic fluctuations and the role they have played in the social life of Labradorians. From the time of the earliest Inuit occupations until the present, climatic factors have

played a key role in habitation and adaptation to the mixed tundra/boreal forest environment.¹ In addition to environmental contingencies, socio-economic contingencies have become increasingly more complex in Labrador's recent history, and have also contributed to the development of a culture where contingency or indeterminacy occupies a central position -- a filter through which most Labradorian experience passes.

This chapter has essentially two functions. The first is to provide an overall introduction to the geography, resources, subsistence patterns and the historical antecedents of the region. Its second function is to establish a foundation for understanding the role contingency has played in Labrador generally and in the field locale of Sandwich Bay in particular. From this basis a more thorough examination of contingency, as it relates to temporal issues, can be launched.

In Chapter Four, I explore the dynamic process by which environmental contingencies affect the way Labradorian time is structured and transformed on the macro level of the annual cycle. The events of break-up and freeze-up are two environmental contingencies which are the most prominent and critical in terms of how time is organized and in terms of human survival. For Labradorians, no amount of planning or foresight can completely eliminate the contingencies of these two events. However, through a protocol of situationally adjustive responses and through an overall process of

reevaluation, individuals are able to impose a degree of control over their thoughts about and reactions to contingency.

Within the context of contingent events that occur within the annual cycle, I reexamine the nature of cyclical events and their illusion of consistency and stability. I argue that an illusion of consistency is associated with the repetition of events. Once a pattern of repetition is recognized a cyclical model is easily enshrined and the further inclusion or recognition of events which do not fit the pattern are ignored or impeded. Field observation however, shows that variation does exist. In the Labradorian annual cycle for example, temporal change tends to occur most dramatically during the "inversive", "liminal" and contingent periods of break-up and freeze-up. The concepts of inversion and liminality, while usually associated with the analysis of ritual events, precisely describe the nature of break-up and freeze-up. I suggest in Chapter Six, that it is not mere coincidence that the two most important ritual events in the Labradorian calendar, which are characterized by inversion and liminality occur close to break-up and freeze-up.

In Chapter Five, I address two issues. The first: what are the significant structural components of the Labrador daily cycle and what is the nature of their interrelationship? The second: in what ways contingency and predictability influence events of the daily cycle? I begin by examining the

work/visit complexes of men and women and how contingency and predictability are expressed in them. In turn, I go on to discuss how periods of food consumption throughout the day operate as cohesive elements that tie events together. From this, I move on to the broader issue of public and private time. I examine the tensions that exist between these two temporalities and their resolution, especially as they reflect social relations within the community. Finally, the interrelationships within and between (a) contingency and predictability, (b) male and female spheres of activity and (c) public and private time are examined. I conclude that while these three pairs display contrastive qualities, they likewise exhibit complementary characteristics when viewed from the perspective of the daily cycle as a totality. At the end of Chapter Five I consider how the helical model introduced in Chapter Two and elaborated upon in Chapter Three has explanatory utility when discussing daily time. I suggest that daily time can take on the configuration of a micro helix within a larger macro helix that constitutes Labrador time on a broader scale, namely the annual cycle.

Chapter Six approaches the ritual cycle of Labrador time through the notion of symbolic inversion, focussing specifically on the celebration of the events of Christmas and Easter. In that chapter, I ask primarily three questions of the data: (1) What are the types of cultural items inverted? (2) What is the impact of these inversions with regard to the

nature of Labradorian time? (3) How does the notion of inversion, as articulated in the anthropological literature, inform our thinking about the relationship between contingency and ritual time?

Among the various activities which occur at Christmas and Easter, masking and drinking are central. It is around these two activities that inversion crystallizes. The impact of masking and drinking is seen most prominently on two levels. Firstly, on the level of social relations, especially within the context of dichotomies that exist between (a) strangers and friends and (b) between reticence and garrulousness. Secondly, with respect to the structure of the daily cycle, particularly with regard to contrasts between (1) public and private time and (2) between periods of leisure and work. However, it is in the dichotomy revolving around aspects of contingency and predictability that masking and drinking display their most significant input with regard to the analysis of how Labradorian time is conceptualized. I assess existing assumptions which suggest that (a) order is the primary element of ritual time and (b) the content of ritual time is secondary to its form.

In the seventh and final chapter, I bring together important understandings about time and contingency in the culture of South Labrador that have been isolated and discussed in the preceding chapters. This summary reflects an

emphasis on the integration of cyclicity, linearity and contingency.

CHAPTER TWO

PERSPECTIVES ON TIME AND CONTINGENCY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into three parts. In the first part, I survey some of the major trends which have characterized the examination of time in the anthropological literature and discuss their relevance to the interpretation of my data on temporal phenomena collected on the South coast of Labrador. In the second part, I discuss the research which deals with contingency on broad social terms and on the level of specific adaptive responses to various environmental and social contingencies. In the third part, which represents a natural development out of these bodies of literature, I introduce a three-dimensional model which deals with the interrelationship of cyclical and lineal aspects of time.

APPROACHES TO TIME

Descriptive works represent some of the earliest attempts to deal with time in anthropology. Accounts of temporal phenomena appeared either as a chapter in an ethnography or as a journal article which frequently consisted of the description of calendrical systems and time keeping devices or the various names of the phases of the moon

or tides. Some attempted Frazerian comparisons of time scales cross-culturally (Cope 1919; Nilsson 1920; Best 1922; Cardinal 1924; Bogoras 1925; Stinson 1928; Radcliffe-Brown 1933; Linton 1933; Jenness 1935; Austin 1939; Drucker 1951; Hilger 1951; Baker 1951; Kluckhohn 1953). While there is no special school of thought with regard to the anthropological study of time, or specialists in this area, various writers have drawn on an array of theoretical perspectives to inform their examination of temporal phenomena.

Probably some of the most thought-provoking and influential work on time was written during the "heyday" of the L'Annee Sociologique in Paris. Marcel Mauss, along with Henri Hubert were among early French sociologists who recognized the social significance of time. Leach (1961) in his discussion of time paraphrases the work of Hubert and Mauss (1909) stating that "the idea of Time, like the idea of God, is one of those categories which we find necessary because we are social animals rather than because of anything empirical in our objective experience of the world" (1961:125). It was this more general and descriptive view of Hubert and Mauss that was later used by Durkheim to support his views on time. Durkheim notes that there are a number of essential ideas which dominate our intellectual lives, "they are what philosophers since Aristotle have called the categories of understanding: ideas of time, space, class, number, cause, substance, personality, etc... They are like

the solid frame which encloses all thought ... for it seems that we cannot think of objects that are not in time and space" (1965: 9). These representations are a reflection of collective realities and representations. For Durkheim, time is like an "endless chart, where all duration is spread out before the mind, and upon which all possible events can be located in relation to fixed and determined guidelines. It is not my time that is thus arranged; it is time in general, such as it is objectively thought of by everybody in a single civilization. And in reality, observation proves that these indispensable guidelines...are taken from social life" (1965:10).

Three notable features of Durkheim's approach were that he (1) minimized the power of natural or environmental factors to affect temporal concepts; (2) he emphasized social structural features and (3) deemphasized the significance of the individual in either the perpetuation or change of temporal concepts. Durkheim along with Mauss viewed time from an exclusively social perspective in which the relevance of any temporal phenomenon was grounded in and perpetuated by society. Durkheim wrote that "the divisions into days, weeks months, years etc., correspond to the periodical recurrence of rites, feasts and public ceremonies; these systematic classifications have taken the forms of society as their framework" (1913:36).

Lukes, in his critique of Durkheim's sociology of knowledge notes that, "no account of relations between features of a society and the ideas and beliefs of its members could ever explain the faculty or ability, of the latter to think spatially and temporally...nor could it ever show that the necessity, or indispensability, of doing all these things was simply an aspect of social authority" (1973:447). Durkheim created for anthropologists a climate in which the orderly nature of society could be explored.

Empirical Studies

British social anthropologists elaborated on the works of Durkheim. Bronislaw Malinowski however, in his thorough recording of Trobriand life, recognized the influence environmental factors have in temporal reckoning. He noted for example, that Trobriand calendrics were dependent upon environmental factors such as gardening and the arrival of certain species in the region. Malinowski also noted that contingencies were part of the fabric of Trobriand understandings of time. He writes,

The year is subdivided into the time when the gardens are unripe and into that when they begin to mature. The festive and ceremonial season depends on the harvest, and occurs after it. The sailing and overseas expeditions are dependent not only on the winds, as they are never undertaken in the early part of the monsoon when conditions would already be propitious, but only after the main part of the garden work is over. This calendar is not only psychologically the most adequate, but in all practical arrangements the most effective. If the natives fixed an expedition for such and such a moon, they might or might not be able to keep to it, but when they say they will go at the time of

weeding, when the man's labours in the gardens are over and the women's work begins, they are giving the time at which they will actually be able to go (1927:210).

Evans-Pritchard's The Nuer (1940), is recognized as a fundamental reference in the development of anthropological writing on time. Evans-Pritchard's examination of time among the Nuer makes important contributions because he systematically explores not only structural time with its historical and genealogical components but also develops an in-depth examination of ecological time which firmly situates time within the natural/environmental events which form day-to-day life. He notes for the Nuer that "the daily time piece is the cattle clock, the round of pastoral tasks, and the time of the day and the passage of time through a day are to the Nuer primarily the succession of these tasks and their relation to one another"(1940:101). Evans-Pritchard's situating of time within the events of daily life of the Nuer served as an important guide for conducting my own fieldwork in Labrador. Evans-Pritchard draws attention to practical events of subsistence activities such as herding and recognizes that some phenomena such as the weather, droughts and the habits of animals are outside of human control. In discussing the Nuer system of time reckoning he observes that "within the annual cycle ... is a series of conceptualizations of natural changes and that the selection of points of reference is determined by the significance which these natural changes have for human activities" (1940:104).

Fortes (1949) in "Time and Social Structure" focusses on genealogical relations and uses time as a tool for the study of these relations. This contrasts with Fortes' contemporary, Evans-Pritchard, who was able to consider not only the importance of genealogical time but in addition was able to explore the nature of ecological time.

While Evans-Pritchard and Malinowski, writing from within the context of British social anthropology gave recognition to the importance of environmental factors in the time reckoning systems of the peoples they worked among, A.I. Hallowell on the other side of the Atlantic was also another early contributor to the anthropological study of time. Two central tenants of Hallowell's analysis are relevant to my dissertation. First, he develops the concept of the cultural construction of time and secondly he recognizes the position contingent events hold over the lives of Berens River Saulteaux generally and in their temporal orientations more specifically.

Probably one of the most important contributions to the study of time is Hallowell's formulation of the notion of the cultural construction of time. He notes that whether a people use such reference points as the movement of the moon or the stars or other environmental phenomena, their inherent utility comes about through the cultural meanings associated with these markers or reference points. For Hallowell, temporal markers are contextualized within a particular

culture. For the Berens River Saulteaux the contingencies of their boreal forest environment impact directly on how their temporal orientations unfold. Hallowell observes that

in Western urban culture, eating at regular intervals has come to be an established pattern that in itself provides uniformalized reference points in our temporal orientation. Being hunters and fishermen, the sources of food supply among the Saulteaux are precarious and means are irregular (1967:222).

Hallowell goes on to say that "on the whole, however, there are no set times for daily activities. Their rhythm is elastic in the extreme and except when motivated by hunger or necessity they are dictated to a large degree by external circumstances and by whim" (1967:223).

Subsequent research on time moved away from the more grounded work exemplified by these studies and moved toward an interest in the examination of broader issues such as cyclical and lineal features of time. Research on ritual provided the medium for this focus to grow and flourish. It is to the discussion of these issues which I now turn.

Intellectualist Studies

The intellectual tradition of Emile Durkheim has played an important role in the anthropological study of time. Durkheim saw ritual as reflecting the social relationships of society and functioned to reinforce tradition. As a result of this function, ritual for Durkheim reflects a temporal quality characterized by repetitiveness and order.

While Durkheimian notions about order have been influential, van Gennep's (1960 [first published in French in 1909]), tripartite model of separation, liminality and aggregation serves as the bench mark for subsequent work in the study of ritual and time. Rites of passage mark the transition of not only persons moving through the social structure but they also mark transitions in time as well. van Gennep saw rituals as having the function of buffering the hazardous effects of change and, like Durkheim, saw rituals as being both repetitive and generally orderly in form.

The influence of the Durkheimian paradigm - specifically the primacy of order and repetition in temporal constructs - surfaces repeatedly in the work of Leach (1961,1976), Levi-Strauss (1966), Horton (1967), and Geertz (1973) among others. This group introduces a more theoretically oriented perspective toward the study of time. They reflect an interest in identifying particular classifications of temporal systems. In other words, they try to class together societies whose notions of time are characterized by either cyclicity or linearity. These dichotomies include: cold vs. hot societies (Levi-Strauss 1966), closed predicament vs. open predicament (Horton 1967), depersonalization vs. the personalization of time (Geertz 1973). The labels carry implicit value judgments, since they essentially contrast traditional societies with western industrialized societies. Time in industrial societies is

seen by these authors as being primarily lineal while time in the traditional societies is viewed as primarily cyclical. The former is viewed as encouraging change and development while the latter manifests an avoidance of them.

Horton, for example, in characterizing traditional African time scales states that, "whatever the particular time scale involved, then, the passage of time is seen as something deleterious or at best neutral...a corollary of this attitude to time is a rich development of activities designed to negate its passage by a return to the beginning" (1967:177). This parallels Levi-Strauss's cold and hot societies; "the former seeking, by the institutions they give themselves, to annul the possible effects of historical factors on their equilibrium and continuity in a quasi-automatic fashion; the latter resolutely internalising the historical process and making it the moving power of development (1966:234).

Geertz, in "Person, Time and Conduct in Bali", discusses the numerous calendars used by the Balinese which run independently of each other. He focusses his interest on the aspect of order and synchrony that occurs every 210 days between different cycles. It is Geertz's premise that the Balinese have essentially a non-durational notion of time and that "Balinese social life takes place in a motionless present" (1973:404). Other research in Bali (Hobart 1975) suggests however, that indeed on the level of village politics a linear view of time exists and that in the area of

agriculture for example, complex multi-cyclic calendars do not serve as the major temporal ordering devices.

The work of Beidelman (1963), Ohnuki-Tierney (1969 and 1973), and Ortiz (1969) are representative of efforts to understand the temporal organization of culture groups in light of dualities. Beidelman for example, sees the conditions of dry and wet (winter and summer) and dark and light (night and day) as key dualities that form the basis of Kaguru temporal organization and take their structure from the environmental realm.

Ohnuki-Tierney (1969 and 1973) has made extensive use of the method of symbolic classification to explore elements of Sakhalin Ainu notions of time. Her research indicates that aspects of Ainu time, spanning a continuum from the course of a day to the lifespan of the universe, are divided into two symbolic domains: Ainu (human) and Super-Ainu (deities and demons). The two domains stand in binary opposition to each other. In regard to my research, Ohnuki-Tierney's examination of the temporal organization of a hunting, trapping and fishing society such as the Ainu, has proved insightful in my own efforts to make sense of Labradorian time. The Labradorian world is divided up into dyads or pairs such as public vs. private time, freeze-up vs. break-up and winter vs. summer. An important contribution to the understanding of temporal systems is Ohnuki-Tierney's observation that binary

pairs can and do cross-cut multiple levels of temporal organization.

Ortiz (1969) examines the dualistic nature of Tewa society focussing on the forces which mediate socially and temporally contrasted summer and winter moieties. While the dual nature of Tewa kinship serves as the central core of Ortiz' discussion, he has set himself the task of deriving "as many implications as possible about the operation of these several forms of dualism in Tewa culture as a whole" (1969:4). For Ortiz, the study of Tewa moieties is a study of both social and symbolic dualism (1969:5). A common theme running through their respective examinations of dualism, is an emphasis of the emic basis of these symbolic classifications of temporal systems -- these dyadic pairs arise out of the data.

LEACH ON RITUAL TIME

After performing the exercise of slotting societies into orderly and contrasting categories other questions arise, such as: how do we think about the experiences that are not characterized by the 'dominant' temporal category? How do we develop a way of understanding linearity in traditional "cyclical" time systems and vice versa? Finally, how useful is it to create such broad categories of classification when a more complete examination of time may be warranted in given societies such as Labrador? Neat dichotomies such as these

perpetuate the assumption that cyclicity and linearity are separate and opposed. As well, they perpetuate the idea that the temporal system of a society can be more clearly understood by lumping it into one category or another.

Leach's "Two Essay's on the Symbolic Representation of Time" (1961) serves as an important source for most contemporary discussions of time in anthropology. With these two essays, Leach bridges ritual and time research by forging more explicit links between the two areas that were only alluded to in van Gennep's work. Nonetheless, the basis of his perspective is informed by an underlying assumption that "among the various functions which the holding of festivals may fulfill, one very important function is the ordering of time" (1961:134-35). Clearly, the Durkheimian concern for order is observed in Leach's work. However, while he sees rituals as ways of transporting individuals from one social status to another he parts company with earlier students of social structure when he states that he also sees rituals as "creating intervals in social life" (1961:135). Leach's notion of time as a "discontinuity of repeated contrasts" is directly linked to what he calls "two basic experiences: (a) that certain phenomena of nature repeat themselves and (b) that life change is irreversible" (1961:125). Leach sees, anomalous, liminal and short-lived experiences to be the central or pivotal force in the creation of temporal concepts. Leach's emphasis upon ritual aspects of time serves to

deemphasize time which is not directly influenced by taboos or heightened by tensions between sacred and profane poles. Regrettably, he does not elaborate on the nature of time that occurs in normal secular life, which in effect makes up the bulk of people's lifetimes. While Leach's interpretation has remained very attractive to me, I am reluctant to embrace it given the fact that human culture has such a cohesive and integrative quality with numerous features interconnected and influencing each other. If this is the case for so much of human cultural phenomena, then it seems only prudent to assume that while rituals may have an impact on the events of everyday life that, in turn, everyday life must inform the configurations of ritual events take on in any given society.

Bloch, in his examination of the social creation of knowledge also recognizes this tendency to emphasize ritual and relates it's persistence on the part of scholars in the "ritual school" to concentrate "almost exclusively on ritual communication and myth" (1977:285) as opposed to non-ritual communication. Ritual communication for Bloch, means a broad category which includes: "greetings and fixed politeness formula, formal behaviour and above all rituals, whether social, religious or state" (1977:285).

Leach essentially focusses on the repetitive and irreversible aspects of time as being separate and opposed. Leach writes, "time itself (what ever it is), must repeat itself. My view is that we think this way not because there

is no other possible way of thinking, but because we have a psychological (and hence religious) repugnance to contemplating either the idea of death or the idea of the end of the universe"(1961:126). Embedded within this statement is an a priori assumption that time is repetitive. He suggests that there is something about humans that repulses them from even thinking about time in its lineal form. Yet this is not a satisfactory explanation. For one thing, in such societies as Japan death by suicide is not only contemplated but is seen as an option in maintaining the ideals of the social person which many individuals strive for throughout their lives. While he states that it is only mathematicians who are "ordinarily inclined to think of repetition as an aspect of a circle" (1961:126), this model is an inherent part of Leach's essays and is not at all alien to the many anthropologists who read them. The idea of repetitiveness is very closely linked with the idea of circle or cycle. This is a model he feels more comfortable with some years later and employs in a discussion of the symbolic ordering of the boundaries of social time (1976:35). See Figure 1 below.

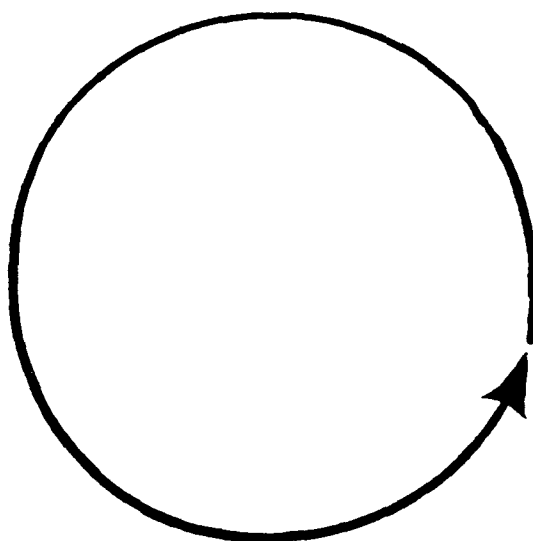
Leach states that time is a "discontinuity of repeated contrasts", that it is an "oscillation between polar opposites" such as: day-night, wet-dry, hot-cold, birth-death. By defining time in this way he effectively abrogates the significance of lineal aspects of time by saying that time is a discontinuity -- that is, lacking in sequence or coherence.

FIGURE 1

UNI-DIMENSIONAL REPRESENTATIONS OF TIME



Linear depiction of time



Cyclical depiction of time

This is not in accord with his earlier statements about the nature of non-repetitive or irreversible aspects of time, when he states that "we are aware that all living things are born, grow old and die, and that this is an irreversible process" (1961:125). Generally, the word process, refers to an occurrence marked by gradual changes that lead toward an end. While admittedly, these pairs and others like them may be common and useful contrastive sets, I do not know if we can prove the assertion made by Leach that the "discontinuity of repeated contrasts" is probably the most elementary and primitive of all ways of regarding time" (1961:134).

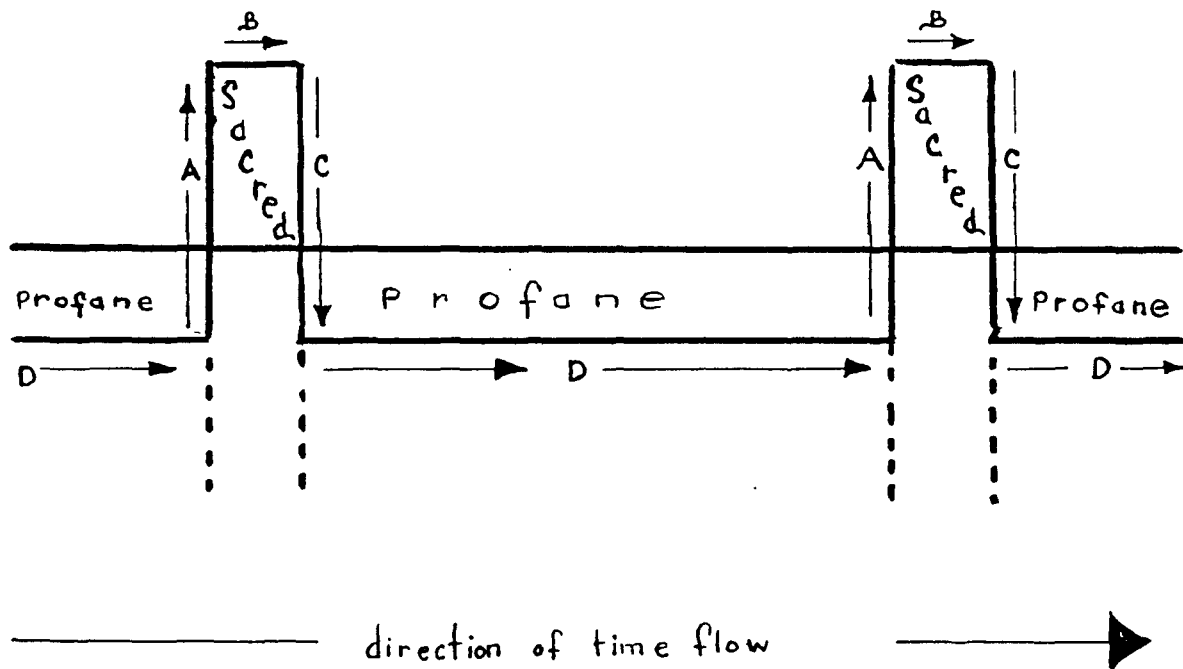
In two places in this essay Leach notes that thinking about time in a discontinuous fashion is really not the only option -- cyclical and linear expressions are other possibilities. He deemphasizes these two in favour of an oscillating model. It is possible that his consideration of this model is related to his position that the introduction of cyclic geometric notation may not be a metaphor for time in all cultures. But in all fairness pendulum or zig-zag models are not found universally either. I suspect that his pendulum or zig-zag model is essentially a preliminary step in finding an alternative to circular depictions of repetitive time.

Possibly Leach deemphasizes linear aspects of time because for him, what is of prime importance are the temporal boundaries, i.e., the ritual liminal periods, and what happens in them. There is something initially appealing in thinking

about time in this fashion. I remain hesitant however, in adopting this interpretation. Lets consider the boundary line between two countries. Without that boundary line those two countries could not be two separate and distinct countries with their own national identities, laws and customs. That boundary helps make each country what it is. But while a country's boundary is important it is not the same thing as the country itself or somehow more important than the country. Put another way, by focussing chiefly on liminal/ritual aspects of time and seeing them as primary would be like a physician specializing in the care of the umbilical cord and not on the welfare of the mother and her infant.

Leach depicts his understanding of time using two uni-dimensional models represented in figure 2 below. Initially he uses a simple zig-zag course or line (1961:131) to track the oscillations of repeated contrasts. In the second, he refines his model using a line to depict the liminal "time-out-of-time" that characterizes his view of ritual intervals. The effect of a visual depiction such as this, is that it concretizes in the minds of readers the assumption that repetitive and irreversible features of time are somehow very different and unrelated things, that what is important are the events that occur outside of regular time.

FIGURE 2
LINEAL REPRESENTATION OF TIME



Source: Leach (1961:134)

TOWARD A MODEL

Like Howe (1981), I hold that while humans may be different with respect to the terms they use to refer to the lineal aspects of time (Sapir 1931, Whorf 1956), all experience this aspect in some form - our own mortality impresses it upon us. Duration is an inevitable experience. Without the succession of events one after the other there is no time that can be zigged or zagged down a line or curved into a cycle. The fact that humans go to the trouble of creating repetitive notions of time suggests that they experience the impact of time's linearity. Concepts of reincarnation and life-after-death are examples of elaborate responses to the irreversibility of time. Furthermore, to see order as being situated in the neat repetition of pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal stages of ritual time is to suggest that non-ritual time (i.e., normal secular life) is by contrast considered unimportant.

The issue of the assumed static character of repetitive time and by extension the non-static character of lineal time can be explored in light of the idea of the successive quality of time. It is my view that this requires a drawing away from the uni-dimensional models of the circle and line used to depict time. For example, the arrow or the line are frequently employed to illustrate the lineal or irreversible features of time. They have an implied or expressed direction. However, the events which constitute

that line are not immune to or free from patterns or rhythms which may occur along that continuum. This holds true even if they appear to follow each other in a chronological sequence. The line or arrow fail to account for the possible repetition of these social and environmental patterns or rhythms.

By employing an image of cyclical time which depicts it as a circle we begin to assume that the cycle is a closed system, much like the twelve hours on the face of a clock. When looking at such a clock, it is never communicated to us the number of times that clock has measured the passage of days. It is the same with circular depictions of cyclical time. We know that there is a sequence of events which recur but we learn little beyond that. A circle, however can only be defined as a circle when a 360 degree revolution has been made by a curved line. In the experiential realm, cycles do not return to the same point, but to the same logical point (Howe: 1981). This is also true of Leach's oscillations. Unlike dogs and other animals, humans do not live in a continual present. Oscillations between day and night may be important but there is an awareness that every day and every night is not a carbon copy of the previous one. While cycles have a repetitive quality or characteristic inherent in them, there is also present a degree of irreversibility, namely, that the beginning, the middle and the end cannot be switched around and still have the cycle remain the same cycle. In our attempts to make the subject of time understandable, through

the use of models like circles and lines we belie our intent. In effect, heuristic models such as these which were initially devised to help explain abstract concepts, begin to take on far greater interpretive significance and impede our understanding rather than clarify it.

With uni-dimensional models like circles and lines, cyclical and lineal features are segregated and depicted as separate and irreconcilable. To put it another way, we do not have "X" number of cycles represented by circles or rings, each floating about in its own closed or independent state, nor are there simply arrows of time which are composed of random unrelated events that mass one after the other in a succession -- independent of pattern or rhythm.

It is my view that the lineal and cyclical features of time are not irreconcilable but rather that they are but two complementary ways temporal events can be represented in human societies. I hold that it is in the degree of apparent emphasis from culture to culture, on either cyclical or lineal time which helps to foster the illusion that they are diametrically opposed.

In the section below, and at various junctures throughout the remainder of this dissertation, I present a view of time which strives to reconcile, in a three dimensional helical model, the paradoxical nature of time - that it repeats itself yet is irreversible. The model considers the interrelationship of cyclicity and linearity not

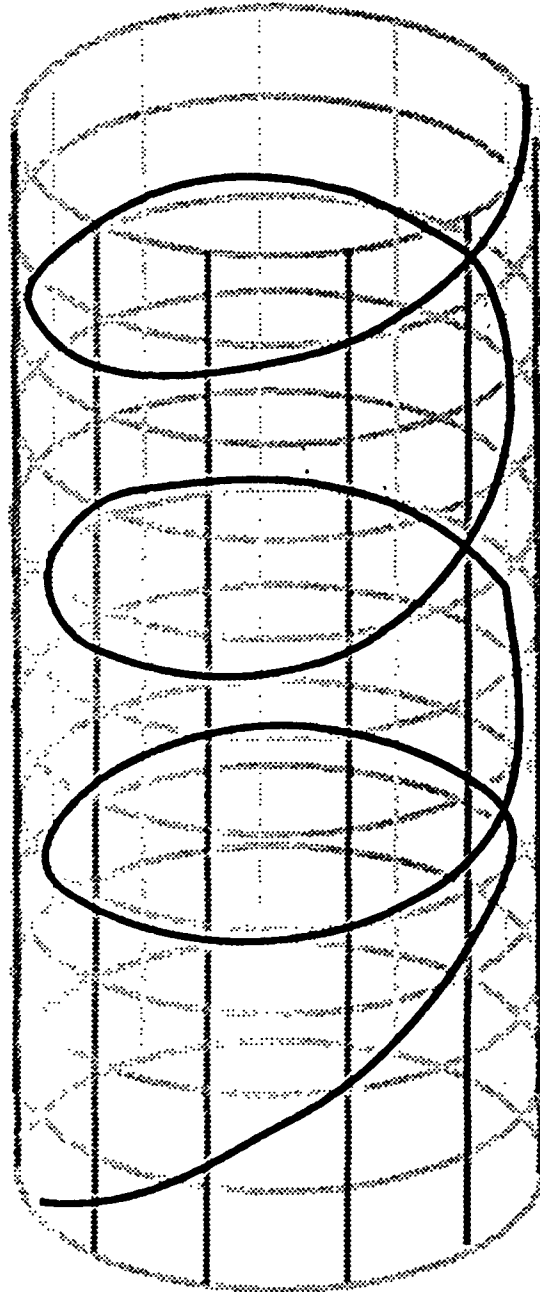
just the differences that exist between the two. I think it is useful to the advancement of anthropological thinking on time to begin representing its cultural construction using a model that accounts for its dynamic quality -- born not only of contingency but of the predictability of everyday life.

A HELICAL THREE-DIMENSIONAL MODEL

Let us say for a moment that we have time chambered within an open-ended transparent cylinder. We see along the surface of this cylinder a grid etched with markings. These markings form patterns. On the inside of the cylinder is a helix spiralling through it. It consists of a long series of events which follow one after another. A further aspect of this helix is that as it spins through the chamber, points will touch along the same longitudinal markings of the grid but at different latitudinal markings. These revolutions reflect the repetitive or cyclical quality of time. If, for example, we could pull the helix out of the cylinder and flatten it out on a table we would have before us a long ribbon of events one following after the other, linearly.

Time, in the form of a line (our flattened ribbon) has been the model employed by numerous authors (Leach 1961, 1976, Levi-Strauss 1967, Barnes 1971). Similarly, the depiction of cyclical time as a circle (Leach 1976) is a simple uni-dimensional view - looking that is, into our cylinder from its

FIGURE 3
HELICAL THREE DIMENSIONAL MODEL



Time can be considered a combination of Lineal and cyclical features.

opening. From this angle, the illusion of a ring or circle as opposed to a spiral is easily perceived. The helical model, however, reconciles two allied characteristics of time - linearity and cyclicity. Once we open up the possibility of the multi-dimensionality of time, then questions about the role of contingency can be addressed as well. In this thesis I defined contingent events as those occurrences which are overtly characterized by chance or unpredictability. These contingencies can be environmental, economic and cultural in their basis.

POSSIBILITIES AND CONTINGENCIES

An implication of uni-dimensional assumptions is that there is no room left for elements of contingency. I suggest however, that contingency is a fundamental element of temporal experience. I came to this understanding through an effort to identify the order and structure of Labradorian time. What I encountered was not only the order that Labradorians imposed upon the experiences of their daily lives but the various forms of contingency that persistently challenged these efforts at regularity. The overwhelming presence of contingency throughout Labradorian life caused me to reevaluate, albeit reluctantly at first, my own quest for order and regularity and to reconsider the impact which contingency has upon Labrador life in general terms and time concepts in particular.

The broader implications of recognizing the significance of contingency with respect to the study of time are that they force a reexamination of a reliance upon earlier functionalist approaches and suggest a more holistic view that takes into account not only order but in addition those conditions which warrant the imposition of order in the first place. Ultimately, it suggests that the regularity which we see or want to see initially may be a rather fragile illusion. Robert Murphy in discussing the nature of stability and order insightfully observes that "the apparent world is in a state of phenomenological flux, which humans attempt to overcome by the imposition of categories upon phenomena. Stability is attained through the falsification of reality" (1971 :96).

In his attempts to make sense of his data on Ndembu ritual, Victor Turner focussed on trying to understand the mid-transitional or liminal period. This liminal period is constituted by structural ambiguity, and a potential to question and transform existing social patterns during this stressful time of indeterminacy or contingency. Recognizing the importance of van Gennep's model, he "came to see that the liminal stage was of crucial importance with regard to (the) process of regenerative renewal" (1977:67). Turner found that while van Gennep identified the stages of pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal, he never expanded upon implications of his idea that the middle or liminal period marked the time when individuals were separated from the group and from daily life

due to what van Gennep termed their "dangerous" condition. Turner seizes on this notion of dangerousness and builds his analysis of ritual time around the idea that the second or liminal stage is pivotal in the processual chain of ritual events. In this phase the individual is betwixt and between. While Turner recognizes the centrality of the liminal period at this juncture in this work on ritual, he continues to view, like Leach, the liminal period as being separate from the rest of the ritual process and from ordinary time in general. This is evinced by his references to the liminal stage as a "moment out of time" (1969:96), and as a "no man's land and a no man's time" (1967:34). But in Turner's arguing that the dynamic nature of the ritual process is most intense during the liminal phase, he advances beyond Leach. This view also signals Turner's disassociation with Durkheimian and largely functionalist interpretations and a shift to a more dynamic processual stance with respect to ritual time. Turner contends that rituals are not just involved exclusively with the passive marking of social and temporal transitions. He argues that they can also dynamically help these transitions occur. For Turner then, the liminal phase of ritual time is not so much a dangerous place, as seen in earlier analysis, but a place for experimenting with new cultural ideas.

The refocussing of Turner's attention on the dynamic quality of liminality and his move toward a processual interpretation marks an important juncture. According to

Turner, a temporal state is created in ritual where there is "freedom to transcend social structural normative limitations, freedom, indeed, to play with ideas' (1977:42). He suggests further, that not all symbols, ideas or patterns must undergo change, but he does argue that the liminal phase of ritual "gives way to possibility" (1977:38). This is a critical observation. It underscores the idea of potentiality in social actions and social ideas and brings into question the assumed primacy of order in ritual. Turner argues that ritual provokes "novices, initiands and 'liminaries' into thinking hard about the basic building blocks of symbolic complexes they had hitherto taken for granted as 'natural' units" (1977:38). This "hard thinking" is brought about through experimentation and "play" in the liminal phase of ritual where contingent events often occur. On a macro level, we recognize that things repeat themselves - in somewhat the same fashion. On a micro level, we discover that events do not always repeat themselves exactly. The openness of the liminal state to possibilities admits the existence of contingencies which figure into the tinkering that can occur with symbolic complexes during the liminal state.

Turner's receptiveness to the idea of possibility arising within the specific context of the liminal phase of ritual time, has broader implications. These implications relate to the role of contingency in the lifetimes of individuals. These are the events that occur not only within

ritual time but in ordinary time as well. This is the fourth stage which Leach (1961:134) mentions but does not appear to have developed further.

My concern with the relationship between contingency and time in the context of South Labrador is addressed by the work of Sally Falk Moore (1975) and Renato Rosaldo (1989). Taking a cue from Turner's notion of possibility, Moore recognizes that contingencies or indeterminacies (to use her words) are the "underlying quality of social life" (1975:7). In a chapter entitled "Ilongot Improvisations" in Culture and Truth Rosaldo writes, "in my view optionality, variability, and unpredictability produce positive qualities of social being rather than negative zones of analytically empty randomness. Social unpredictability has a distinctive tempo, and it permits people to develop timing, coordination and a knack for responding to contingencies"(1989:112). For Rosaldo, contingencies constitute social spaces within which creativity can flourish. In light of anthropology's long preoccupation with the identification of pattern and order, Rosaldo's and Moore's perspectives are like a breath of fresh air. They recognize that as important as the task of pattern recognition is, there exist states of contingency which motivate humans to impose order. Moore for example, advocates that it is not just the predictable that demands our analytical attention but the contingent as well. She notes that, "there seems to be a continuous struggle between the

pressure toward establishing and/or maintaining order and regularity, and the underlying circumstance that counteractivities, discontinuities, variety, and complexity make social life inherently unsuited to total ordering" (1975:219). Moore goes on to make a key observation when she states: "every explicit attempt to fix social relationships or social symbols is by implication a recognition that they are mutable" (1975:221). It is a recognition of mutability in addition to a recognition of regularities that Moore advocates and this dissertation addresses.

Moore terms these "the processes of regularization and of situational readjustment". She defines the former as the attempt to "crystallize and concretize social reality, to make it determinate and firm (1975:234)". The latter is the "means by which people arrange their immediate situations (and/or express their feelings and conceptions) by exploring the indeterminacies in the situation, or by generating such indeterminacies, or by reinterpreting or redefining the rules or relationships" (1975: 234).

Moore's and Rosaldo's objective is to consider the contingencies extant in social life, to draw the reader's attention to contingency in its broadest social and cultural contexts. They are trying to do what Halsted and O'Shea hope more social scientists would do. They observe that "given the universal prevalence and potential drastic consequences of variability, it is perhaps surprising that social scientists

have in the past concentrated on the 'normal' or 'average' conditions of human existence" (1989:2). I try to expand upon Moore's and Rosaldo's insights by analyzing the impact of environmental and ritual contingency in the specific ethnographic context of coastal Labrador and exploring the interrelationships these contingencies might have with respect to the temporal configurations operating there. In a region such as Labrador, the understanding of these kinds of contingencies is a prerequisite for understanding social life as a whole.

In Labrador environmental contingency influences in powerful and numerous ways subsistence and social activities which include hunting, trapping, fishing, berrying, wood cutting, visiting, and securing supplies. Essentially, the impact of environmental contingencies based on weather and ice conditions and variations in resources are most profoundly felt in the context of the annual and daily temporal cycles and is reflected in the planning, strategies and execution of these activities.

Ritual contingency is centered in the celebrative events of Christmas and Easter. The scheduling of these two events is predictable given their position in the liturgical calendar. It is within the context of Christmas janneying (masking) and Easter drinking that ritual contingency is heightened. Janneying and drinking are characterized as culturally defined and constituted periods of time in which

inversive, outrageous and contingent behaviour is allowed to occur. Labradorians provide the emic interpretation that during these periods of ritual licence, "you never know what a janney (or a drinker) might say or do". These ritual periods not only open up opportunities to a broad spectrum of contingent behaviours but they also transform the daily temporal cycle of events by inverting ordinary daily routines and placing them at the beck and call of revelling guests.

Labradorian society responds to ongoing environmental contingency via accommodation and acceptance. Furthermore they try to institute order whenever possible in their daily lives and by carefully defining the proper decorum which guides their social relations. They empower themselves during their inversive ritual periods however, to "create" their own contingency and thereby control it -- determining when it will occur and the length of its duration. It is within the process of Christmas and Easter celebrations that this ritual contingency occurs.

While Moore and Rosaldo address themselves to broader social concerns with respect to contingency, other researchers, notably in the eastern Sub-arctic (Preston 1975, Marano 1983, Steegmann 1983 and Winterhalder 1983) and the Arctic (Briggs 1984, 1986 and Minc and Smith 1989) have explored the place of contingency in the social fabric of the Northern Algonkian and the Inuit, respectively. It should be noted that many of the points these authors make about the

situations arctic and sub-arctic foragers find themselves in can be applied to other foraging peoples, however the commonalities that can be drawn between these two regions are particularly germane to the situation of South Labrador as the section below will briefly indicate and Chapter Four on the environmental cycle will explore in greater detail.

Preston, in his examination of Cree narrative (1975), explores the notion of contingency as it relates to hunting experiences. It was Preston's analysis of contingency, especially his discussions of (a) how contingency contributes to reshaping recollections of experiences and (b) the understanding of subsequent experiences, which assisted me in recognizing and then articulating more fully, my observations of how central a position contingency plays in Labradorian life.

Preston (1975), in light of earlier observations by Speck (1935) regarding Cree responses to environmental contingencies, argues that his data does not show evidence of fearfulness as Speck suggests. Preston notes that "even in cases of death through starvation and exposure, there appears the notable self-control of panic, focussed fear, or anger. Speculatively, I think that self-control is unconsciously held as the most appropriate way of coping with an external world that is full of contingencies that are only sometimes predictable, or susceptible to influence" (1975 :257). By "focused fear", I interpret Preston to mean a form of fear

which is intense and expressed in action that responds to the dangers or stresses at hand. Preston's perspective on Cree responses to contingency represents a more developed understanding of the contingencies of life in the boreal forest.

Marano (1983), Steegmann (1983) and Winterhalder (1983) in contributing to a collection on boreal forest adaptations focus on a constellation of responses to the contingencies with which Northern Algonkians must contend. These responses include psychological and social responses such as endurance and sharing, the harnessing of supernatural forces to overcome obstacles or to interpret events and finally technological innovation such as the use of toboggans and snowshoes. According to these researchers and others, starvation, drowning, and fire are among the most serious contingencies which these Northern Algonkian peoples face. Winterhalder observes that,

because the environmental factors affecting the forager vary more or less independently and on different time scales and dimensions of space, and because optimal foraging decisions must evaluate simultaneously many factors of the environment, it is possible to assert that the significant elements of the environment of the boreal forager, taken together, are nonrecurrent on the scale of his or her lifetime. The foraging experience is always novel. (1983:235).

Winterhalder goes on to succinctly state the view held by himself and by Marano and Steegmann generally that,

The Cree forager is always learning about climate, landscape and animal behavior. Because the environment changes rapidly, in multiple ways and

with significant degrees of statistical unpredictability, the major adaptive skills of the human forager are (1) observational sensitivity to the state of the ecosystem, (2) the ability to evaluate simultaneously many environmental factors which will effect foraging methods and abilities and (3) flexible responses (1983: 236).

Marano, notes that coping with the effects of the cold or other contingencies in the boreal forest for that matter, is largely "a function of learning appropriate cultural response repertoires" (1983:270). These responses can range from learning how to pace oneself while tracking moose, wearing appropriate clothing and stopping for what he terms the "ubiquitous tea breaks" of the Cree and the Ojibwa which serve as not only times for sociability but play a vital role in regulating dehydration and rehydration during winter hunting in the bush.

In a similar light, Briggs in her discussion of the management of uncertainty in Canadian Inuit life states, "uncertainty is a salient feature of traditional Inuit life, in both social and psychological realms, as well as in the physical work of weather and animals. I'm talking, of course, about camp Inuit, who are still hunters. Their world is often experienced by them as full of pleasure and comfort, but at the same time it is a high-risk world, full of uncertainties--and Inuit too conceptualize it this way" (Briggs 1984:1).

Briggs works out an assemblage of characteristically Inuit coping devices which could be employed in what Moore might term "situational adjustments" to contingency. They

range from denial, control, resignation, de-investment, maintaining a present orientation, meticulous observational skills and even maximizing contingency. The Inuit, like the Cree, recognize that theirs is a dangerous world. For both groups the full and uncontrolled expression of fear, is not at the forefront of either of their responses to a dangerous world. According to Briggs' data, the Inuit recognize that the emotion of fear can emerge at inopportune times and thus they purposefully play with dangerous social and physical situations to sharpen their responses when the chips are down. "Inuit find it useful to keep danger salient--to keep alert and watchful, and to develop abilities to cope imaginatively, realistically, independently, and quickly" (1984:14).

Minc and Smith (1989) in examining their North Alaska data on cultural responses to resource variability conclude that the coping strategies utilized among the Tareumuit and Nunamiut fall into roughly five categories: (1) diversification in local and extra-regional resources, (2) mobility both intra-regionally and inter-regionally (3) Storage both physical and what they term "social" storage, (4) generalized and delayed exchange and (5) cultural expectations, rituals and social institutions which accommodate and contextualize uncertainty.

The findings of these northern ethnologists clearly indicate that contingency plays a foremost role in the outlook of the peoples they have studied and the way they conduct

themselves in their arctic and sub-arctic worlds. Their data indicates that immobilizing fear is not the emotion of preference when responding to contingent events. Furthermore, while there may not be a great opportunities to enforce control over actual occurrences of contingent events for either the Algonkians or the Inuit, there is an expectation that there is control over the type of responses one can make to contingency. The attitude of both groups suggests that the self-control of emotion, especially fearful and potentially immobilizing emotion, is possible and often essential. This research also indicate that for arctic and sub-arctic groups, while there is not much that can be done to control environmental contingencies that await them in the future, there is the notion that a key to the resolution of contingent situations lie in having the self-control and a broad range of technical and social skills to meet each contingency as it presents itself situationally. Just as there are scant opportunities to make specific plans for contingent situations that might occur in the future there is usually little time for lengthy deliberation over which response to make as a situation unfolds. It is this sense of immediacy which forms the core of Inuit and Algonkian responses to contingency--whether it is contingency of a social or physical nature. This immediacy of response is not one that should be construed as impulsive or rash. Rather, it is experience and self-control that form the foundation of action.

Labrador, situated at the coastal fringe of the Eastern Sub-arctic, consists of a combination of boreal forest in the interior and an Arctic tundra ecozone along the coastline. Southern Labradorians who inhabit this region share similar mobility and subsistence patterns, material culture and some linguistic and ritual features of indigenous Montagnais (one of the Northern Algonkian groups) and Inuit culture. This indigenous input came about as a consequence of marriages between native women and English and Scottish fishermen during the early contact period. Contact with Montagnais hunters and their families, well into the 1930s, provided protracted input from indigenous cultures. Through these environmental and cultural commonalities, we are able to discern similarities between Northern Algonkian and Inuit responses to contingency and those of South Labradorians. What Winterhalder says about Cree foragers - namely that they are always learning about climate, landscape and animal behavior -- that their foraging experience is always novel can be said of South Labradorians. Similarly, just as observational sensitivity to the ecosystem and the ability to simultaneously evaluate many environmental factors is important so is their need for flexible responses.

In a related vein, I focus my attention on the impact of environmental and ritual contingencies as they relate to temporal constructs in South Labrador. If contingency is a core feature of the Labradorian world like that of their Sub-

arctic and Arctic neighbours, then flexibility should be a necessary part of their responses to these contingencies. Extending this further, it seems very likely that attempts to regularize their lives, in conjunction with flexibility and accommodation to contingencies are reflected in their temporal constructs.

SUMMARY

In this dissertation I formulate a three-dimensional model of time which not only acknowledges the relatedness of repetitive and irreversible features of time but endeavors to integrate these two features in a helical fashion that advances the anthropological examination of temporal phenomena. This research is the result of my own contemplation of Labradorian temporal behaviour and constructs, along with my thinking on a composite of questions, concepts and insights that have crystallized out of existing research on time and contingency. This dissertation is the product of research which from its onset focussed specifically on puzzling how a particular cultural group experiences time and tries to make sense out of it. I try to build up from and advance beyond the works of such anthropological luminaries as Evans-Pritchard, in particular his recognition of the significance of environmental factors in social process. Edmund Leach's seminal work on symbolic representations of time kindled my fascination with time and

sent me on my own quest to explore more fully the important place it holds in understanding the world view of a culture. Beyond Evans-Pritchard and Leach, I have relied heavily on the works of Turner, and later, Moore and Rosaldo to provide both inspiration and direction to my analysis. Their work has not only tolerated contingency in the ritual process but reflected a concerted effort toward exploring the implications of contingent events in social life. I have come to the understanding that if I were to only look at ritual time I would lack the context in which this ritual time is situated. Not just in the broader cultural context which we all recognize is essential to good ethnography, but very specifically to place ritual time within the larger temporal context of the society I am studying. Through my synthesis of various areas of anthropological writing (including studies of which deal with ritual time, to resource variability), my attempts to systematically examine temporal phenomena in a specific culture and my creation of a three dimensional helical model, I provide researchers with an important and useful way in which to examine temporal phenomena.

CHAPTER THREE

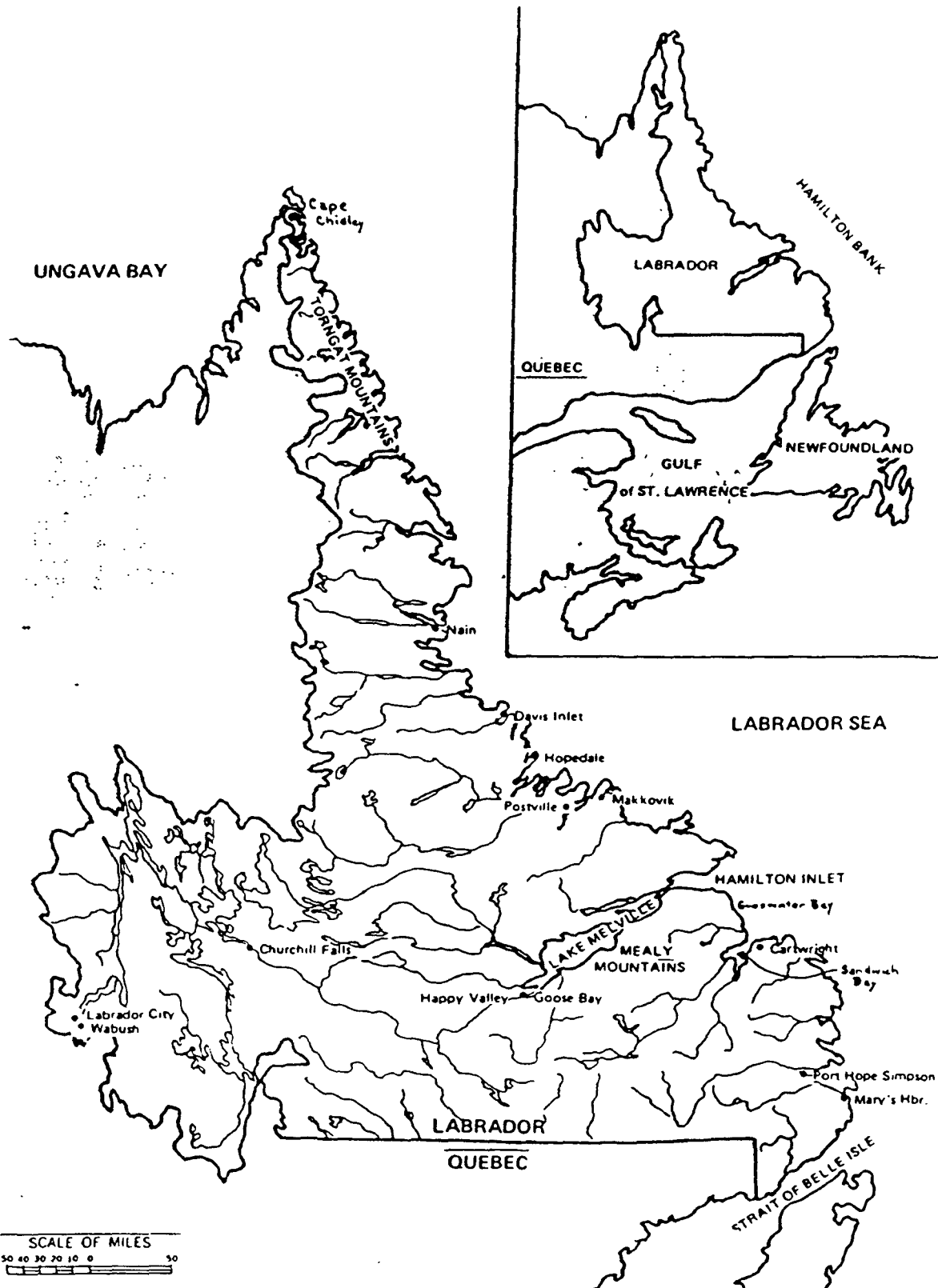
HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL SETTING

INTRODUCTION

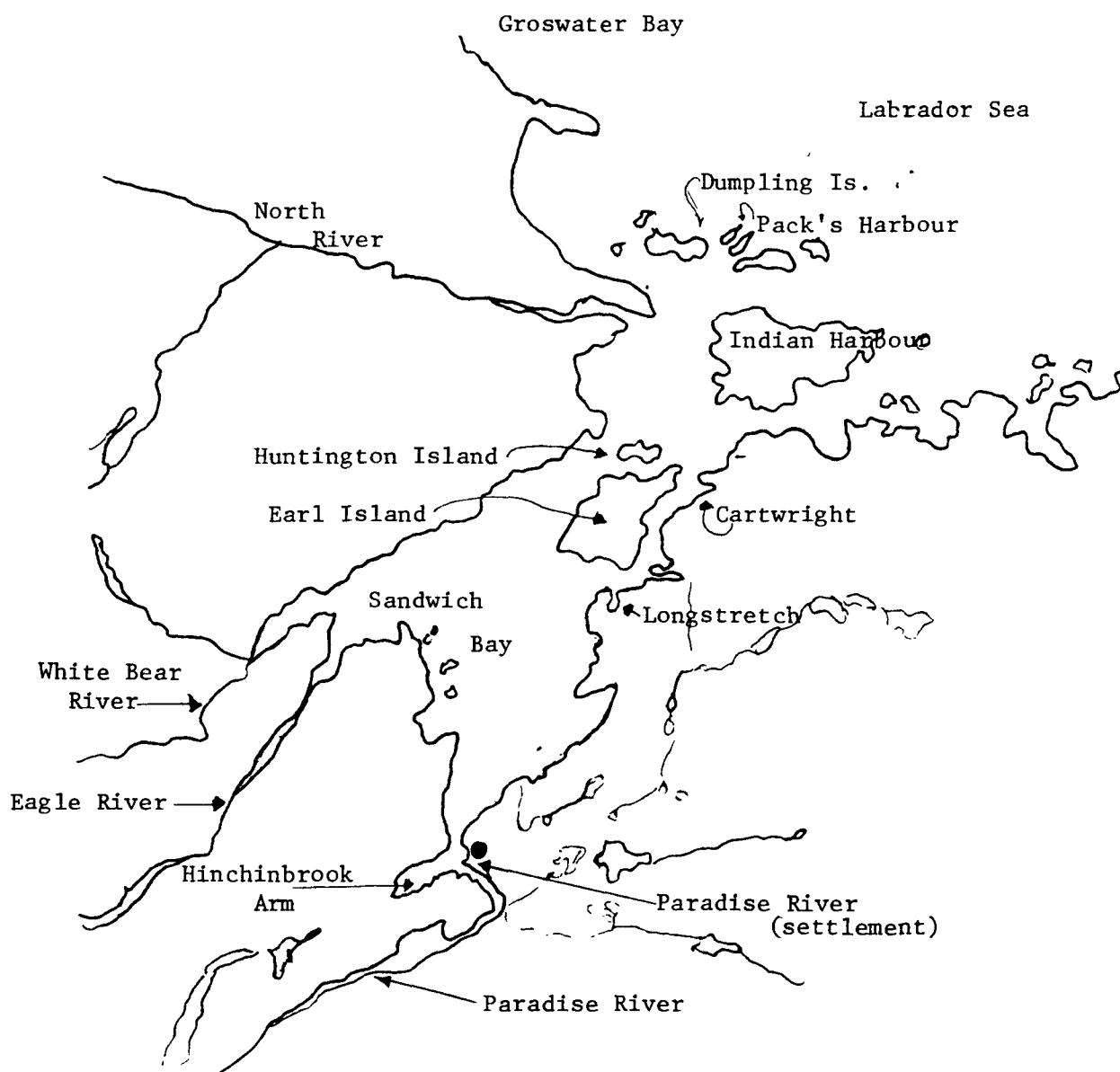
From the time of the earliest Inuit occupations² until the present, environmental contingency has been a key factor in modes of adaptation along the coast of Labrador. Socio-economic contingencies, increasingly more complex in Labrador's recent history, have also contributed to the development of a complex culture where indeterminacy occupies a central position. Given the limited amount of ethnographic research that has been conducted the south coast of Labrador, this chapter fills an important ethnographic gap. In it, I lay down the groundwork for understanding the role contingency has played in the lives of coastal people by providing a detailed introduction to the history, geography, resources, subsistence patterns, and setting of the region. On this basis a more thorough examination of contingency, as it relates to temporal issues, can be considered in subsequent chapters. Labrador (see map 1) lies to the east of the province of Quebec, in Canada's Eastern Sub-arctic. It is bounded by Hudson Strait, the Labrador Sea and the Strait of Belle Isle. Labrador makes up the larger northern portion of

MAP 1

LABRADOR



MAP 2
SANDWICH BAY, LABRADOR



the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. Sandwich Bay (see map 2), where this ethnographic research was conducted, is situated along a stretch of coast, south of Lake Melville and Hamilton Inlet.

The ensuing historical description provides a baseline of information concerning the culture group presently living along the Labrador Coast generally and then focusses more specifically on the area of Sandwich Bay and its immediate environs. This historical section is divided into two parts. In the first part, I describe the period following the era of European exploration of this region and the emergence of mercantile trade. In the second part, I describe conditions in Labrador from the end of the nineteenth century to the present.

HISTORY

British Interests in Labrador

With the arrival of European explorers beginning with John Cabot in 1497 and followed by Joao Ferandes, John Rut and Jacques Cartier, the waters of the Labrador Sea had been recognized as holding great abundance in aquatic life in the form of cod and salmon and large marine mammals such as whales. This natural abundance attracted the fleets of many European nations and caused numerous disputes regarding the dominion over these waters and the adjacent coastal land.

However, with the exception of a relatively short-lived Basque whaling settlement at Red Bay in the 1500s and a series of French settlements along the North Shore of the St. Lawrence, European interest in settling Labrador was minimal.

With the end of the Seven Years War (1763), Labrador was annexed to the government of Newfoundland. Governor Palliser fortified the Labrador coast at Chateau Bay and York. Later fortifications were then made further north at Spear Harbour and at Temple Bay in the late 1700s. The year 1770, marked a critical date with respect to British occupation of the Labrador coast and in the history of Sandwich Bay. Captain George Cartwright landed at Pitt's Harbour in Labrador. For Cartwright, this was to mean the beginning of a fifteen year stay in Labrador and the establishment of the first British settlement in Sandwich Bay in 1775. George Cartwright has been noted for his successful dealings with the Inuit. Had it not been for American privateers who took possession of his ship, large quantities of his goods, and who enticed thirty-two of his men away, he would have probably had an even longer and more significant impact on the direction of Labrador government and mercantile affairs. The privateering incident, which cost Cartwright an estimated 14,000 pounds, proved to be the beginning of a long series of misfortunes, culminating with his eventual return to England in 1786. Cartwright however, continued to maintain a share in his Labrador business holdings. While no longer living in

Labrador, Cartwright still championed its cause in England. Having experienced first hand the cavalier manner in which merchants conducted their affairs along the coast and the continued harassment by American fishermen, Cartwright in 1787 tried to introduce some form of British governmental presence in Labrador. Whitely notes that, "the lawlessness of the remote Labrador coast was condemned by George Cartwright and other contemporary observers but powerful merchants continued to intimidate weaker ones and masters exploited their employees largely without check" (1977: 21). Cartwright petitioned the Colonial Secretary for the establishment of a separate government. But, due to a lack of knowledge about the region and general British disinterest in Labrador, the matter was shuffled back and forth between the Governor of Newfoundland and the Government of Lower Canada (Quebec). Little progress was made until 1807, when the Governor of Newfoundland finally deployed warships along the coast of Labrador to deal with American fishing vessels.

Cartwright's vivid accounts of rampant piracy communicate the level of uncertainty or contingency that he and the rest of the British population endured along the coast. They were faced with the environmental contingencies of Labrador', and the economic contingencies inherent in the steady turnover of merchant houses and fluctuating prices for the fish and furs they produced. In addition, they never knew when brigands might round the point and rob them of their

weapons and possessions, the tools of their livelihood, their marketable goods and in some instances even their lives. This state of contingency was compounded even further by the fact that dominion over Labrador was uncertain. Not only were they subjected to surprise attacks by privateers and the unscrupulous practices of fish merchants but they were uncertain who had jurisdiction over the region and could halt these raids and the exploitation by merchant houses. Indeed, it can be said that their lives were filled with much chance or unpredictability.

In 1809 the re-annexation of Labrador to Britain finally took place. Re-annexation provided some improvement in the regulation of (1) mercantile affairs, (2) trade with other countries (in cod, salmon, seal, whale oil, furs, whalebone and tusk) and (3) intervention in civil disputes arising along the coast. Sovereignty over Labrador however remained confused and indeterminate well into the twentieth century when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of Great Britain in 1927, overturned the Province of Quebec's claim to Labrador and declared it a part of the Colony of Newfoundland.

The historical record of the coast is particularly enhanced by Cartwright's journal, entitled: Journal of Transactions and Events During a Residence of Nearly Sixteen Years on the Coast of Labrador (1792). Cartwright's accounts are detailed and candid. His description of the variety of

flora and fauna is remarkable. Cartwright also displayed an affection for the Inuit, who had become part of his operations at Sandwich Bay. When trading with visiting Inuit on July 7, 1772 he wrote in his journal; "I spent the greatest part of the day visiting from tent to tent, and in conversing with the principal men; who not only behaved to me with respect but did me the honour to call me an Esquimau" (Townsend 1911:110).

Cartwright's journal also provides excellent accounts of Inuit culture in the Eighteenth century as well as the culture of early English and Scottish fishing crews of the period. Much of this early "ethnography" was facilitated by Cartwright's learning of Inuktitut. His journal has also served as a major lexical source on the Labrador dialect (see : The Dictionary of Newfoundland English: 1983). Probably one of Cartwright's most memorable and tragic experiences with the Labrador Inuit relates to a voyage to England in the autumn of 1772 when he took along six Inuit. The party was the source of great interest to the common man as well as the King of England, who extended to the Inuit travelers an invitation to visit his court. The visit would have been a success had it not been for the tragic fact that two days out of port, Caubvick, a female member of the Inuit party fell ill with smallpox. Cartwright returned to England immediately. Despite medical help, only Caubvick survived the outbreak and returned to Labrador. To Cartwright's horror, she served to infect other Inuit upon their return.

Cartwright was the only European religious, medical or legal figure present on the coast during the late 1700s. He presided over funerals, the delivery of infants, and adjudicated grievances and even administered out the punishments. He was not only keen on hunting game and netting fish but also planted various European vegetables with success, thus countering claims by Cartier and others of Labrador's barrenness. The rich alluvial soil of interior Sandwich Bay continues to yield hardy garden crops for families today.

The Fishery and the Fur Trade

The documentation of European settlement of the Labrador coast is an extremely difficult task due to a number of contributing factors. Firstly, many of the settlements were seasonal or short-lived, secondly, many of the employees of the large British mercantile houses were poorly educated and were either unable or disinterested in documenting life on the coast. As well, many were fugitives from the law or from the Royal Navy's press gangs and preferred to remain anonymous. Thirdly, and as a consequence, what little documentation does exist is sketchy at best and lacks the kind of information that explores and reconstructs the social conditions of the day. Even with these obstacles, it is possible to re-construct something of the life of early coastal settlers.

During the early periods of British presence in Labrador, occupation of the land (shore) was largely confined to the cod fishing season of the summer months. In the autumn, crews would return to Britain on ships laden with sun cured (dried) cod. However, as greater British commitment to the cod fishery grew, some companies left a few men behind during the winter to maintain (and in some instances protect) shore-based drying and storage facilities. These crews, consisting primarily of unmarried men, were also engaged in trapping along with repairing and preparing gear for the coming fishing season. Lacking strong familial or economic ties in England, many of these men adopted Labrador as their new home, frequently taking Inuit or Indian women as their wives. These women, with their existing complementary skills of manufacturing clothing and footwear, and processing game foods (among other skills), proved to be a critical factor in the permanent European settlement of the Labrador coast. It is largely from the nucleus of these families that the present day population of the South Labrador coast springs. The legacy of this amalgamation of European and Native cultures continues to be a distinctive characteristic in the way Labradorians perceive themselves today. Physical attributes, subsistence strategies, language and oral history are constant reminders of a heritage in which residents of the south coast continue to take pride and which they use as criteria for distinguishing themselves from Newfoundlanders.

With George Cartwright's departure from the mercantile scene in Labrador, a long succession of mercantile establishments rose and fell. The houses of Noble and Pinson of Bristol and Dartmouth respectively, acquired Cartwright's Sandwich Bay establishments and held them until 1816. At that time another Dartmouth firm, Philip Beard and Company took over the operations at Sandwich Bay. During this period, Labradorian salmon fishermen were still being harassed by New England and Nova Scotian schooners who were netting salmon in their bay illegally. By the 1820s, more mercantile houses from both Britain and Newfoundland began to appear in the Sandwich Bay region. Several situated themselves outside the bay and therefore, outside the spheres of the larger firms. Archival documents indicate that Fluctuations in the cod and salmon fishery were being recorded during this period [archival material from the P.T. McGrath Collection (Box 10, Folder 3)]. During the mid-1800s, fishing establishments started to change hands at what must have been an alarming and disruptive rate for the fishermen of the region. Both small and large firms competed for the control of fishing stations and fish stocks. Market prices fluctuated wildly. The group to suffer the most from these economic contingencies were the fishermen and their families. Records from circuit court sessions consistently reflect the dissatisfaction of local people with the allowances paid to them by the merchants. Documents from the Newfoundland Executive Council, indicate

that conditions were exceedingly poor for families in Sandwich Bay and elsewhere along the coast. In 1881, an order issued from Government House in St. John's, engaged merchant houses in Sandwich Bay and Hamilton Inlet to distribute a sum of 400.00 dollars in relief to the needy. In 1916, the Newfoundland government proposed a re-evaluation of relief needs along with the best methods of distribution of relief. Ultimately, it was determined that the continued use of merchants as relief agents was the least problematic from an administrative perspective. The government's reconsideration however, failed to take into account or simply chose to ignore, the longstanding tensions and patterns of exploitation inherent in merchant/servant relations. These problems were compounded by the additional role of merchant as welfare agent. Thus Labradorian people were faced with the uncertainty of not knowing from one fishing season to the next who they might be dealing with on the other side of the merchant's desk. If they ran into hard times, had poor luck with the fish, had their gear destroyed by icebergs or stolen by brigands, could they depend on being treated fairly and with dignity by the merchant-cum-welfare agent? Historical sources and the stories passed on from one generation to the next indicate that coastal people were vulnerable to the whims and vagaries that presented themselves as they repeatedly established relationships with an ever changing stream of merchants.

A trend toward increased stability among mercantile operations in the Sandwich Bay region did finally begin around 1852. In that year, the firm of Hunt and Henley purchased a fishing premises at Dumpling and dismantled and floated the buildings to the settlement known as Cartwright. They apparently prospered, since they built two large ocean going vessels, loaded them with salmon, caplin and herring and proceeded to ship them to Australia where both vessels and their cargo were sold. By the 1870s, the house of Hunt and Henley had numerous operations in and around Sandwich Bay but began to sell them to the Hudson Bay Company and to merchants from Conception Bay, Newfoundland during the rest of the decade. From this period onward the mercantile operations in Sandwich Bay (and the middle-coast region) have been dominated by the Hudson Bay Company. At the beginning of the twentieth century, companies conducting business in the trade of fish and furs included the Hudson Bay Company, the C.S. Porter Company of New York City, S.B. Fequet Company and Revillion Freres. The Hudson Bay Company enjoyed the largest market share. In 1915, Revillion Freres sold their Sandwich Bay facilities to Clarence Birdseye, a Boston businessman. Birdseye converted the operation into a self-styled experimental fox farm. According to informants, his operation's high overhead and other problems made its success unlikely. Furthermore, the idea of penning local fox species, securing their food, managing their care, protecting them from

predators along with removing their dung seemed very alien and unnecessarily complex to coastal people. Like the tending of elaborate gardens, such enterprises require predictable tending on a daily or twice daily basis. The gardens that people set consisted mostly of hardy crops of potato, cabbage and turnip. For the most part, these varieties do not require a great deal of fuss. In effect, fur farming and more elaborate gardening, tie down people whose primary subsistence patterns require that they be able to move to a series of locales to exploit a wide variety of wild resources. The contingencies inherent in the environment make it hard for them to be able to guarantee that they can reliably return every 10 to 12 hours to feed and water animals they have penned up and can who can no longer fend for themselves. Mobility at short notice, either by tradition or inclination (or both) are part of the foraging lifestyle of Labrador. Ideally, Birdseye's scheme could have introduced some measure of regularity into the acquiring of furs which in turn could be converted into cash. However, such a scheme is best only when demand is high on the international fur market. Trappers know only too well that prices for this resource are highly volatile and totally outside of their control. When fur prices are deflated, people must quickly refocus their energies toward activities which might make up for the lack of fur-generated resources. The flexibility necessary to shift directions in the subsistence sphere is a key to survival in

the Labradorian world. Ensuring access to a resource by penning it up can introduce some measure of control over a highly contingent enterprise like trapping. What is gained in regularizing one contingent enterprise however, must be balanced against the requirement of flexibility to meet other subsistence demands, environmental contingency and market fluctuations. In broader temporal terms, investing time, energy and resources in a fur farming operation means that there is a belief that when the scheme pays off, sometime in the future, the climate will be favourable for a good return on the investment. In coastal Labrador, experience teaches that the gamble is just too great and the stakes too high. When Clarence Birdseye's scheme failed he had the option of falling back on his impressive financial reserves. He did have an opportunity to recoup his losses in Labrador via another venture. While in Sandwich Bay he observed the process of "flash freezing" practiced by local people. He returned to the United States where he proceeded to develop the process into a multi-million dollar frozen food industry. None of the profits derived from this process however, found their way back to Labrador.

In the early 1920s, Atlantic Fisheries of St. John's built cold storage facilities at Packs Harbour, the summer locus for most coastal salmon fishermen from Sandwich Bay. At this juncture, the first significant competition to the Hudson Bay Company's domination of Sandwich Bay is observed.

Lumber Resources

By the late 1800s, the Sandwich Bay region was also beginning to attract not only larger Newfoundland fishing operations but lumbering companies as well. The government, learning of Labrador's large forest stands, began to issue timber leases to lumber and pulp and paper companies. Most of these enterprises failed due to the contingencies of navigation, transportation, and freeze-up and break-up. As well, the inaccessibility of some the best forest stands and the high overhead needed to establish and maintain operations proved to be prohibitive for developers. Like so many of the economic ventures initiated along the coast, lumbering was often high on expectation and low on remuneration. For the coastal people, this pattern of failure of outside entrepreneurial enterprises has evolved into a skepticism which continues to inform contemporary local opinion of development programmes introduced by governmental agencies and local groups. People know that starting operations such as these is a gamble -- the contingencies are many and the stakes are high. Experience tells them that it is usually the companies and not local people who are insulated from the many contingencies that threaten the success of entrepreneurial endeavours and other projects.

In the 1950s the last major lumbering enterprise in Sandwich Bay occurred during a slump in the fishery. Operating on the promises of good pay and better living

conditions many men uprooted themselves and their families from around the bay and relocated in Paradise River, the site of the lumbering operations. The lumber company, however, went into receivership within two years of initiating the project. Failure was blamed on the poor forecasting of costs to extract lumber and to establish the Paradise River operation.

Government and Health Services in Labrador

It was not until the 1870s that the Newfoundland government began to take a more active and responsible role in servicing the needs of people along the Labrador coast. In 1871, mail service (only in the summer) was extended to Cape Harrison. It was not until the 1880s that one physician was assigned to the mail steamer to care for the medical needs of the all coastal people which included the year round population of Labradorians and the summer influx of Newfoundlanders. While these medical services were a marked improvement over no care at all, they were only available during a very short period. Furthermore, if storms, fog or other contingencies erupted, people were unable to rendezvous with the steamer. Much suffering and the loss of life are recounted in the stories older men and women told me about this period. Such contingencies were characteristic of health care delivery until the beginning of the twentieth century.

In 1892, the Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen, (a British Organization dedicated to providing for the medical and spiritual needs of North Sea fishermen) made efforts to remedy this situation in Labrador. Wilfred T. Grenfell, a recently graduated physician from Britain, was sent by the mission to assess the needs of the Labrador fishermen and their families. During his first summer along the coast he treated close to 1000 patients as far north as the Inuit settlement of Hopedale. From 1892 onward, Grenfell would spend his summer months caring for the sick in Labrador and Northern Newfoundland and throughout the remainder of the year he carried out the fund raising and publicizing tasks of what became known as the International Grenfell Association (I.G.A.).

The I.G.A.'s early involvement in Labrador responded to three areas of need: medical, spiritual and socio-economic. By the 1930s the I.G.A.'s efforts were manifested in the establishment of orphanages, schools, health facilities, clothing distribution centers, centers for the development of cottage industries, co-operative stores and the introduction of a herd of reindeer from Scandinavia.

The reindeer were acquired in the hopes of establishing a reliable source of meat and especially milk products. Unfortunately, the reindeer experiment was a naive and ill-fated venture from the outset. While Labradorian lifestyle displays a semi-sedentary pattern, the introduction of a whole

new subsistence strategy, namely reindeer herding, was probably far more than Labradorians were either motivated toward or capable of undertaking over a short span of time.

While the co-operatives were expected to free the fishermen from their bondage to the merchants, they failed to address the fact that Labradorians had no previous experience with managing such economic ventures, much less a cultural precedent or predisposition for community-wide economic co-operation. Fishing, trapping and hunting are largely individualized activities or ones carried out with close kinsmen. Coastal people, personally aware of the contingencies of life in Labrador life and having observed the vulnerability of economic ventures remained skeptical.

Wilfred Grenfell's Industrial Works Projects were aimed at diversifying the economy and providing cash employment. However well-meaning Grenfell and his staff were, the project failed in part due to a superficial understanding of the dynamics of social change and the historical and cultural factors peculiar to life in coastal Labrador. While it was Sir Wilfred Grenfell's aim to free fishermen from the bondage of merchants, his operations in Labrador effected many changes, most significantly in the delivery of health care. Ultimately, it was in this direction that the I.G.A.'s mandate evolved. However, much of Grenfell's involvement in Labrador was informed by a romanticized view, which his numerous adventure books reflect. For Grenfell, Labrador served as a

stage upon which he acted out the roles of healer, humanitarian, social reformer, adventurer and possibly even saviour. The paternalism which characterized Grenfell's approach has eventually (though gradually) faded. Today, the International Grenfell Association has evolved into a new entity, the Grenfell Regional Health Services Board, established in 1981. The G.R.H.S.B. now draws its board members from all parts of the region and focusses on local participation in decisions regarding future health care delivery.

Religion and Education

Aside from the early presence of Moravian missionaries among the Inuit populations and the Roman Catholic priests (from Quebec) among the Naskapi and Montagnais, the presence of clergy in Labrador was particularly limited. The population along the south coast was virtually neglected either by design or by accident. The Moravians, in their characteristically thorough fashion, sent missionaries in 1872 to "test the waters" in Hamilton Inlet and Sandwich Bay. In both areas, the decision was ultimately made not to begin missionary efforts due to the unsympathetic reception given them by English and Scottish settlers and the already well-entrenched fish merchants who wielded considerable economic and social influence in these areas.

Throughout the nineteenth century, missionaries from the Anglican and Wesleyan Methodist churches were periodically sent to the Labrador coast to minister to the needs of the people. They reported that they found few Bibles or prayer books and even fewer people who could read them. Marriages were performed by a simple attestation in the presence of witnesses and the rare baptisms were conducted by anyone who could read a prayer book. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, however, both the Anglican and Wesleyan Methodists established missionary circuits and encouraged the people to construct chapels and one room school houses along the coast. It was not until the 1880s that sparsely equipped Anglican and Methodist schools were established in Sandwich Bay. Young itinerant teachers, both male and female, were recruited from England and Newfoundland. It was their task to teach children in Hamilton Inlet, Sandwich Bay and regions slightly to the south. A teacher spent roughly one month in an isolated settlement or hamlet, teaching the rudimentary subjects and guiding the children's spiritual development and then moving on, via dog team or boat, to the next hamlet. Teachers often served as lay-readers for the congregations in and around the bays. Teaching in Labrador also required that they migrate with families to summer fishing stations that were scattered along the coast, teaching their charges where they might be found. As a result of their efforts, the literacy rate on the eve of the twentieth century made a dramatic improvement among

both children and adults. During the first decade of the twentieth century, a well established Anglican congregation was in evidence in Sandwich Bay and a resident minister and school teacher were posted at Cartwright, the bay's largest settlement. A church, parsonage and school were erected at Cartwright, while combination chapel/schools were built at Dove Brook and Paradise River.

The diaries of the Anglican priest, Reverent Henry Gordon (1972) who was posted at Cartwright from 1915-1925 and the Methodist missionary, the Reverend Arminius Young (1916) stationed along the middle coast from 1903 to 1905, provide rich accounts of the lives of the people of Sandwich Bay at the turn of this century. Gordon's diary, in particular, describes, in heart-wrenching detail, the events surrounding the Spanish Influenza epidemic of 1918. Over the course of a few weeks, roughly one quarter of the Sandwich Bay population was dead; the young and the aged were spared. As a consequence, about forty children were left orphaned. Reverend Gordon, under the auspices of the Anglican Bishopric of Newfoundland, initiated the Labrador Public School. The orphanage/boarding school, an impressive structure by Labrador standards, was a testimonial to Gordon's ability to inspire local co-operation. In the winter of 1928, however, the school burned to the ground. While none of the children were harmed, they were dispersed to relatives around the bay. Schooling, once again was focussed in the various settlements

across the bay. Strong ties between church and education persisted in Labrador until the 1960s, when schools were placed under the centralized administration of larger, more regionally based school boards. Sandwich Bay schools now fall under the jurisdiction of the Labrador East Integrated School Board, based in Goose Bay.

World War II and the Post-War Period

European wars have had varying effects upon the lives of Labradorians, but few have had the dramatic, long lasting and direct effects that World War II had. Labradorians, living as it were in the backwaters of the British empire, were never conscripted into the service of the Crown. Most wars posed problems only with respect to fishing or to the price of fish abroad.

With the outbreak of World War II, the Labrador fishery was in a slump, because of restrictions placed on the movement of fishermen offshore and a drop in fish stock which occurred in the 1940s. Trapping incomes were only moderately good since women's wartime fashions reflected thrifty non-frivolous styles.

However, with the American entry into the European conflict, a strategic location in the northwest Atlantic fringe was urgently needed from which freighters, bombers and supply planes could ferry across the Atlantic to Britain. After an American reconnaissance of the region in 1941, a spot

at the extreme western shore of Hamilton Inlet was designated as the site of the Goose Bay Air Field. Construction workers were needed to begin an enormous task, "the construction of a city to accommodate 8,000 people plus an airport" (Zimmerly 1975:231). As the news of the base spread along the coast, men began to flood into Goose Bay. The existing slump in trapping and fishing economies made wage labour an attractive alternative to coastal families. Given the hold of mercantile houses, cash was an uncommon commodity among coastal families. Payment for fish and furs was still paid in kind. The American base had overwhelming immediate as well as long-term effects on life in Labrador. During the construction phase, men were introduced to numerous challenges; dealing with crew schedules, working in large crews (that were neither kin nor locally based), coping with the culture shock of wartime American and Canadian military life, and finally, dealing with cash wages and their effect on traditional lifestyles.

Men from Sandwich Bay arriving, via dog teams, in Goose Bay in the fall of 1941 worked on crews made up largely of Newfoundlanders. Their experiences broadened their horizons and for some shook the complacency which had characterized the merchant/servant relationship for many generations. Toward the end of the base's construction period, most of the men returned to the coast. Some however, attracted by the employment opportunities of the base, moved their families to the small community called "Happy Valley", which mushroomed in

the shadow of the base. The majority of Happy Valley's population was and is still primarily made up of Newfoundlanders.

Once the war ended, American commitment to the base went through several stages of decline and an increased Canadian presence was established. These stages had a ripple effect throughout Happy Valley, which was and still is essentially a "one industry" town.

Confederation

The post-war period also brought about the issue of confederation and by extension the further colonization of Labrador by Newfoundland. Britain, in an effort to release herself from her far-flung colonial responsibilities, was anxious to extend independence to Newfoundland. In April of 1949, Newfoundland entered into confederation with Canada and elected Joseph Smallwood as its first premier. Smallwood, like others before him, saw Labrador as a colony or territory to be exploited for its fish, lumber, iron ore, uranium and hydro-electric potential at the falls of the Grand River, (renamed Churchill River by Smallwood). Profits realized from this hydro-electric project do not benefit Labradorians in a way that meaningfully reflects Labrador's contribution to the overall revenue of the province. While Smallwood changed the official name of the province of Newfoundland to include the word Labrador, Labrador continues to be treated very much as

a colony. The presence of the Newfoundland and Canadian governments in Labrador has brought many benefits to coastal people, but government involvement, health care, communications, education and other services have been and continue to be underdeveloped when compared to Newfoundland. In 1979-1980 for example, development of a uranium mine in the Postville / Makkovik area of Labrador was attempted with little initial consideration for the needs or health risks of the people to be affected. In the 1980s low-level flying tests over northern and central Labrador were conducted despite risks to the fauna and social risks to the populations dependent upon them. In both of these cases, only after local interest groups begun lobbying and making their protests known through the media, has attention been focussed on the concerns of Labradorians. These contemporary examples serve to sharpen the longstanding caution and mistrust Labradorians have developed of Newfoundland, which has enjoyed a 200 year harvest (some would argue exploitation) of Labrador's abundant resources.

THE SETTING

Geographical Features

Labrador makes up approximately 112,000 square miles of the eastern part of Ungava Peninsula. From Cape Chidley on Killinek Island, its boundary runs southerly along the shore

of the Labrador Sea to Baie Blanc Sablon. Labrador's southern boundary with the province of Quebec runs along the fifty-second parallel. Its western boundary follows on an, as yet unsurveyed line from the height of the land and the watersheds of rivers flowing easterly into the Atlantic Ocean. Labrador, roughly triangular in shape, is nearly three times the size of insular Newfoundland and is situated in the easternmost portion of the Canadian shield. The Mealy Mountains, which separate Sandwich Bay from Lake Melville, reach an elevation of 4,300 feet. Ground moraine, deposited during the retreat of the glaciers, has contributed to the numerous small lakes and bogs which are characteristic of the interior. The extreme coastal rim (as well as most of Northern Labrador) is characterized by a tundra ecology while the deep river valleys from Sandwich Bay southward contain abundant forest stands. The coast is indented by numerous fjords and bays. A chain of offshore islands extend along most of the 700 mile coastline.

Climate

While Labrador lies along the same latitude as the British Isles, its waters are much colder due to the Labrador current which flows southerly from Hudson Bay, Foxe Basin and Baffin Island. Tanner suggests that "the cooling and drying-out effect of this enormous discharge of icy arctic water" (1944:268) adversely affects the growth of vegetation along the outer coast. This extremely cold current also spreads

arctic plankton southward and is responsible for the abundant marine life which flourishes in the offshore waters and forms the basis of local subsistence patterns.

Freeze-up of coastal waters begins in late October in extreme northern Labrador and begins in mid to late November in Sandwich Bay. Fringe coastal ice, which freezes to a thickness of four to seven feet, makes winter travel feasible. Spring break-up begins in the Strait of Belle Isle and Sandwich Bay around mid-May and around the end of July at Cape Chidley. Labrador's climate can be characterized as Sub-arctic. Summers are short, cool and damp while winters are long.

Mineral and Hydro-Electric Resources

Mineral deposits of iron, nickel, uranium, molybdenum, copper and pyrite have been discovered in Labrador. One of the largest deposits of iron ore in North America was discovered in western Labrador in the 1890s. The Iron Ore Company of Canada acquired mining rights in western Labrador and built two modern communities in the 1960s: Wabush and Labrador City. By 1981 western Labrador's population rose to over 11,000 people, consisting predominantly of labourers from Newfoundland, the Maritime provinces and Quebec. Like other company towns, their financial fortunes are directly dependent upon the fluctuations of world iron ore prices. Since the mid-1980s for example, wide-spread lay-offs have been in

effect and families have relocated to other mining operations in Canada in the hope of employment.

The massive Churchill Falls hydro-electric complex built in the 1960s, is the second major industrial operation in western Labrador. None of the power generated, however, is sold in Labrador or Newfoundland. In a poorly negotiated settlement, the Government of Newfoundland agreed to sell Quebec the bulk of the Churchill output at remarkably deflated prices which will remain in effect well into the twenty-first century. Meanwhile, coastal Labrador settlements continue to rely on small community-size generators powered by imported diesel fuel.

In eastern Labrador, the development of shore-based mineral resources has been limited. In the 1980s development of uranium deposits near the northern communities of Makkovik and Postville were proposed by Brinco (British Newfoundland Corporation). However, local native communities, alarmed by the environmental and health hazards associated with uranium mining worked to halt (at least temporarily) further development.

The coastal region of southern Labrador also has abundant black spruce and balsam fir forests. Roughly 66% of the total land mass of Labrador can be classified as boreal forest, 9% of which is of a quality that can be sold for profit. Roughly 33% of the Labrador land mass (mostly northern Labrador and the coastal rim) is tundra (Wilton 1964;

Report of the Royal Commission Report on Labrador 1974, 639).

The largest and most actively exploited forests are situated in the basin of the Churchill River near Goose Bay. Other important stands are located in Sandwich Bay and Alexis River hinterlands. The high cost of extracting timber and its transportation to island pulp and paper mills coupled with the short navigation season continue to impede the exploitation of forest reserves. Until the time that these logistical problems are overcome or forest reserves decline in other parts of Canada, the extraction of Labrador lumber will continue to be deemed non-viable.

Residents of Sandwich Bay continue to make use of the forest for virtually all of their fuel, and until very recently, the bulk of their building materials which they process at small locally operated sawmills. Plywood and some treated lumber is increasing in popularity, despite its higher cost. Local lumber however, is still the preferred material for Sandwich Bay boat builders.

The exploration of offshore oil and gas has been ongoing for over twenty years. However, due to the threat of icebergs, pack ice, turbulent weather conditions and the fluctuation of world oil prices, development of these resources has been an on-again-off-again condition. At this stage of exploration, few jobs are held by Labradorians. Most drilling crews and shore-based support personnel are non-Labradorians.

The Fauna

The terrestrial animals which play a significant role in subsistence patterns in Sandwich Bay fall into two categories: 1. those which are primarily fur-bearers and 2. those taken primarily for their food value.

Moose are recent addition to the fauna of Labrador. The eastward migration was first reported in western Labrador in the 1940s and south-central Labrador in the 1960s. In 1953 the Newfoundland Wildlife Service introduced moose to the south coast of Labrador at St. Lewis River. Since that time, moose populations have been growing steadily despite some poaching problems. In the 1980s, licences were finally issued in the Sandwich Bay area. The opening-of season on moose will be an important addition to the diet especially when fish harvests and prices are down.

Caribou herds in the southeastern and Mealy Mountain regions have experienced declines, due in part, to overhunting in the past. However, careful wildlife management has improved the herds. There is only an open season for caribou in the southern half of Sandwich Bay. Since herds do not come into relatively close proximity to the bay however, most hunters do not actively pursue caribou. Some make hunting trips to their parts of Labrador where caribou are more plentiful.

Seals, which are considered both food and fur animals, are also hunted and netted. In the Sandwich Bay region,

however, sealing is not conducted as extensively as it is in the straits area or Newfoundland. Seal meat contributes a highly nutritious food source during the spring when supplies often run low. Arctic and snowshoe hare are also important food animals which are snared in the fall and winter. Their abundance fluctuates radically from year to year. Hunters report that in years when extreme food shortages occurred in the past and hare were scarce, squirrel was also snared as food. While the beaver is considered a fur animal its rich and flavourful meat is a delicacy as well. Porcupine, while at one time abundant in Sandwich Bay and environs, has all but disappeared due to overharvesting. Both meat and quills were used by local people. Other small game including ptarmigan and spruce grouse as well as migratory birds, (primarily ducks and geese) provide food. Beside the fur animals mentioned above, the marten, otter, lynx, fox, mink and bear are also trapped for their fur.

Marine Resources

The Labrador Sea offers, in various degrees of abundance, marine resources which include groundfish, pelagic, andromous fish, invertebrates and mammals like seals and whales. In the more northern regions fish and invertebrate species are usually smaller in size and require a longer period of time to reach merchantable sizes. This is generally attributed to colder ocean temperatures. Fish have played a

key role in the settlement and lifestyle of Labrador. The history of Sandwich Bay is particularly associated with the Atlantic salmon. Early Europeans were involved with not only the catching of salmon at the mouths of Sandwich Bay's three rivers: (Eagle River, White Bear River and Paradise River) but were also employed at canning operations in the early nineteenth century at Eagle River. Today salmon fishing still constitutes the primary fishing activity of most Sandwich Bay inhabitants.

Department of Fisheries and Oceans figures reported in 1984 regarding the socio-economic importance of the commercial salmon fishery in Newfoundland and Labrador indicate that for the Labrador region (1981-1983), "salmon revenues constitute 28.3% of total inshore (<35') fishing revenue, or 3.3 times the provincial average. Almost 90 landing sites in Area O (Labrador) depend on salmon for more than 20% of their total inshore revenue; 52 of these for more than 50%; and 28 for more than 90%. Labrador has neither the catching technology nor the processing infrastructure that would permit other species to replace salmon as a means of livelihood" (Grandy and Fisher 1984:16). Over the years, the fishery is conducted via the use of gillnets set out from the shore. This type of gear accounts for about 97% of the Atlantic salmon landings in Labrador (Pinhorn 1976:34). Atlantic salmon yields are subject to numerous peaks and lows. Over the years, the poundage of individual salmon has decreased. In 1979 for

example, the average size of a salmon was only three to seven pounds. The salmon fishery is also plagued by other contingencies including "dirty water" (small debris churned up from the bottom by rough seas), seals feeding on netted salmon, unpredictable break-up dates, rogue icebergs, poor weather and the fluctuation of world market prices. Recent government restrictions on the number of commercial salmon fishing licenses have been implemented in an effort to relieve some of the pressure on North Atlantic salmon stocks. The sharpest repercussions from these policy changes have been felt in Sandwich Bay and environs. When compared with the rest of the province, Sandwich Bay represents the area of greatest dependency upon salmon and one of the smallest commercial marine resource bases in the province.

A commercial trout fishery in Labrador is carried out in a fashion similar to the salmon fishery, using small boats (16'-20' [5 -7 metres] in length) and gillnets in estuarial waters. As well, there is traditional trout food fishery conducted north of Cape Charles. Since trout comes into season before salmon, it plays an important role in replenishing the family larder which can be low for most of the late spring. Both women and men are involved in the trout food fishery.

The cod is still the single most important species for the Newfoundland/Labrador region for landed weight and landed value (Pinhorn 1976:5). Historically, Labrador and

Newfoundland's European colonization centered on the exploitation of cod stocks off their shores. Figure 4 shows the various categories of fishermen who frequented the Labrador coast from the seventeenth century through to the twentieth century. The term, *liveyeres*, while used to differentiate residents of Labrador from other coastal summer fishermen, is applied primarily by outsiders or Newfoundlanders. Today, residents refer to themselves as Labradorians or Labrador People. This shift reflects the decline in the inshore cod fishery, the subsequent drop in Newfoundland fishermen participating and the development of a more visible Labrador identity.

For Labrador in particular, the prosecution of the cod fishery occurs predominantly in the inshore waters. For Sandwich Bay fishermen in particular, the cod fishery offers a third species to pursue when the salmon season declines in mid to late summer. Ideally, salmon and cod seasons should dovetail with each other.

Through the prosecution of the cod and salmon fisheries, Sandwich Bay fishermen and their families have developed a pattern of seasonal migration from the hinterland

FIGURE 4

CATEGORIES OF FISHERMEN ALONG THE LABRADOR COAST

Planters	White inshore fishermen who spend the summer in Labrador only to return to the straits of Newfoundland for the winter.
Stationers	Summer schooner fishermen from Newfoundland who rarely set foot on shore.
Bankers	
Floater	
Green Fishers	
Labradormen	
Liveyeres	White fishermen (often with native ancestry) who live along the sea coast throughout the year. A word meaning "to live here".

Sources: Tanner (1944), Innis (1954), Dyke (1968), Fitzhugh (1972), Story, Kirwin and Widdowson (1984).

of the bay to the coastal archipelago. Traditionally, families moved from the winter quarters to trout and salmon fishing stations and then on to their cod stations (anywhere from one to four stations in total) to maximize proximity to stocks and processing centers.

Two types of cod fishing techniques are employed: handline jigging from small boats or net trapping. Net trapping is the more recently introduced technology, but is used less extensively since it requires a substantial cash outlay for the initial gear. Some on-shore dry-curing has been conducted but a large measure of cod has been processed using the wet-cure method and was then sent off to Britain or Newfoundland for further grading and processing. From the 1930s onward, flash freezing replaced salting as the major method of preserving cod.

During the nineteenth century and during the early part of the twentieth century catches from Labrador began to decline. Increasingly, cod caught off the Labrador coast has been small in size relative to Newfoundland cod. This is believed to be due in part to cold water temperatures in the Labrador Sea and to overharvesting. A decline in participation in the floater and stationer fishery followed the depression of 1929 and continued to decline throughout World War II. Changes in salt cod markets; particularly the addition of new northern European competitors and changing tastes with respect to cod and salty foods (Black 1960, 1962;

Innis 1954, Report of the Royal Commission on Labrador 1974:536-37) were other factors contributing to cod's decline. With the discovery of the offshore spawning banks in 1959, modern foreign fishing fleets began to place heavy pressure on stocks (during the winter and summer) even before the cod could reach the inshore regions traditionally fished by Labradorians during the summer. "In the closing years of the 1960s, the average annual in-shore catch declined to less than 10,000 pounds, roughly equivalent to the catch of one trawler operating off the banks. From 1968-1972, the in-shore cod fishery of the Labrador coast has been virtually a total failure. In 1972, the total harvest of atlantic cod was slightly over 5,000,000 pounds and it was the first year that there was no export from northern Labrador." (Report of the Royal Commission on Labrador 1974: 537). With the advance of trawlers, cod stocks became decimated in the late 1960s and 1970s. In 1977, Canada finally declared a 200 mile off-shore limit and some relief was felt in the exploitation of cod stocks on the Labrador bank.

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, fishermen were reporting greater numbers of cod in the in-shore and mid-shore areas. Longliners, however now represent the largest percentage of harvesters. With the failure of the Labrador cod fishery in the 1960s, major and probably irreversible changes have occurred in the traditional in-shore fishery. According to the findings of the Royal Commission on Labrador,

cod stocks as a result of overharvesting, tend to arrive in-shore later in the season (1974:537). Their abundance is further interrelated to the presence of caplin, upon whom they feed. The cod's later 'strike' date (arrival date) also tends to widen the time between the end of the salmon fishery and the beginning of the cod fishery which traditionally overlapped. With a early fall rather than a summer cod fishery many fishermen are forced to stay idle for weeks in the summer. For those with school-aged children, participation in the fall cod fishery is made difficult because they have to shift their families back to the winter settlements in time for the school year. Early fall also spells the beginning of severe gales and hurricanes in the North Atlantic which are a threat to the lives of fishermen and adversely influence fishing success. Overharvesting of the off-shore banks also appears to have affected the location of feeding grounds which tend to be further and further from shore. This factor in turn, requires different types of gear and larger vessels (and their associated expenses) and more sophisticated fishing expertise, which includes the use of sonar among other technology. Together these factors spell the demise of the Labrador cod fishery. A shortlived rise in cod stock figures during the 1980s brought a renewed sense of optimism which has now been destroyed with the failure of the cod fishery in 1991.

Three other species figure in the non-commercial exploitation of marine resources in Sandwich Bay, they include: rock cod, caplin and sea urchins. Rock cod, which is jigged through the ice during the late winter and early spring) play an important role in supplementing the diet. Prior to the use of snowmobiles, dog teams were fed from caches of salted rock cod. Caplin was also used as dog food and as bait in the cod fishery. Caplin, which is still salted and sun-cured out on the moss and the rocks, is eaten during the winter. Sea urchins are occasionally used to supplement the diet during the summer. They have never been commercially pursued though international markets exist for them, particularly in Japan.

The Flora

Wild berries form an important part of the diet along the coast. The most popular varieties include redberries, blueberries and bakeapples. Fruit harvesting starts in the late summer on the coastal fringe and continues until the late fall at hinterland settlements. Some varieties like bakeapples are so popular that families often postpone their move to winter quarters until after their season has passed. Berrying is primarily a female task, though men enjoy berrying and usually try to go out with their wives (and/or their families as a whole) when they can. Harvests are preserved in a variety of ways which include pickling, jelly

and jam making, canning and freezing (using traditional and modern methods). Tarts, puddings, cakes and breads are popular forms in which they are prepared. In the last ten to fifteen years, a small cottage industry has emerged which oversees the production of sampler packs of local jams which are marketed in craft boutiques in Goose Bay, St. John's and Toronto. On the strait of Belle Isle, the Labrador Bakeapple Festival has been established to publicize the region's abundant berry, considered a delicacy in northern Europe. The festival draws tourists visiting Viking settlements across the straits in Newfoundland. Some isolated efforts have been made to collect and freeze berries locally for shipment to Canadian and foreign markets where demand and prices are high. Usually, local people use more informal marketing techniques such as selling surplus berries to neighbours, Newfoundland fishermen or tourists and crews on coastal boats.

Five other wild foods are also in use. Alexander (Scotch Lovage), a plant resembling parsley and celery is collected during the summer along the shore line. It is cooked fresh like spinach or pickled in brine for winter use. Wild peas are collected (less frequently, today) while very young and cooked in the conventional manner. One variety of mushrooms known as redcaps (Russella) are eaten in season. Drying, for winter use, is not practiced. Labrador tea, (a tiny low-growing laurel plant) was usually used by men on the trap line when the cache of ceylon tea was exhausted. Spruce

beer, made from the boughs of the black spruce, yeast and sugar is a non-alcoholic beverage and is also considered a medicinal tonic to strengthen and clean the blood. The gum of spruce trees is used in poultice preparations. Other non-edible plants are also used, these include various mosses used in caulking materials in log structures, kelp (sea-weed) as a garden fertilizer and sea grass for basket making (McGrath 1979; Scott 1979). In the Fall, some individuals earn money by collecting bags of cream coloured mosses for a florist shop in Goose Bay .

The coastal zone has limited agricultural potential. Soil conditions are poor and frost free periods amount to roughly seventy days per year. Family garden plots of hardy crops like potatoes, turnip and cabbage are grown along the river banks which drain into Sandwich Bay. The alluvial soil is rich and deep and hinterland temperatures are slightly higher than the coastal rim. More intensive cultivation of other crops that require careful and regular tending are incompatible with the summer migration to the coastal fishing stations.

Traditional Subsistence Patterns and Wage Labour

The major forms of subsistence in Paradise River are fishing, trapping and hunting. In addition to these activities, several families operate sport fishing facilities which are owned by outsiders and which cater to wealthy

American and Canadian executives and officers of the American and Canadian Armed Forces. A handful of men work seasonally in Happy Valley/Goose Bay as labourers and return to Paradise River for the winter. Most women tend to work in the household. However, the post-mistress, Labrador Airways agent/radio operator, the telephone operator (in 1980 there was still only one community telephone in Paradise River) were all women. A British registered nurse/midwife operates the IGA nursing station and is married to a local man. Without this lucky circumstance, Paradise River would be forced to rely on Cartwright for all its medical services. Socially, and demographically, this has implications especially with respect to the continued residence of aged persons who for health reasons would be forced to relocate to Cartwright or even Goose Bay.

The annual income of most families is derived primarily from the salmon fishery and is supplemented by income derived from the sale of furs and unemployment insurance benefits. Today, most of the trapping is conducted relatively close to the community. With the introduction of snow mobiles, men are no longer required to stay in the 'country' (the interior) on their traplines for extended periods of time. For a detailed discussion of trapping and hunting activities see: Brice-Bennett 1977, Fitzhugh 1972, Gill 1972, Goudie 1973, Jackson 1982, Schneider 1984, Tanner 1944, Zimmerly 1975 and others.

During the 1960s and 1970s trapping experienced a sharp decline, especially among younger men. Prices for furs were low and the rigors of trapping made it less desirable. Also, with relocation to Paradise River by many families, men lived further away from their hereditary traplines.

Today women supplement the family income by maximizing their needlework skills. Many women are involved in the production of fine knitted articles, parkas and hooked rugs for sale to craft co-ops. These articles are then sold in boutiques in Goose Bay, St. John's and in some larger Canadian cities. Most families however, depend on unemployment insurance benefits to round out their yearly incomes. Some families require welfare assistance from time to time. This tends to occur more frequently around break-up in the late winter or early spring, just prior to the beginning of the fishing season.

In the late 1970s, a renewed interest in trapping has developed among younger men who have been trying to learn skills from older, more experienced trappers. Traditionally, trapping skills, lines and gear were passed from father to son. Some people explain that with the beginning of unemployment insurance benefits men ended up 'fishing for U.I. stamps' (the minimum number of insurable weeks of income) during the summer and then trapped less during the winter since they had this more reliable source of income. It is more likely that fluctuations in fur prices, periodic resource

scarcity, relocation away from traditional traplines, a short lived period of wage labour in lumbering and the introduction of unemployment insurance benefits all contributed to a decline in trapping activities. The snowmobile has provided new technology that helped trigger a fresh interest in trapping. Some men now indicate that they do not mind going into the 'country' for a few days to check traps but prefer not to be away from their families for protracted periods. The snowmobile has also lightened the work load of trapping as it was practiced in the times of their fathers and grandfathers. Recent anti-trapping boycott, have delivered another blow to the economy of Labrador. Just as ramifications of the seal protest continue to effect life along the coast, it is expected that the aftershocks of the anti-fur campaign will continue to be felt for years to come.

Presently, hunting tends to focus around small game, though greater involvement in large game is beginning now that animal populations are reestablishing themselves through careful monitoring and regulation by the Department of Wildlife.

Population Trends

Census materials of Labrador continue to be unreliable. Because families disperse across Sandwich Bay and off-shore islands during the fishing season, it is difficult to insure

that all residents are enumerated. Some people are counted twice, others not at all. Some, because of the history of

TABLE 1
POPULATION TRENDS FOR PARADISE RIVER, LABRADOR

Year	Total	Year	Total
1901	74	1951	115
1911	7	1956	114
1921	16	1961	161
1935	n/a	1965	134
1945	112	1971	146
		1980	103

Sources: Dyke (1969), Report Royal Commission on Labrador (1974:1114).

their forefather's legal status, i.e., run-aways, feel slightly suspicious of being "counted". Since Labradorian notions of residence differ from those standardized by Statistics Canada, information provided to enumeration workers is not always accurate. Because of these problems, accurate population statistics are still difficult to acquire.

Table one shows population figures for Paradise River from 1901-1980. Census data before 1901 cluster the entire population of Sandwich Bay into one figure. Some figures are largely inaccurate. 1911 shows a decline of sixty-seven people and an increase between 1911 and 1921 of nine people. However this period should have shown a loss of one quarter of the population due to Spanish Influenza epidemic occurred in 1918. Figures show a gradual increase in population until 1961. After this period the population stabilized. However by 1980, population figures show a decline as more people are looking for opportunities elsewhere, family size declines and more couples remain childless or have fewer children. Paradise River presently has a larger percentage of unmarried men compared to unmarried women. Marriages tend to occur between Paradise River residents and people from Cartwright. Religious affiliation is not a critical factor in the selection of a marriage partner as it is in parts of Newfoundland (Szala 1978). The community is almost 100% Protestant (either Anglican or United Church). Sandwich Bay residence plays a greater role in marriage selection.

However, with the overall decline in population and outmigration, this criterion will probably hold less significance for marriageable individuals in subsequent generations.

As the adult population ages and requires greater medical care and with fewer children being born, some residents fear that the abandonment of Paradise River will eventually occur. With a drop in the number of school-aged children, the necessity of two schoolteachers may become difficult to justify to the regional school board. Most people feel that if resettlement became necessary, they would probably move to Cartwright. Others argue that boarding school-aged children in Cartwright, while a less desirable alternative, is the only acceptable solution. The spectre of relocation continues as a silent threat to residents.

Services, Education and Local Government

At present, Paradise River's residents rely on Cartwright for supplies and most government services. In Paradise River, there is only one small shop which supplies a few grocery items. Most families travel to Cartwright, once or twice a month, to buy food, clothing and other items at the Hudson Bay store or at two other smaller retail outlets. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police have a small detachment at Cartwright and the circuit court usually convenes there. There is no local community council in Paradise River.

Community members sit on specific committees focussed on the school, the church, road improvement, etc.. Officers of the Fisheries and Wildlife Departments are stationed at Cartwright as well as the Ministry of Transport radio operator. The IGA runs a small hospital which is staffed by one physician and one nurse. Since there is no high school in Paradise River, the few older students who continue their studies must board with relatives in Cartwright. A welfare officer is usually sent to Cartwright on a regular basis but does make periodic visits to Paradise River. The Anglican minister is posted at Cartwright. Periodically, visits are made to Paradise for services and spiritual guidance. In some instances the minister serves as a moderator at community meetings since no community council executive exists to fill such a role. A United Church minister also visits the community on a periodic basis. When services are held residents will often attend regardless of denomination.

Besides using their own speedboats or hitching a ride on a salmon collector during the summer, residents in Paradise River rely on the coastal boats run by Canadian National to move around the coast or to travel to Newfoundland. While the smaller vessels stop at most settlements along the coast, the large auto ferry only stops at Goose Bay and Cartwright. Labrador Airways services Paradise River twice a week--weather permitting. In 1984 a crude airstrip was finally completed. Before this time, planes landed on the river during the summer

(using floats) and on the ice during the winter (using skis). The mail arrives via Labrador Airways planes. The local post office provides rudimentary banking since the closest bank is located at Goose Bay. Mail-order catalogues are heavily relied upon for clothing and other goods and services.

Electricity is produced in the community via a small diesel-powered generator. Voltage fluctuations, brown-outs and black-outs are common. Water is drawn from private wells or from several brooks which run through the settlement. In 1979, a land-fill site was established just outside the settlement. Weekly garbage collection now occurs. The preparation of the land-fill site provided short-term work in the fall of 1979 for a number of men. One man now has seasonal employment as refuse collector for the community.

A small school and teacher's residence is located in the centre of the settlement. Grades range from kindergarten to grade eight. In recent years, teachers have come from Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and British Columbia. There are few Labradorian teachers available. Salaries for these teachers are paid by the regional school board. Like other small isolated Labrador settlements, there has been a steady turnover of teachers. Young graduates of Teacher's College see Labrador as a desolate place where one goes to gain some work experience. Since most teachers arrive with virtually no orientation to life in Labrador, experiences often start out poor and improve only slightly.

Until 1984, there was only one telephone in the community. Relying on a string of microwave disks, signals are beamed out of the community to Goose Bay. The one telephone was situated in the living room of the telephone operator's home. Private telephone conversations only became possible when service was finally extended to individual homes in 1984. Citizen Band radios powered by old car batteries, serve as an alternate communication system in the summer for families at salmon stations. During the winter, CB transmissions are impossible due to atmospheric conditions. In the early 1980s television service was also upgraded. Local people now watch cable stations from Newfoundland and urban areas in Ontario.

Over the nearly three hundred years since British fishermen first settled on the coast of Labrador they have faced many hardships and adapted to the demands of a harsh environment. Fishing, hunting and trapping, the primary means of subsistence, have at their core the characteristic of contingency. Each of these pursuits involves chance or unpredictability. Will the fish 'strike' early or late this year? Will the fish 'strike' at all? Will I catch fish in this net if I set it in this place? If I catch fish in this net, will they be eaten or fouled by seals? Will an rogue iceberg, or a freak storm sweep away my gear? Will I have the money to replace it? Will I get a fair price for my fish? Will there be enough fish for me to catch so I have enough

weeks of insurable income to collect unemployment insurance benefits? Will I have the luck to track enough animals to feed my family? Will the hare elude my snares? Will the animals be plentiful or will they be experiencing a low in their cycle? Will I be able to find sign that fur animals are moving along my trap line? Will they elude my traps? Will the scavengers and other animals raid my quarry? Will bad weather endanger my life or stop me from checking my traps regularly? Will I get a good price for my furs?

Because of the element of chance or contingency, hunters, trappers and fishermen even when their competence, resourcefulness, persistence is outstanding may still be unsuccessful in any of these activities in any given day or week. While they cannot predict what future successes they will have in any of these subsistence activities, their responses to the contingencies of these situations is characterized by a great deal of foresight. This foresight is based on detailed knowledge about past experiences with these subsistence activities and an alertness for "unexpected situations" (Nelson 1969:376).

Many of the "unexpected situations" that occurred in Labrador's past were political and economic. The random raids of privateers, the instability and insolvency of mercantile houses, the fluctuations in fish prices, and uncertain political sovereignty contributed to a climate where it was difficult to predict not only the outcome of fishing and

foraging activities but also how to interact with the outside world.

A skepticism born of experience and the accumulated knowledge of prior generations suggests that in dealings with outsiders, caution should always be exercised. A lack of commercial successes in Labrador has also coloured perspectives on economic opportunities for the future. Most economic ventures have been initiated by outside agents. The knowledge or input of local people has rarely been solicited or incorporated. Contingent or "unexpected" situations such as harsh and rapidly changing weather conditions, hazardous navigation due to icebergs and storms and variable break-up and freeze-up dates are all factors which influenced the failure of economic ventures in the region. A better understanding of these contingencies might have meant the difference between success and failure. As a result, outsiders are viewed by Labradorians as being largely unpredictable, motivated by self-aggrandizement and operating under a "here-today-gone-tomorrow" approach. The failure of the in-shore cod fishery in the 1960s due to foreign off-shore overfishing meant that fewer and smaller cod arrived later on the coast while large factory ships were reaping high yields. This required Labradorians to adapt to these contingencies by making changes to their fishing practices and migration patterns by extending the fishing season into the early fall when severe Atlantic storms and hurricanes are common. The

present catastrophe in the fishery due to overharvesting by outsiders has delivered a devastating blow to the economy. In the past, the multiple subsistence strategies of fishing, trapping and hunting helped minimize contingencies in one area by shifting energies to one or both of the other activities. However, the devastation of Atlantic cod stocks occurring at the same time as anti-fur protests escalate into a world wide movement means that Labradorians are now facing probably the most formidable economic contingencies of their lives.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ENVIRONMENTAL CYCLE

INTRODUCTION:

In my examination of Labrador temporal reality, the condition of contingency is viewed as a central factor in how time is both restructured and transformed. Contingent events, as stated earlier, can be defined as those occurrences which are characterized by a condition of chance or unpredictability. Contingency can occur in various degrees of intensity and can be social or environmental in form.

In this chapter, I shall explore the dynamic process by which environmental contingencies affect the way Labradorians think about and react to contingent circumstances and ultimately how this affects their constructions of time. Of particular importance is the contrast that exists between contingency that occurs in people's lives and the predictability that they can either recognize or infuse into these situations. The events of freeze-up and break-up are explored in particular, because it is within the context of these two annual environmental occurrences that the contingency inherent in the environmental sphere of Labrador life is probably the most dangerous, poignant, potent, noticeable and liminal. While much of what is included in

this chapter might customarily be termed the seasonal round of activities, I have purposely titled it the environmental cycle because this term draws attention to the pivotal role the environment plays in lives of Labradorians. To arrive at a clear understanding of the seasonal activities of Labradorians, special attention should be focussed toward the environmental conditions of each season. In Labrador these conditions are usually contingent in character.

In this chapter I also make an effort to differentiate between the work of women and men in the environmental cycle. I do this for two reasons. First, because the environmental or seasonal cycles of groups described in many ethnographies (including some that depict Labrador and Newfoundland culture) present a combined view of both women's and men's work. Frequently the subsistence activities reflect primarily male contributions. This conveys an impression that women's work carries less significance or economic value. Historically, we know that the skills of native Inuit and Indian wives of English and Scottish fishermen played a central role in the European settlement of Labrador and other frontier regions of Canada (see Campbell 1894-1895; Goudie 1973; Brown 1977, 1980; Etienne and Leacock 1980; Anderson 1988). Secondly, my Labrador data indicates a high level of complementarity in male and female work domains (Szala-Meneok 1984).

I suggest that a balanced view of male and female work domains provides a more accurate description of social

conditions and gives important information about how time and contingency are interrelated. This description adds pertinent data with respect to how the work of men and women is affected by contingency and explores the ways in which they are capable of infusing some degree of predictability into the contingent situations they encounter.

I develop my discussion of contingency and predictability further in relation to female and male work domains in Chapter Five, where I focus specifically on the events of the daily cycle. With respect to the ritual cycle two major events, namely Christmas and Easter, occur around freeze-up and break-up respectively. These two events are characterized by liminality, inversiveness and unpredictability. In Chapter Six, which deals with the ritual cycle, I explore these two ritual events which coincidentally or otherwise, fall at unpredictable and liminal times of the environmental cycle.

The events of break-up and freeze-up provide two points around which behavioural and ideational expressions concerning contingency crystalize. Contingency however, is not isolated to Labrador. Briggs, in a related study regarding the management of contingency in the Arctic states: "I want to emphasize the word "high-risk". All worlds contain uncertainties, but in the case of the Inuit, the risks they took were, until recently, unbuffered. The alternative to correct action could be death" (1984:1). No doubt, many of

the means by which Labradorians adjust to contingency can be observed in other cultures. The contribution this research makes to the general discussion of contingency is that it incorporates elements of contingency and predictability in developing an understanding of how they ultimately affect the temporal constructs of a particular people namely South Labradorians. This chapter is divided into five parts. In the first part there is a discussion of spring break-up. In the second part there is a discussion of the events of the summer. In the third and fourth sections I describe the autumn and the onset of freeze-up and the beginning of winter, respectively. In the fifth section there is a discussion of the winter activities. In these five sections I develop a picture of the environmental conditions and the situationally adjustive responses Labrador people make in light of them. From this vantage point I explore the significance of the key or pivotal temporal events of break-up and freeze-up and how their contingency affects the construction of temporal reality. I conclude that contingency is important to the analysis of time because it unstintingly challenges human efforts to impose regularization or predictability upon human experience. One way humans impose regularization is by the invention of time.

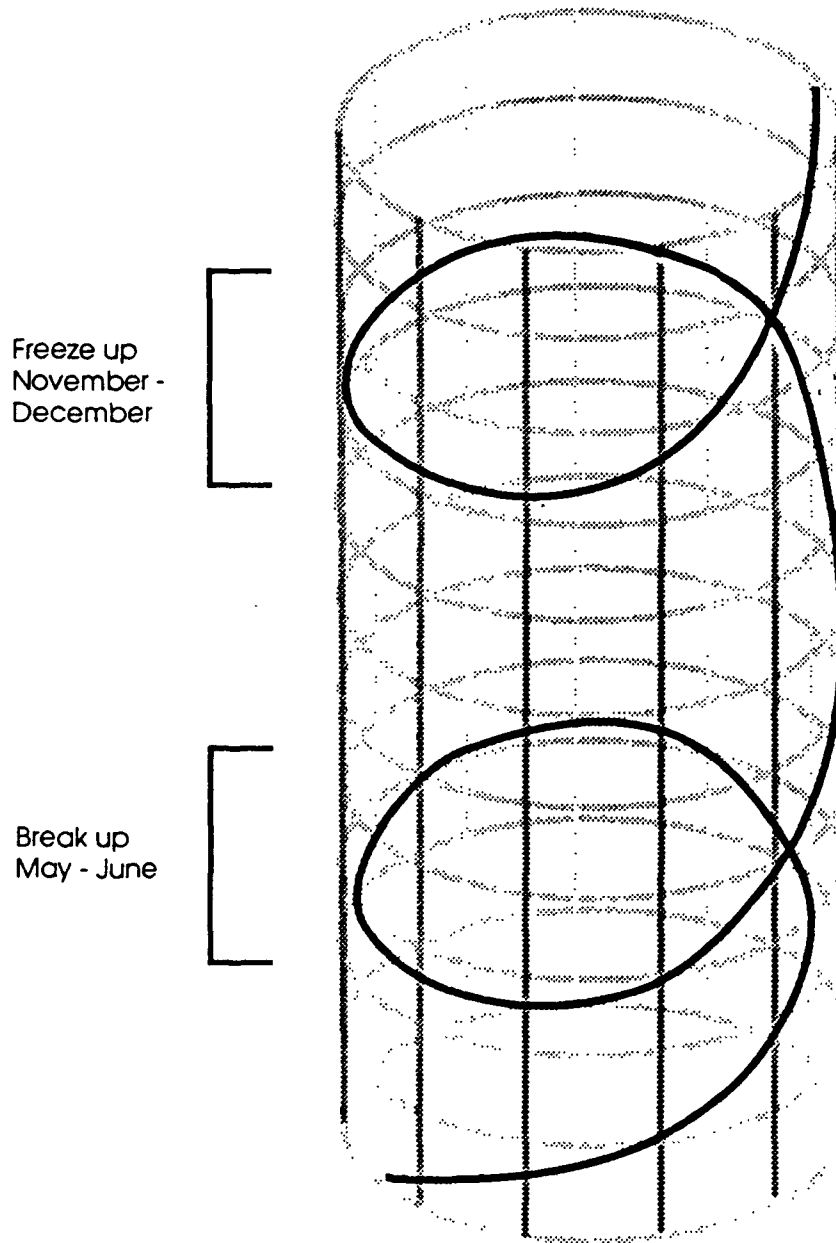
DESCRIPTION OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL CYCLE

While the first day of January is recognized as the beginning of the calendar year, the environmental cycle begins with break-up. Break-up can occur anytime from mid-April through, to mid-June (see figure 5 below). The process of break-up can be defined as the melting and disintegration of river, bay and coastal ice and the movement of this ice out to the Labrador Sea. During break-up families are still residing at their winter quarters at Paradise River, deep in the forested recesses of Sandwich Bay.

There is no specific date upon which Labradorians can rely for break-up to occur. In 1980, break-up was the topic uppermost in people's minds. Conversations invariably led to speculation about: (1) the date of this year's break-up (2) weather and ice conditions during break-up and (3) how long it would last. Speculations such as these are based on the severity of the winter, the type of river ice which formed that winter and the type of weather being experienced during late winter. Speculation is also made in light of knowledge about previous break-ups and the range of variation that is possible. In discussions of past break-ups with older informants, I learned that, many years ago (not within the span of their own recollection), break-up occurred as late as June. In my field notes I wrote, "while Aunt Marion and I were visiting today, we began wondering when break-up would come. She told me the exact date for it last year (May 5). I found it interesting because people rarely remember exact

dates, in fact, they usually have very poor "date-memories".
Yet this date really stuck out". In a society where many

FIGURE 5
BREAK-UP AND FREEZE-UP



people do not know, with certainty, their exact date of birth and where little interest is paid to specific dates it is significant that the exact date of such events as break-up, freeze-up and the salmon 'strike' (arrival on the coast) are recollected for several years past.

While the weather is an important part of Labrador life throughout the whole year it is of particular importance during break-up. Weather conditions are very changeable at this time and impinge even more than is usual on human routines. Snow, sleet, rain, drizzle, fog, and 'misk' (a kind of cross between fog and drizzle) occur during this period. The days of break-up are also longer, and, as people note, there will be a "strong hot sun" burning in the sky which begins to melt the snow. In effect, break-up (like freeze-up is neither winter nor summer. Rather, it is a little of both. While warmth and sunshine prevail for a few days the progress of break-up can be reversed and conditions can become frigid and overcast once again.

With the onset of break-up subsistence activities enter a hiatus. Most trapping and hunting seasons close or species become scarce. Fishing for rock cod through the ice may continue, depending on ice conditions. Traditionally, rock cod was used as winter rations for sled dogs. While it is a welcomed variety item in the spring diet it still carries the stigma of starvation rations, as does the eating of squirrel. The trout season opens in mid-April but the

prosecution of this fishery is, once again, dependent on the progress of break-up. Wood cutting and hauling, which are important late winter activities, decline and then halt when movement becomes more and more difficult in late April, May and June.

Overland snowmobile routes begin to deteriorate as the snow becomes slushy and 'sinky'. Machines frequently become 'stogged' i.e., bogged down. The river and bay routes also become hazardous. The melting of snow on land and the resulting run-off cause brooks to overflow into the rivers and an increased volume of water begins to rush below the surface of the ice. This pressure below the ice forces the ice to become unstable along the 'landwash' i.e., shoreline. The ice begins to heave up at these spots forming 'ballicaddys' or large chunks of ice which permit the water to escape from below and run out over surface of the ice.

Once the 'ballicaddys' erupt, the near shore becomes hazardous because an overnight temperature drop can lay a thin skin or 'velum' of ice upon which snow can then fall and which gives the appearance of safe ice. The two daily tides also affect ice conditions at the shoreline because they contribute to water levels above and below the ice. The impact on an individual's travel pattern is that if one leaves in the morning to go across the ice when one returns later in the day, say after the tide has gone out, one can not predict conditions at the spot of original entrance onto the ice.

The ice at the middle of the river and at the mouth of the river (where the main current runs) also tends to be particularly hazardous. These areas are affected the most by the strength of the current and tend to open up first, while the ice toward the banks and shoreline tends to open up last. With the middle of the river breaking-up first, any travel across the river ice becomes hazardous. Hauling boats across the ice to the open water occurs but it is thought to be a risky enterprise when considering the contingencies of break-up. A person could easily become stranded in 'slob' ice (that is, a great unstable maze of large ice chunks, pan ice, slush, and snow) subject to erratic movement due to the current, tide or wind direction. If a sudden drop in temperature occurs, 'slob' can turn into impassable ice with frightening rapidity. This is a contingency that can threaten the life of the person in the boat, impede rescue efforts by people on shore and crush or damage a boat.

A protocol of responses regarding travel across dangerous ice is employed. Consideration of (a) the importance of the task, (b) the existing ice conditions and (c) weather indicators for that day, are taken into account. Going out onto the ice in changeable weather is considered foolhardy. Generally, it is the young men, or strangers to the area that might take a chance. In recent years, since the introduction of the snowmobile, several young men have died during break-up when their snowmobiles and komatiks hit weak

patches of weak ice and plunged into the icy river. The contingencies of travelling over spring ice are numerous -- travelling at higher speeds on heavy vehicles compounds the hazard.

Information about ice conditions is passed continuously between individuals in the settlement. Through this process a mental map of the river and bay ice is created in the mind of a person. This map is updated and revised continually. The unpredictability of the ice has the general effect of keeping most people off the ice, though they have a tough time keeping it off their minds.

The weather is generally an important concern throughout the year, but during break-up it almost becomes an obsession. During break-up, travel overland is also restricted. As mentioned above, snowmobile travel is encumbered or halted altogether. Travel by foot or snowshoe is also impeded once the snow, which can be as deep as six or seven feet at the end of the winter, begins to melt. The snow, once crisp and capable of bearing the weight of a snowmobile, komatik, cargo and passenger now becomes 'sinky' and slushy. By day, a walker's every step is mired hip deep in snow. During break-up of 1980, a short walk that usually took me fifteen minutes, took over an hour of fatiguing walking. Needless to say, I was the only one out on the paths that day and my pathetic progress provided a bit of comic relief for house bound residents of the community.

At night, when temperatures drop, walking conditions improve somewhat. Hence, travel not only outside the settlement but inside the settlement is severely restricted or in some cases halted altogether. Standing out on one's 'bridge' (i.e., porch) there is a stillness -- no snowmobiles, no speedboats, no one on the footpaths not even children playing outside or the sound of dogs barking, none of the characteristic sounds of the settlement -- just the sound of the ice creaking, growling and cracking. Inside, most keep an eye on the river and the sky from the strategically positioned kitchen window that looks out over the river.

In the following excerpt, an informant tells of a particularly long break-up. Mrs. Gladys Burdett, of Cartwright, in her skillful way depicts with humour and an implicit instructional character the underlying stress surrounding break-up and the different ways her parents dealt with the contingency of a protracted break-up with little food.

"Lean Times"

In the spring down there around Makkovik, there used to be no grub to get. People'd have furs, lots of money's worth, but no grub on the coast. We'd be getting short, it come down to that.

Anyway it come down to, Mother said we adults had to have no bread at all, and she'd have to bake buns for the children. So we was a week, all we had to eat was boiled fish.

No steamers or nothin' down. No way to hear tell of them comin' till she blowed, 'cause there was no radios. Father, he was worried. I s'pose Mother worried too but she never showed it.

Mother says, "I'm not out yet. I got sugar," she says, "and tea and milk and butter." Father says he'd like to know where t'was to. She says, "I got it."

Mother'd get up in the mornin' and she'd bake a pan o'buns and give each child a bun; that's all they'd have to eat. And she was mixin' her last pan o' flour and my father said, "we're goin' to starve now," he said.

"oh," Mother said. "I got a bit yet."

Father said he'd like to know where t'was to. And she said, "Before we gets this eat," she said, "something will come along. Something will be here".

And sure enough when she put her pan in the oven the Kyle blowed, comin' in around the point. Full and plenty. They brought the hard bread ashore, Uncle Harry Jacque and them, and father told them to take up a bag of hard bread now and a box of butter.

They was havin' a cup of tea after and Father said, "Now Ethel," he said, "I wants to see how much milk and sugar and butter you got left now."

"Oh yes," Mother said, "I wasn't out." She had two cups of sugar, a tin of milk, a pound of butter and about a quarter pound of tea.

"Now." Father said, "what good would that do?"

"Oh," she said, "if someone got sick, e'er a drop of tea, and a drop of milk into it, and a little bit of butter on a bit of hard bread or something, it'd save their lives for a long spell."

She wasn't out, she said. If t'was me, I'd be out of me mind. (Jackson n.d. :115-116)

While in the last line Mrs. Burdett says she'd be out of control, this statement shouldn't be interpreted literally. It is more of a narrative style rather than an indication of her own response to such a situation. Like her parents before her, Mrs. Burdett and others alive today, in Sandwich Bay and other parts of Labrador, have encountered and continue to encounter similar contingencies. Such stories serve the

heuristic purpose of teaching others how to cope with contingency and give them an opportunity to see the humorous side of adversity. Humour is, in fact, a type of adjustive response to contingency. While the reality of a situation may not be changed at least one's attitude to it can be.

The fact that people do not make overt statements about the dire consequences if they do not get food is informed by an overall reticent/indirect tone that characterizes the interactional style of the region. Humour is a way of dealing with the contingency of short rations and making light of a grave issue. Narratives such as Mrs. Burdett's are not only important for their value as entertainment and as a way of releasing stress they also have a heuristic role. They teach listeners implicitly about situational readjustments that have been and can still be employed to modulate the effects of contingency. In Mrs. Burdett's story, her mother employs strategies which are rooted in the domestic sphere where greater control over events can be exercised. Her father approaches the problem in light of his own perceptions and experiences in the non-domestic sphere where he is less able to influence the outcome. This story reflects contrastive yet complementary experiences and understandings of time and contingency for men and women. It illustrates further the basis of their adjustive responses. The events of this story are particularly germane to my discussion in the next chapter,

where I explore the different configurations of men's and women's time and their adjustments to contingency on the daily cycle.

It should be emphasized that break-up doesn't just refer to that marginal state when ice turns into open water. Basically, it is about chance and change. The major "environmental players" are subject to radical shifts. These players are the temperature, wind, velocity, tide and volume of melt off, in addition to the presence of sun and precipitation. All of these factors can occur in various combinations and permutations and they can shift quickly.

Seasons are changing. Subsistence patterns are changing. The social and spatial basis of the community is on the verge of change: (shifting from hunting and trapping settlements in the interior to fishing settlements on the 'outside'). Contingency is present in Labrador life all the time but one of the things which sets break-up off from other contingent times is that so many contingent events converge at one time. Protocols can offer a plan of action, as in Mrs. Burdett's story of lean times. Her mother still has some control over the household supplies even when they were all but depleted. She controlled knowledge about their true state and maximized that control with a great deal of faith that the supply ship would come in. Mrs. Burdett's father on the other hand, was placed in the position of not knowing what he would do to feed his family since he had little control over the

weather and ice conditions. At this time of the year snaring is very difficult since it is hard getting out into the woods. Even if one were to set up snares the rabbit and hare populations are depleted too. Also at this time, small game have been on lean rations, have been snared out or could be experiencing a cyclical low. These animals also seem to have more intestinal parasites at this time of the year which make them less desirable as food. Even seals, as rich and nutritious as they are, are hard to hunt once the ice is broken up. The only 'wild' food generally available is fish, which can also be hard to catch due to the prevailing ice conditions.

The many social and psychological hardships arising during the period of break-up are based in environmental contingencies which are extreme in comparison to the contingencies encountered at other times of the year. In the following section I turn to an examination of these specific contingencies to understand more clearly the intensity of uncertainty characteristic of this period.

THE TRANSITION FROM ICE TO OPEN WATER

The actual disintegration of the ice varies considerably. In the ideal case, that is, a rapid break-up, there is a combination of warm temperatures, bright sun and steady west/southwesterly winds. In this situation, the warm temperatures produce a great deal of run-off water, which in

turn increases the volume of water in the river and helps break up ice from below the surface. The warm temperatures and bright sun contribute to break-up from above the surface. These conditions, combined with steady winds coming from a west/southwesterly direction, move the disintegrating ice out of the rivers and into the bay and then eventually out to sea. These are however, the ideal conditions for spring break-up.

A protracted form of break-up is a more common occurrence. Temperatures during break-up frequently vacillate between cold and warm. Warm sunny days fluctuate with cold, foggy and overcast days. Strong west southwesterly winds may blow one day and shift to north/northeasterly winds the next. The latter winds carry the ice back into the bay and rivers. This unsettling waltz may go on for days. Some days there will be no wind at all. In some years, a rapid break-up with all the ideal conditions may occur in the hinterland regions of Sandwich Bay, only to be stymied by almost too much of a good thing. The volume of ice leaving the three major rivers and the bay may jam at the entrance of Sandwich Bay between the south shore and Huntington Island. This trapped ice is then subject to all the exigencies mentioned above. In the following excerpt from a story told about late spring fox trapping in 1926, an informant recounts the rapidity with which the ice can move out under ideal conditions.

Father was out to his traps one day and thought he heard somthin' squeakin', and he stopped and sure enough the ballycatter was beginnin' to go. And he turned around and made it for home.

And he just leaped across one crack and he come in. Now it didn't take long to get a cup of tea on the table for 'en, with the kettle already hot on the stove, and when he sat down to have his tea he looked out. And right in to the shore was all clear water. Went out just like that. Goes some quick (Jackson n.d. : 117).

Individuals have a good knowledge of the full constellation of possible types of break-ups that they might experience. This knowledge is based upon their own experiences of past break-ups in addition to information passed on to them by older people. Prior to and during break-up speculation is ongoing. Past break-ups are compared and contrasted with the one being experienced as it unfolds each day. The past and the present play important roles in understanding how to deal with contingency.

Once the river is clear of ice, navigation can begin, albeit with an eye to conditions further out in the bay. Throughout this period individuals utilize a "wait-and-see" approach. Once conditions in the settlement become favourable, preparations for 'shifting out' begin. Fishing gear is checked and sorted. Boats are scraped, caulked and painted. Motors are taken from their storage mounts and readied for use. Launching slips are rebuilt and docks repaired and refitted for the coming navigation season. Houses and outbuildings are checked over prior to the move. Household items to be taken to the summer fishing places are collected and sorted. These items include: clothing, reading material, toys, AM and CB radios, car batteries(to power the CBs),

kerosene lamps, surplus food supplies, bedding, tools, building supplies and fire wood. Until roughly the 1960s, most families could not afford to outfit their summer stations with cook stoves. They had to dismantle their stoves not only for the move to the salmon station but for the move to the cod stations as well.

If break-up is prolonged, and the ice conditions are favourable, hunters will shoot ringed and harp seals on the ice at their breathing holes and basking spots. Along the middle portion of the Labrador coast, these seals are used for meat rather than for their commercial value. If the river is clear of ice, adults and children might go into the river to fish for trout with rod and reel. Trout caught at this time are used primarily for their food value. Migratory birds are also taken. However, ice conditions can hamper access to areas where birds have been known to congregate. All of these contingencies play a critical role in food acquisition during a period when purchased supplies and cash are low and the means of attaining them hazardous and uncertain.

Each break-up experienced by persons and each story about previous break-ups contributes to a body of knowledge about contingency which serves to reinforce its impact on the lives of people. The consequences of a late break-up are usually unspoken but well understood. The following excerpt from the journal of Captain George Cartwright, the first European to establish a settlement in Sandwich Bay, vividly

illustrates the thin line between survival and death during the spring break-up of 1775.

Tuesday, June 27, 1775

Three miles below the narrows of Hinchbrook Bay, and on the south shore, I found the old punt (boat), which they brought with them, on shore and staved (a hole driven in it); this made me apprehend some accident had happened to them; on a point at the entrance to the river, I found a trap at a [otter] rubbing-place struck up [sprung] with the grass grown through it, which increased my fears and those were afterwards confirmed at one o'clock when we arrived at their house, which I found they had left some time ago. In examination of their chests, I found a letter for me in the head-man's pocketbook, informing me that they had been almost two months on very short allowance; had eaten their dogs and part of the skins of furs which they had caught, and did not expect to live long. This letter was dated the twenty-third of May and by Friend's journal, I believe they continued here until the end of that month. They had built a skiff, and as she was gone, and they had plenty of powder and shot, I am in hopes that they have got to sea, where they will be well supplied with ducks and eggs.

Sunday, July 2, 1775

I went in my kyack into Hinchbrook Bay, on the south shore of which, and near the head, I found the new skiff driven on shore by the wind, and staved; her painter was tied to one of her masts, which had the sail on it and was lying on the beach; her thwarts, bottom boards, some fur boards and five rackets [snowshoes] were at high water mark; and a spade, carving knife [crooked knife], hatchet, gouge and seven trap-chains were in her; so all hopes of their being alive are now over" (Townsend 1911:168-169).

The sharp contrast between starvation and abundance is poignantly illustrated in Cartwright's entry for the following day.

July 3, 1775

The fish here are the largest, fattest and best I ever saw on this coast. We had a pike six

pounds in one of the nets, which is the first ever heard of in this country (Townsend 1911:170).

Events such as this one described by Cartwright and others recounted by people regarding their own experiences or those of their forbearers maintain the view of break-up as a period of extreme contingency. The great loss of life and the anguish of starvation and then drowning are contrasted with the July 3 entry when Cartwright notes the record abundance in the very waters that his Paradise River people perished. Abundance and starvation are tragically juxtaposed at a time of the year when it is not for the lack of trying that people died for need of food. Even when protocols are employed and conditions are assessed in regard to the best possible strategy, contingencies can and do overpower competent people. In this account we see that it is not only the lateness of break-up that proves hazardous, it is also the prevailing conditions during break-up which contribute to the contingency. When break-up regresses somewhat, people may be able to go out on re-formed ice and get some fish or seals to eat. But when the rivers and bay remain half ice/half water options become dramatically diminished.

An excerpt from the journal of Reverend Henry Gordon (an Anglican priest from Great Britain posted in Sandwich Bay from 1915 -1925) illustrates other types of contingencies encountered by trappers from Paradise River who were stranded during a particularly early break-up in 1917:

As so often happens, an unusually bitter winter gives birth to a premature spring, which was

so drastic that within a week rivers were breaking up and floods pouring on to the ice. The people most seriously affected by these conditions are the trappers, who were still miles away inland. Normally, they were able to get home before the ponds and rivers broke up, but now they were in real danger of being cut off. As the days passed by, and still no news of them arrived, a wave of deep anxiety spread round the whole bay. The main body of trappers belonged to Paradise, so I got one of our Cartwright teams to run me up there. It took up the full length of the day to make the journey. Cracks in the bay-ice, and patches of open water off every point of land, not to speak of a couple of feet of water on top of the ice, make travelling a very difficult business. The last few miles was along bare ground by the banks of the open river, which was rapidly cutting its way through the ice of the bay.

It was too risky to spend more than a couple of days in the settlement but that was sufficient to join in the great rejoicing when the missing men returned. The first tidings that they were nearing home arrived in a single dog with them, to draw the few belongings which they need for their journey into the interior. As we were all anxiously keeping our eyes up-stream, we sighted some half-dozen dogs struggling along the opposite bank. Soon it was noticed that each one had a kerchief tied around its neck and this told its own welcome story. It was several hours later before the very weary and half-famished men appeared, but they were safe and home, and that was all that mattered.

Early through the break-up had been, it was quite a time before we were able to get out (sic) boats afloat. A long period of in-shore winds penned the loose ice in the bay and it was not until May 26th that the way to the open sea was clear (1972:93-94).

The inclusion of these journal entries from Cartwright and Gordon, does not imply that Labradorians live in a state of constant fear concerning contingency. Rather, it is my purpose is to describe the context in which break-up occurs and to illustrate the emotional tone and responses made by Labradorians when contingency is encountered. The important

impact for Labradorians does not come from one or two isolated incidences but from an ongoing series of experiences which contribute to a body of knowledge built upon from recounted experiences of others in addition to personal experiences.

For Labradorians, the extreme consequences of a late spring are quietly understood. This is an inextricable part of what it means to be a Labradorian. It is clear from Gordon's account that "focussed" fear (to use Preston's term) is not the principal reaction to the overdue trappers. The more appropriate term to describe the responses of remaining family (the wives, children and the elderly) would be anxiousness. By anxiousness I mean, emotion characterized by uneasiness of mind or brooding about some contingency. Likewise, the trappers, who were in immediate personal jeopardy, displayed some measure of control over the situation by taking the precaution of letting their dogs find their own way home, thereby (1) conserving their (the trappers') energies: (2) improving the chances of their furs getting back to the settlement (which could be converted into supplies for their families even if the trappers perished in the interior); (3) making it possible to locate them by back tracking the trail left by the sled dogs and (4) alleviating the concerns of their families by indicating they were still alive by placing their neckerchiefs on their dogs. In this way family members would know that the dogs did not simply break free but were set free by the trappers. In both cases described by

Cartwright and Gordon, there was a disruption in the expected pattern of events which went beyond even the allowances for variation made by experienced persons. In the first case, break-up was delayed considerably and in the second, break-up came even earlier than expected. Responses to each of these contingent events reflected a process of readjustment. This is illustrated well in the Cartwright account. Cartwright's people remained on short rations while awaiting a break in the weather and the arrival of Cartwright with supplies. Then they consumed their dogs. Their dogs would have also been starving and probably too weak to pull a sled. By that time of the year the dogs would no longer be critical for transportation since break-up had already begun. Later Cartwright's people ate the skins off pelts of trapped fur animals. They probably ate the skins off of the pelts last because the pelts represented their last source of nourishment as meager as that source may have been. No doubt there was the hope that when the weather broke the pelts could be traded for food and supplies. Furthermore, dogs and fur animals (with the exception of beaver and porcupine), are not considered human food. Finally, when the weather still didn't break, they risked a voyage out to sea (in waters filled with floating ice) which proved to be ill-fated.

Labradorians also employ a "wait and see" approach about environmental contingency: "wait and see if the weather clears and supplies can get in", or "wait and see if the

weather holds up and the trappers can get home on their own power". Even in conditions of high contingency, a protocol of an ordered series of responses are used to guide reactions to contingent events. Thus, while individuals have no control over the contingent occurrence, they can, at least, impose order over their own behaviour when reacting to such situations. People know there is a range of variation with respect to the length and severity of break-up. Even within a contingent process like break-up there is some degree of predictability, although it is rather broadly defined. It is, however, the extremes in the range of variation which creates anxiety beyond the level usually experienced. This is important because extreme variation taxes existing repertoires of adjustive responses. Conditions become extreme and call for extreme measures. Decisions take on greater levels of seriousness and the margin of error narrows dramatically. This is when the greatest threat to life occurs and the greatest proportion of control is taken out of the hands of the actors involved. Drastic measures are seen for what they are -- a gamble.

This "wait and see" approach reflects an understanding that environmental contingency is a critical component in their decision making processes. Nature simply is. Rather than trying to overpower it, people respond to it. These responses are in light of the limits nature imposes. Individuals still attempt to meet their needs and desires. To

suggest passive resignation to the impact of environmental contingency would be gross oversimplification. The 'wait and see" approach suggests, beyond a simple cautiousness, an understanding that contingency can deliver upon them both devastating surprises as well as fortuitous ones. Nature can come through in its own sweet time. The "wait and see" approach reflects an experienced, knowledgeable, calm and resolved position. Nature is met, not conquered. I doubt that one would hear a Labradorian write or say that he had gone out and "conquered the elements". The dramatic escapades of Sir Wilfred Grenfell - the British missionary and physician - while crossing the spring ice flows are a prime example of this conquering attitude. While there are few Labradorians who would deny Dr. Grenfell's accomplishments in improving health services on the Labrador coast, there are many who felt that his attempts to "conquer the elements" were foolhardy and out of step with the Labrador he was supposed to have loved so much.

While individuals attempt to impose order upon their own responses, this does not eliminate feelings of anxiety. In fact, the spring is a period when intense anxiety runs high in the settlement. Before break-up, for example, the men are out on the 'wood paths' trying to cut, haul and stack as many 'sticks' (spruce timbers) as possible each day. This is recognized as the best time of the year for cutting firewood.

The worst of the winter is over, the weather is becoming

calmer and milder, days are growing longer and the boughs are finally free of heavy snow accumulations. However, quick thaws or freezing rain can keep the men in the settlements and off the 'wood path' for as long as three or four days in a row. This can increase the level of stress in the community because each day lost on the 'wood path' represents fewer 'sticks'. The continued deterioration of snow and ice conditions can seriously impede the cutting of wood on each subsequent day. Anxiety runs high, especially because men are not only responsible for supplying wood for their winter quarters for the following winter, but for their summer fishing quarters (the coastal rim and islands are generally treeless tundra areas) as well. This wood must be transported via repeated snowmobile trips to the coast (approximately 65-85 kilometers across bay and coastal ice). Therefore, the longer it takes to cut the wood, the longer trips to the coast will be delayed, thus risking further deterioration in weather and ice conditions. Some men also have the added responsibility of cutting firewood for their elderly parents.

When the men were 'at the wood' during the spring of 1980, the level of tension in the settlement rose and fell with the daily fluctuation of the weather. On days when the weather was poor, men would spend their time confined to the house, paying special attention to weather changes and weather forecasts via radio. Men would be anxious to get back to the 'wood path'. There was little joviality, houses were quiet,

tempers a bit harder to control, and there was a sense of being caged in when one desperately wanted to be out. Weather was the focus. When the weather report came on over the radio, even small children knew to be silent. As soon as the weather cleared, however, the mood in the settlement improved markedly. If poor weather kept men away from the 'wood path' until a Sunday, and weather was favourable, the usual moratorium on Sunday labour would be temporarily suspended. When there was a spell of fair weather, men would take their families out to the 'wood path' to 'boil the kettle'. This short excursion is a special event since women and small children are usually confined to the home and community for most of the winter. The simple trapper's meal of bread, redberry jam and tea prepared over an open fire provides the family with a welcomed respite from the anxiety which tends to run high not only in the home but in the community at large. The restorative effects of going out to 'boil the kettle' are quite noticeable among families. Also, these excursions are one of the few chances most women and girls have for going into the 'country' (the interior), a feature which makes the experience even more special.

'Boiling the kettle' is similar to 'mug ups' (the mid-afternoon tea break discussed more fully within the context of the daily cycle in Chapter Five) in that they are restorative and provide the family with an opportunity to take a break from their day-to-day activities. 'Mug ups' however are those

commensal times when other members of the community can drop in at a family's kitchen and have a cup of tea. During the spring, 'boiling the kettle' is restorative. It takes the family out of a stressful time (the spring break-up) and transforms it into a private family time as opposed to a public time. Furthermore, 'boiling the kettle' with the family along, temporarily transforms the largely male domain of the woodpath into a family or domestic domain usually associated with women and children. The presence of the family on the woodpath occurs after a spell of fair weather when a man has either caught up or is on target for getting in his year's wood supply. He can afford to relax his pace somewhat for, he has imposed some order over subsistence activities that are generally at the mercy of highly contingent forces -- the weather.

During the prolonged break-up of 1980, yearly provisions which had been stockpiled after the close of the preceding salmon fishery were depleted. These supplies are usually considered adequate until break-up when additional food could be purchased at the Hudson Bay store in Cartwright. However, with the prolonged break-up, the supplies of some families ran dangerously low or were depleted before travel to Cartwright was possible. As a result, some individuals would drop in for tea in the mid-afternoon but not leave after what would normally be considered an appropriate length of time (i.e., when supper preparations began), and would simply

remain for supper. At any other time of the year this type of behaviour would be considered a breach of etiquette. During this period, it was quietly tolerated. To more clearly see the significance of this, an understanding of the daily cycle and the contrast between private and public temporal domains is helpful. A discussion of the daily cycle is explored more fully in the chapter which follows. However, in the case of the uninvited supper guests, we have individuals who are aware of the accepted rules of etiquette related to visiting yet proceed to breach this customary pattern. Furthermore, their hosts will neither withhold the meal nor otherwise delay the meal until the guest's departure, which might occur at other times of the year. Rather, the hosts will simply invite their guests to join them in supper without mentioning the underlying reason for the visit, though the reason will be tacitly understood by both parties. On a symbolic level, this event transforms what is usually a private temporal domain into a public temporal domain. While this transformation occurs on the micro level of the daily cycle, it finds its basis in the broader realm of environmental contingencies, namely the spring break-up.

Similarly, when the stresses of spring break-up and "cabin fever" become difficult to deal with and customarily private family times are subject to intrusion, excursions to the 'wood path' provide families with an opportunity to share some less-stressful time together. This 'mug-up', however,

undergoes a symbolic inversion from public to private time. A fuller discussion of public and private time is developed in Chapter Five.

The contingency of spring break-up has far reaching effects on several levels of life in a Labrador settlement. In day-to-day life this impact is dramatically felt. Levels of anxiety in the community rise and fall with fluctuations in the weather but individuals attempt to overcome this by removing themselves from stressful situations in order to regain control. Likewise, when food shortages arising from a prolonged break-up occur, customary notions about visiting are suspended and individuals 'ask' for help in a subtle, reticent and innocuous way. This occurs because there are times when readjustments need to be made which place some measure of control back into the hands of individuals. This is seen in such cases as the uninvited supper guest and in Mrs. Burdett's story about her parents. In Labrador, contingency is a way of life, but this does not mean that it dictates peoples' lives without their attempted intervention.

During break-up, responses also affect the structure of time. The 'mug-up' which symbolizes the public temporal domain and the meal which symbolizes the private temporal domain are inverted. This inversion is an attempt to bring a part of their lives back into control. When 'mug-ups' and meals are inverted, they undergo a re-interpretation, if only temporarily, so that they "make sense" in what is a highly

contingent period. The juxtaposition of private and public domains continues on the level of daily life, but what constitutes each domain undergoes a reinterpretation to fit the environmentally contingent context of events. Thus meals, 'mug-ups', and 'boiling the kettle' can be juxtaposed. Time, people and space are inverted. The separateness of social and physical space is opened up to alleviate the deprivation of hungry neighbours. Self-sufficiency and competency continue to be important ideals but people are accommodated when the environment powerfully imposes itself into their lives and they are unable to fulfill those ideals.

Labradorians try to strike a balance. They make adjustments where they can, they "wait and see", hoping that nature might right itself. Social time and the norms dictating social behaviour are inverted when environmental contingency comes close to being translated into severe hardship for members of the community. Tradition is cherished and respected but rigidity is not a useful attribute in the contingent world of coastal Labrador. The orderly rules governing manners or conduct, i.e., etiquette are suspended so that the survival of community members is insured. Flexibility has been, and continues to be, a key element.

SHIFTING OUT

After we shift out here from Porcupine Bay in the spring, people wasn't worried about the grub so much as the wood. Wood was the main thing. They knew when they got here they'd get a scattered meal of ducks and a scattered meal of seals and a

feed of mussels, and a feed of wrinkles and a feed of conyucks or whatever. Conyucks is a good piece of seaweed. You'd pick it up out of the coves and live on it for a few days if you had to. And hose eggs (sea anemones) again. You'd get hose eggs. By God there was no candy as nice as what that was" Jack Holwell, Spotted Island / Cartwright (Jackson n.d. :126).

'Shifting out' is the process by which households leave their winter quarters in the hinterland and move to their summer fishing stations on the 'outside', i.e., the coastal fringe of the Labrador Sea to engage in the salmon and cod fisheries. Weather during the early summer can be a combination of conditions. While days are sunny and warm there are also many rainy and foggy days. Occasional snowfalls still occur. After the departure of the winter ice comes the arrival of the icebergs from Greenland and Davis Strait. Their presence along the coast can bring a noticeable difference in temperature between the coast and the hinterland. Travel between the two zones (77 kilometers) requires carrying warm clothing.

After break-up, air and mail service resume. Planes are refitted with pontoons instead of skis and are able to land on the open water. In the mid-1980s air strips were constructed in most of the winter settlements. During the summer however, high winds and fog frequently interfere with regular air transportation. With the construction of air strips sea plane service is no longer available to families at summer fishing stations. Once families shift out, seasonal postal stations operate at some of the larger ports like

Pack's Harbour. Most families continue to receive their mail at the winter addresses and periodically pick up letters when they return to check up on their homes. Some postal workers deliver mail to summer postal stations on a weekly basis.

The primary mode of transportation is the wooden speed boat (also referred to as whale boats by Fitzhugh:1972). Boats are constructed of local timber by a number of Paradise River and Cartwright boat builders. These speed boats are an all purpose vessel, powered by outboard motors. They are used primarily for fishing but they are also used to transport wood, supplies and passengers throughout the region. The same type of boat is used on rivers, in the bay and in the in-shore waters of the Labrador Sea. Larger slower moving motor boats, with inboard engines, are used primarily as salmon collector boats. These boats make the rounds of each station once a day. They serve as "informal" public transit, as any one can "hitch" a ride. The Canadian National (CN) coastal steamers make regular stops at summer and year-round settlements on their northern and southern runs along the coast starting with break-up and ending with freeze-up. Beside their passenger service, the CN coastal steamers ship a large amount of supplies to the Labrador coast and transport processed fish to Newfoundland. Canadian National Marine Service also operates a large rapid transport (18 hour) ferry service from Lewisporte Newfoundland to Goose Bay, with one stop at Cartwright. Passengers, vehicles and cargo are carried. Only

Cartwright has adequate docking facilities and a deep enough anchorage to accommodate large vessels like the Sir Robert Bond. The coastal steamers (which are no longer steam powered but they retain that name) have a schedule but are rarely able to meet it. This is not a point of real concern for Labradorians but it does irritate 'upalongers' (people from outside of Labrador and Newfoundland). This steamer service is primarily in place to meet the special transportation needs of seasonal fishermen from various points along the Labrador coast and Newfoundland. These fishermen and their families move gear, supplies, household items and boats. The contingencies of the weather affect the schedules of steamers, so that their arrival cannot be relied upon. In response to this contingency a regularized activity emerges. The three daily steamer reports on CBC radio, which update the trip status of numerous passenger and cargo vessels, are habitually listened to by coastal people. If a person is going to meet a vessel, even closer attention is paid to reports as the vessel nears. Delays due to weather, mechanical failure or through waiting for tardy passengers, make it literally impossible to predict a steamer's arrival. Captains for example, will wait if families are not quite ready to board when the steamer arrives.

I vividly remember the utter exasperation I once experienced as I waited three days for a steamer going up (i.e., south) the coast. An older woman, observing my

impatience remarked; "you'll know, my dear when she's near, -
- you'll feel her..." At this point, I heartily agreed, believing that it was only via some spiritual signal that I might learn the whereabouts of this errant ship. Shortly, thereafter, when my pacing by the kitchen window momentarily subsided, did I feel an almost indiscernible, yet deep trembling in the floor which grew progressively stronger. Three miles off shore, the churning of the steamer's propellers announced her approach. Patience dramatically gave way to a great rush for coats and boots, a grabbing of outbound freight and my backpack. It was time to meet the steamer.

Environmental contingencies influence not only the reliability of timetables, they pose other hazards as well. With the opening of the navigation season in June of 1976, the first northbound ferry, the Sir William Carson, left Lewisporte for Goose Bay, laden with passengers vehicles and heavy equipment, much needed food supplies, a large shipment of beer and passengers. Roughly half way through the voyage, the Carson experienced heavy ice conditions, struck an iceberg and sank in short order. All hands and passengers, primarily Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, survived. They left the ship via small boats and then walked across the offshore ice to land. In characteristically Labradorian style a number of men observed to me: "t'was a sad day when the Carson went down -- all that icy beer gone straight to the bottom!"

Instilling humour could be interpreted as a way of demeaning or diminishing the dangerously contingent events that people experienced the night the Carson went down. Yet, joking is a way of venting anxiety. Its inclusion serves another purpose. Humour inverts danger with fun. The intensity and meaning of events for Labradorians, is not diluted by this inversion, rather it is intensified. Hardship stories and other narratives dealing with dangerously contingent events not only create a sense of the past but retelling them provides listeners with a repertoire of tested and valuable adaptive readjustments which may be of use in the future. In effect the retelling of these stories validates responses used to address contingency. But stories also tell the listeners how to think about and live with contingency. While such narratives are frequently retold (often around the time of the year that an event would have occurred) they do not reflect a passive resignation to contingency. Humour serves as the capstone for many of the stories that deal with starvation, poverty, death and adversity. Perseverance and optimism are invariably present in such endings as "we had a hard life them days, but we were happy".

By the time there is open water, everyone in the settlement is eager to get going. Eager is probably too mild a word to describe the tone. In one entry, June 10 I noted; "We are waiting for the ice to float out. The river and bay ice is pretty much cleared, but then the icebergs float in

(to Sandwich Bay) on the tide so that some small ones come in as far as Longstretch (on the southeast side of Sandwich Bay and about half way between Paradise river and Cartwright) When I returned to Paradise from St. John's I felt a real energy... like race horses chaffing at the bit. People want to go out -- to just get going. But they had to wait for the warm weather. On the 6th, the ice was all blocked in again in the coastal region just outside of Cartwright". June 30, entry: "There is no grub in Paradise. Cartwright is badly depleted and Pack's Harbour still hasn't had it's stock in yet."

The first to leave for the 'outside' (i.e., the coast) are usually unmarried fishermen. It is not uncommon for them to work their way out to the coast in less than ideal navigational conditions. Bachelors have the least number of responsibilities and usually the least cargo to haul. These fishermen also serve as a kind of loosely defined coastal weather patrol who can update other fishermen (along the coast or those still at their winter quarters) regarding ice and weather conditions via CB radio.

After the unmarried fishermen have shifted out, the married fishermen begin to transport their first lot of cargo. Two brothers may accompany each other or a father and his son. Once on the outside they survey the damage to their houses, outbuildings and docks wrecked by the winter storms and by break-up. Those remaining behind in the winter

community tend to feel left out of the excitement and activity. There is a strong feeling of "just marking time" until the school year is over. Women and older children (usually boys) must haul water and keep the wood box filled in the absence of the men. Families as close knit as these, often simply miss each other's company. After supper and the CBC weather report, the informally recognized C.B. radio broadcasting period opens for about an hour. People use their C.B.s for a short period of time because the radios used by the fishermen on the 'outside' are powered by old car batteries and thus power must be conserved. Most families listen in for their own messages as well as messages for others. They also desire general information, weather discussions, observations regarding the sign of fish, etc. If a family is out while the C.B. hour is on or they do not have a C.B. others will be sure to relay messages by word of mouth.

If weather conditions are good and break-up is truly over, a man with school aged children might bring his family with him on Saturday and Sunday just to release some of the eagerness and monotony of the winter community and to let the children participate in the excitement of 'shifting out.' The last day of school in winter settlements is not only a joyous one for the children, it is joyous for the whole family because they can now finally 'shift-out'. The last people to leave the settlement are usually the aged, who tend to go to Cartwright to be close to the nursing station. Over the

course of the summer, their sons will usually bring them to the 'outside', weather permitting, to escape the black flies and and mosquitos and to be the middle of the heady experience of the fishery.

In the account by Jack Howell which opened this section on shifting out, the excitement and relief surrounding the process is vividly conveyed. Just as "forbidden fruit" always seems the sweetest, so it is with the joy of finally shifting out when most others have already done so. Today, for Labrador school children and their families, the restrictions of a more standardized and inflexible curriculum and the adoption of an urban model of the school year preclude the accommodation of their traditional semi-sedentary residence patterns. In earlier times, itinerant Anglican and Methodist teachers 'shifted out' right along with families, teaching children at the numerous salmon and cod fishing stations.

In Paradise River, only the postmistress, the telephone operator, diesel power plant operator and the Labrador airways agent remain during the summer. Generally, these individuals make every effort to get out to the 'outside' whenever they are not on duty. The lure of the outside is particularly palpable for these people. Having a regular though modest income not generated via traditional subsistence patterns is a positive feature but the "cost" of not being able to 'shift out' is a drawback. Unlike their

counterparts in urban settings, these employees can not depend upon being free regularly on Saturdays and Sundays. They cannot leave their jobs when they close the door behind them on Friday evenings. If poor weather has interfered with air transportation (carrying mail, cargo and passengers) for a week and then the weather finally clears on Saturday or Sunday the postal and airways agents will have to work. If the power plant worker wants to go away for a few days, a designated person must cover for him. The designated person who might be available in the winter is usually away fishing during the summer fishing. The telephone operator is only on duty for three hours each day. These hours are spread over the day: one hour each in the morning, afternoon and night. Like the power plant operator, the telephone operator must have a designated person to relieve him or her when their have days off.

The last act in the process of shifting out requires that someone climb up onto the roof and place an inverted tin can over the 'funnel' (i.e., tin stove pipe) to protect the stove and pipes from rust, and block the entrance of black flies and mosquitos into the house. A tin can over the funnel, is a common signal that a family has 'shifted' to the outside. During the summer, when the funnel is uncapped, it tells others that someone is back to check the house, pick up a spare engine part or to tend their garden. It's also a

signal to come around to have a 'mug-up' and catch up on the news of the summer fishery.

THE SUMMER

In this section, I explore the conditions and events of the summer season. I begin by describing the weather and navigational conditions. I then move on to a description of preparations for the opening of the fishery and then to the fishery per se. I conclude this section of the chapter with a discussion of contingency as it is experienced during the summer fishery.

Temperatures during the short Labradorian summer range from highs in the 30s C. (90s F.) to lows just above the freezing mark. The average mean temperature for July is 12 C. (55 F.). On most nights along the coast, blankets are needed and a fire is lit each morning. This is especially true when the winds push the icebergs close to shore. The presence of icebergs throughout the summer, contribute to an interesting condition. Coastal temperatures can be quite low and temperatures in the hinterland of Sandwich Bay some 75-85 kilometers (30 to 40 miles) from the coast can be hot. Daylight hours during the summer are longer with the sky still light at eleven at night. Generally speaking, the summer is not as wet as the spring or the fall. However, periods of rain, frequently lasting fourteen to sixteen days, can occur during a summer. As welcome as the relatively drier season of

summer is, a certain amount of rain is needed to keep the shallow summer wells from running dry. In July, gales and summer storms begin and continue to intensify throughout the summer and into September and October when the hurricanes arrive. Summer stations are situated usually on flat barren islands off the coast and have little protection from tides and winds. When a 'big sea' is on (lasting two to three days) fishermen are confined to their summer stations until small craft are able to navigate safely in open waters. Times like this can be particularly frustrating since the worst part of a storm can pass (i.e., torrential rain and gale force winds) yet it will take a day or two for the sea to quiet down. At these times the only interaction a fisherman might have with the sea is to take his children out for a walk along the cliffs and watch the powerful surf pound away at the island. By mid-August, the first frosts occur and the aurora borealis is seen in the night sky. As the night temperatures begin to dip, the black fly and mosquito populations begin to diminish.

Once families have 'shifted out', preparations begin for the fishing season. They busy themselves with cleaning out debris from their shallow wells, repairing weather damage to their houses, outbuildings, stages, docks and wooden walkways. Gear is off-loaded and assembled and the final stages of the fishery operations are completed. Wood is stacked and chopped, houses are cleaned, bedding aired and food supplies stored. Children, when not participating in the

work, scamper over the tundra hills and re-explore coves, caves and spruce glens -- their haunts of the previous summer. The openness of the coastal zone provides children (with a spring's worth of pent up energy) an unbounded opportunity to run and play. By way of contrast, during late spring in the winter settlement, parents are afraid to let their children go too far away from the house. Black bears, coming out of hibernation, are attracted to a landfill site located at the edge of the community. People carry rifles when using the winter settlement's paths at night. In the summer however, children and women enjoy increased personal liberty in that there are few animals like bears or wolverines on the offshore islands. Women and children spend a great deal of their leisure time walking over the tundra and along the cliffs. During the summer of my research however, a polar bear was spotted swimming south in the waters roughly five miles (ten kilometers) north of the tiny island our summer station was located on. This sighting caused concern for the safety of fishermen and their families on isolated islands since the blood and entrails left at fish cleaning sites are very attractive to hungry polar bears who have a very keen sense of smell. Until wildlife officers spotted the bear back on the mainland, women and children stayed closer to home.

Beside building maintenance and preparation for the opening of the fishery, there is also the task of reactivating a fisherman's account with the merchant. The merchant is the

representative and manager of one of the large Newfoundland fish processing companies who operate plants in the region (i.e., National Sea Products, Bay Robert's Fishery, Fishery Products, Saltfish Corp. et. al.). Particularly important here is the acquisition of new gear to replace worn or damaged gear from the previous season, along with food, gasoline for outboard motors and other supplies. These items are taken on credit and are drawn against future catches fishermen hope to make over the course of the summer. With the spring's leanness, most families find this first installment of supplies a welcome relief from stale goods or a steady diet of rock cod, bread, potatoes and in some years squirrel (considered to be starvation food). Once on the 'outside', various wild foods are gathered. They include such items as 'hose eggs' i.e., spiny sea urchins (the edible portion inside, being an inky purple substance closely resembling a hen's egg and pleasant in taste), gull's eggs (although this is no longer generally practiced due to wildlife regulations), mussels, winkles and other shell fish along with seaweed, stretch the diet until the first supply ships come in.

In July, the black fly and mosquito season begins and last until the end of the summer when colder temperatures and frost begin to occur. While these insects can also be found along the coast (in low warm spots) the strong sea breeze and the cooler coastal temperatures (due to the presence of icebergs) deter them. In the interior however, black flies

and mosquitos are so numerous that they form loose grey clouds with their multitudes. Elizabeth Goudie in Woman of Labrador, vividly describes the effect black flies have on life in the summer. "Whenever my baby left my arms to sleep, he had to be put under a net. The flies would have killed him if he was left uncovered " (1973:39). Infants and small children are particularly vulnerable to black flies. They generally are unable to keep them at bay by the necessary swatting, waving and moving. The insects seem to bite in warm unprotected spots like the nape of the neck, the temples and the eyes. Most individuals have only a mild swelling and bleeding from their numerous daily fly bites but some react more severely from only a few bites and will experience an allergic reaction. Infections from bites are not uncommon. Humans are not the only ones to be adversely affected by the flies. Elizabeth Goudie in describing conditions prior to the 1960's when sled dogs gave way to snowmobiles, notes that dogs were also prey to the ravages of the flies.

You would not see a grown dog in the summer. They would live under the rocks or in holes in the ground to keep alive. They would feed themselves in summer. There would be lots of fish driven into the shallow water. The dogs would be seen in the daytime feeding along shore, but you never saw them in the evening. They would go back to their caves again. Then after the flies were gone they would come home again and up over their eyes and around their ears and around their tails they'd be picked to the bare flesh. This would sound hard to believe, but it's true. We lived up there seven summers. When I saw the dogs like that I wondered how I was going to keep my children alive... We learned from people that you could not keep small pups (sled dogs) in July. The flies

would kill them. We lived near Robert Ford and his family. Their dog had a brood of pups and he didn't know it. One day he found two of the pups dead. He had to take the rest of them and put them under smoke from a smoke pot. He used to keep them near the door where he could watch them day and night until the flies left (1973:39).

On days when it is warm enough not to keep the morning fire going in the stove, dampers are always closed so insects do not enter the house via the funnel. While the occupants are not there to be bitten, the flies lay their eggs inside which creates infestation later. In the earlier part of this century women would freshly paper the walls with flour paste and newspapers acquired from ministers and teachers to deal with blackfly infestation from the inside of houses. Even with the careful closing of doors, windows and screens, it is necessary to sleep with netting over one's bed if a restful sleep is to be achieved. Repellent products are virtually ineffective. Hats, hoods, bandannas at the neck, scarves, buttoned collars, tight fitting jackets, cuffs, and pants tucked into boots are the only real protection. Most have tried mosquito hats (broad brimmed with netting resembling those used by beekeepers). The black flies however, are so tiny that they can easily pass through the mesh and once inside can bite and torment their victim at will. Furthermore, because many who venture outdoors are engaged in vigorous activity (bending over the edge of a boat to haul salmon nets or traveling at high speeds in open boats) such paraphernalia are awkward, cumbersome and ultimately

impractical. Adults and children when venturing outdoors simply try to ignore the bites and get on with their work.

As it has been mentioned elsewhere, the most important fishery for the residents of Sandwich Bay and environs is the salmon fishery. In the days just prior to the opening of the season the last preparations are made to gill nets and to anchor moorings used to position the nets perpendicular to the shore. At the opening of the salmon season nets are set at established berths. These berths are frequently in locations that have been fished by at least six or seven generations of one family. The location is used because salmon or 'fish' i.e., cod, have historically shown a pattern of moving through particular regions of water. The location of a berth is firmly grounded in a detailed knowledge of species behaviour and movement, the characteristics of underwater features, current, water temperature and depth. The knowledge represents the accumulated understandings amassed through the firsthand experience of present day fishermen, as well as through the knowledge passed down from one generation to the next.

While the fishing season officially opens June 20, it is the salmon strike date, in other words, the day that salmon actually arrive on the coast, that is the most important day. This date is the first date that nets can be placed in the water and fish merchants can legally accept salmon from the fishermen. But it does not mean that the salmon are in the

waters when the season opens. The salmon 'strike' date is what is ultimately important. Some years salmon 'strike' before the 20th of June and in other years they arrive after that date. Regardless of when they appear, there is anxiety associated with their arrival. When the 'strike' date is early, fishermen are relieved the salmon have arrived but each day without nets in the water can be translated into lost income. When the salmon are late, concerns about credit, and the abundance of fish stocks surface as important concerns. Just as wheat in western cultures and rice in eastern cultures are potent indigenous symbols for the staff of life, in Labrador, salmon are what make life possible.

In early periods of settlement in Sandwich Bay, circa 1700s, canneries represented the major processing operations with respect to salmon. Today, practically all salmon is sold fresh to processing plants and shipped to market via Newfoundland. Some enterprising individuals in Sandwich Bay, using traditional techniques, produce smoked salmon of exceptionally fine quality. Because processing companies have failed to establish a marketing structure for salmon in this form, fishermen continue to sell smoked salmon to neighbours and use the rest for family consumption.

The salmon fishery is chiefly confined to local people. The numbers of Newfoundlanders who come to the coast to salmon fish is declining. However, Newfoundlanders still hold licenses to participate in the Labrador salmon fishery,

which occurs after the salmon and lucrative lobster fisheries have ended in their part of the island. Because of the new federal government licencing quota, many young Labradorians are denied licenses while Newfoundlanders are enjoying the benefits of two salmon fisheries. This condition is particularly disturbing to people fishing in the regions from Groswater Bay to areas just south of Sandwich Bay, due to the shorter northern salmon season, the poor catches in the cod fishery and greater competition for existing cod stocks. Most families in this region rely on the salmon fishery for between 90-95% of their annual wages. Recommendations regarding licencing regulations have been made by the fishermen's union and by provincial and federal ministries, but changes have been slow in coming about.

In July, the cod fishery begins and continues throughout August and September. Traditionally, the cod fishery represented the other half of the summer fishing season. The failure of the cod fishery, through the over harvesting of stocks by large ocean-going fish factories, has continued throughout the 1960's, 1970s and 1980's. Participation in this fishery has been marginal at best. In some years no fishing occurred due to lack of fish.

Through various legislation, stocks have been monitored and programmes have been instituted to protect northern cod. As a result, toward the end of the 1970s long-liners began operating out of locations at Smokey and

Cutthroat, (islands northeast of Sandwich Bay). With the construction of fish processing plants in Black Tickle and Cartwright, fresh catch can now be processed and shipped off to market more quickly and with improved quality. Salt bulk processing, which is essentially the initial phase of the salting process, is done in Labrador. The final stages are completed in Newfoundland. Mussels, wrinkles and sea anemones are also abundant in the region but no commercial fishery exists for harvesting these shellfish. These foods are harvested for family use only.

While fishing is the primary activity of the summer period, families are also involved in gardening to supplement their stores for the winter months. Because of the warmer temperatures and richer alluvial soils of the interior, most families maintain gardens at their winter quarters rather than on the 'outside'. Gardens are planted in June before the flies start and 'shifting out' occurs. The most popular crops are the frost resistant type and those with a short growing season; these include, potato, cabbage, onion, turnip (both the tuber and greens), beets and carrot. Gardens are attended irregularly since families are away for most of the summer. Weeds, insect pests and animals cut down on garden productivity. More regular garden tending would require the use of costly gasoline and tying-up a boat in non-fishing activities.

In August, the berry picking season begins. Probably, the most prized and fragile variety are bakeapples (cloudberries). Resembling a raspberry in shape, but being a yellowish peach colour, the four inch high bakeapple plant produces only one berry. The tender fruit is very susceptible to poor weather conditions and heavy rains. In years when the berry is plentiful on the Labrador coast, local families will gather all they can for family use and then sell the surplus to the Newfoundlander crews and passengers on the coastal vessels, where a handsome sum can be gained for the delicacy. Better prices can be asked if the bakeapple berry is scarce on the island of Newfoundland that year. This way, surplus cash can be added to the family coffers. Berry gathering continues throughout the summer and into the fall. Wild raspberries, strawberries, redberries (low bush cranberries), currants, crackerberries, and blueberries are varieties that are gathered. Other wild foods are collected, namely, wild mushrooms, fiddlehead greens, wild peas and 'alexander' (a green similar in taste to wild watercress and parsley). Women and children primarily (and to a lesser extent men), are involved with the gathering of wild foods. When the fishing season slows down, men increase their gathering activities. Women and children also gather and dry drift wood to supplement the fuel supply since all wood must be boated in from the winter quarters and most of the summer places are situated on largely treeless coastal tundra.

Gathering can be as much a recreational activity as it is a subsistence task. During the summer women and children take daily walks along the shore and over the paths that are worn into the tundra moss and criss cross the islands. Occasionally, families will make a weekend excursion to roam around abandoned fishing stations to berry pick or to simply 'boil the kettle' and get a change of scenery. After a week of commercial fishing, men strike up their nets, meaning that they pull up their nets (but the nets remained moored) and do not catch fish on Sunday, the Lord's Day. Many men will then go out with rod and reel and do some sport fishing. Labradorians, however, do not throw back their catch, but use it for family consumption. One of the most common forms of recreation however, is visiting. Since most families are isolated from each other during the summer, visiting becomes an important way of sharing news and providing a change of pace. Individuals comment that because they are not 'jammed in' with each other like they are in the winter settlement they seem happier to see each other. The summer is also a time when relatives who have moved away from Labrador return to the coast. Their return initiates much visiting.

Labradorian children generally spend a lot of their play time outdoors but the summer sees them outside almost all the time. There is even a very short period of summer "swimming" or water play in the odd protected shallow ponds on offshore islands. The waters of the Labrador Sea are too

frigid for swimming. When the humpback whales, dolphins and icebergs are abundant in the archipelago, impromptu evening boat jaunts occur to watch the mammals up close. People sit out on the cliffs in the late night sun and watch the whales play and feed in the 'runs' (deep channels between islands). Labradorians, living as they do amid great natural beauty, are not blasé regarding wonders that surround them. Icebergs, while a menace to navigation and fishing gear are nonetheless marvelled at and observed with great interest. The Labradorian love for composing poetry and song frequently finds inspiration in the natural splendour around them.

In trying to characterize the tone of the summer quarters I find the words "unrestrained" and "upbeat" most apt. Travel is generally much easier and less subject to adverse weather conditions. Social tensions inherent in the configurations of the winter quarters are dissipated, and people are actively involved in the business of getting their subsistence. This is a period of great activity. People, when describing the summer, talk of the hectic pace of large families, large crews and the constant "goin' at the fish". Married couples joke that the summer is the time when they 'sleep back on' (back to back) since all they have time for is work, food and sleep. The summer, whether it is a good year for salmon or not, is perceived as being positive and active. Contingency exists, but it takes on a different configuration than that of the winter. In the section which follows, I

examine the nature of contingency as it is experienced during the summer.

DISCUSSION

The summer is a period when contingencies seem less intense -- at least with respect to the weather. The extremes of break-up and the harshness of the winter are not observed in the weather of most of the summer. The late summer gales (frequently the tail end of hurricanes) have an effect mostly on the 'outside', i.e., the coastal fringe. The social climate too, is more upbeat. The interpersonal tensions of living a kind of goldfish-bowl existence in the winter community are alleviated and the more care-free tone of the summer place is in evidence.

So, at least superficially, it appears that the summer is lower in contingency -- or at least lower in the kind of contingency that we see persisting at other times of the year. There is, however, another face to this contingency and it relates to the core of Labrador life -- fishing. While multiple subsistence strategies have been devised to adapt to this region, namely; fishing, trapping and hunting, fishing remains primary. Fish are the reason early European settlers came to the coast and it is ultimately fish which maintains their descendants existence there today. In earlier historical periods it was salmon and cod that were the mainstay of the fishery operations. At the time of my field

research it was primarily salmon that represented the major source of the annual income of families in the Sandwich Bay area. Even in the mid-1980s, when the cod fishery was beginning to recover the salmon fishery continued to represent the primary, and for most fishermen, the exclusive fishery pursued. In light of this, it is clear that a decline, even a one year cyclical decline, in salmon stocks can have drastic effects on the income and standard of living for fishing people for the following year. The summer seems more easy going because drastic changes in weather are not seen each each day, as it is the case in winter. But what is seen, on closer inspection is that during the first few weeks of the fishery the fortunes of the rest of the year can be predicted. Via the abundance or scarcity of salmon, men can tell if they will be able to get enough money to live for the coming year.

Another contingency, which is out of the fisherman's control, is the market price for salmon. Too much of an abundance can drive the prices down, and too few can effect the total income from the salmon fishery as price increases often do not compensate for lower catches. The fickle nature of market prices, determined in Newfoundland, the mainland and in Europe, are factors that directly effect Labradorians but which Labradorians have no direct effect on.

These variables tell a fisherman if he will have to go into the cod fishery and try to earn more money before the summer is over. Or, if that fishery is poor, if he will have

to try to find wage labour on the coast or in Goose Bay to earn enough unemployment insurance stamps to qualify for benefits until the fishery opens the following year. From this we can see that there are varying types of contingency that exist parallel to each other and pose different challenges to the individuals that must meet them. These challenges are met with varying combinations of adaptive strategies. Clearly, during the summer salmon fishery there is a potential for contingencies, associated with the salmon fishery, to have profound and long term effects on families. this effects not only involvement in the cod fishery or involvement in other fishery related work but also adds stress and raises expectations of upcoming hunting and trapping seasons, since these activities will now have to play a greater role in providing subsistence for the family until the opening of the next fishing season ten months away.

THE FALL

As the summer season draws to a close a decline in fish populations and a drop in temperatures occurs. The first major shift back into the winter quarters occurs with the move of families with school-aged children. However, older couples and bachelors stay longer, especially if the berries are plentiful and if some of the men have secured short term wage labour to assist the fish company in closing down their physical plant.

Weather conditions during the fall range from periods of rain, fog and overcast conditions to clear crisp days. As the aspens change their colour to shades of yellow and chartreuse in September, freezing rain and snow begin. Cold nights and killing frosts are also common. While fierce autumn gales and hurricanes can batter the coastal archipelago, the 'inside' is generally pleasant and navigation is unencumbered.

Once families have shifted back into the winter community there are the tasks of opening up the house, cleaning, and making minor repairs. If any firewood has to be cut during this time men will go into the wood paths for this work. House building, renovations or additions to existing buildings are a common activity of the fall. This is so because there is a hiatus in primary subsistence activities, weather is generally good, the black flies and mosquitos have been killed off by frost, and depending on the varying fortunes of the fishery, there is cash available for supplies. Some houses take five or six years to build. As well, the official opening dates for the trapping and hunting seasons haven't occurred yet.

In regard to subsistence activities, the fall represents what is probably the major gathering period of the yearly cycle. Labrador produces an abundance of wild berry varieties. During the fall redberries (low bush cranberry), blueberries, strawberries, raspberries, currants and

crackerberries are there for the taking. All members of the family are involved in berry gathering, though women and children tend to play a more prominent role. In the fall, men are often involved in carpentry and or house building, or they are absent from the settlement working at wage labour. Unlike trap lines, hunting territories or salmon and cod berths, areas where berry varieties are known to be abundant are not recognized as being under the proprietorship of specific individuals or families. Married couples or small groups of kinswomen will frequently go to former settlements in the Bay (abandoned during the resettlement period of the late 1950s and 1960s) to pick berries. These areas are desirable because they are less picked over. Areas just outside the winter settlement are exploited more since the aged or families with small children are not always able to get away from the winter settlement as easily as others. Berrying excursions to abandoned settlements provide a chance to get away, extending if you will, the spirit of the summer and its greater mobility. Berry gathering in abandoned settlements also gives men and women an opportunity to hunt waterfowl and small game (spruce grouse, partridge and arctic hare) in areas that have been less exploited. As the hunting seasons open, one after the other, the sense of excitement about getting out into the country and beginning the trapping and hunting season become palpable. Building and house repairs are usually finished quickly and activity is increasingly focussed around the

opening of the various hunting seasons for fur and food animals. In the middle of September the season officially ends for salmon and trout. Seasons for waterfowl open throughout the month of September. At the end of September the season opens for caribou. The season for partridge, grouse, rabbit opens in October. In November, the trapping seasons open for fur bearing animals such as marten, otter mink, arctic fox and beaver.

By September, the last of the hardy crops (cabbage and turnip) and potatoes are harvested. Seaweed and fish are collected and turned into the ground for the next year. Before freezers were introduced, most of the garden harvest and berries were preserved either by 'God's frost' or in root cellars.

With the completion of the fishery there is also the ordering of the 'winter diet' (i.e., bulk food supplies) from wholesalers on the island of Newfoundland. Other supplies such as aluminum boats, outboard motors, snowmobiles, gasoline and household furnishings are ordered at this time as well. The arrival of supplies is contingent due to the unpredictability of the weather along the coast and because of the pattern by which the cargo is unloaded. Steamers and cargo ships work their way 'down' (i.e., north) from the island of Newfoundland, stopping in various tiny hamlets and or waiting out bad weather. The CBC radio steamer report proves very important and is closely listened to by families.

It up-dates listeners as to progress being made by ships travelling north and south along the coast. As an expected ship draws nearer a settlement, individuals will remain close to the settlement in case she makes good progress. Even though cargo is expected at certain times, it is not always guaranteed that all or even part of an expected shipment will be aboard ship. It is not uncommon for partial shipments to be sent or for last minute changes to be made. Cargo does not necessarily make it on board, even though bills of lading are already in the mail to customers in Labrador. Once cargo arrives, then comes the hectic ferrying from the ship to speed boats and finally to shore. Crates of food, freezers, furniture, snowmobiles and forty-five(imperial) gallon drums of gasoline are moved this way. Conditions in the bay can be calm and sunny or snowy, rainy and choppy. At Paradise River, ships must discharge their freight in the bay outside the mouth of the river. This is because there is inadequate depth to accommodate large vessels within the river. Freight is then ferried to family docks along the three mile (6 kilometre) length of the settlement. While individuals help each other if needed, generally, unloading goods is not a communal activity. Each family looks after their own transportation needs.

By mid-October most women have begun various knitting projects that they will use as Christmas gifts. This is in addition to the almost constant sock knitting that begins in

the fall and continues on throughout the winter. Early orders to the catalogue houses are made so that Christmas parcels will arrive by plane before the interruption of mail service during freeze-up. Christmas fruit cakes, also a traditional gift during the twelve days of Christmas, are made in mid-October and are left to mellow two months. Throughout November and December, Christmas baking is done so that enough sweets are available for all the visiting that occurs at that time. Holiday housecleaning begins in November.

At just about the time when freeze-up begins, a celebration occurs which might be considered a minor one in comparison to Christmas and Easter: the event is known simply as Bonfire Night -- November 5, (Guy Fawkes Night). While people do not know the historical basis of this day, the observance has taken on a Labradorian flavour and set of meanings. Essentially, refuse, old wood stumps and other rubbish laying about are piled on to great heaps throughout the settlement. After supper, people go out and set the fires. The adults stand around the fires and visit while the children play and chase each other in the firelight. Because there is little light in the sky the glow can be seen from bonfires in other settlements across the bay.

Neither the political significance of Guy Fawkes night (i.e., the attempt in 1605 to blow up the houses of Parliament) or the agricultural tradition of autumnal bonfires to burn harvest refuse are relevant or even known to coastal

Labradorians. On this night, a sense of interconnectedness and a spirit of a larger bay-wide community pervades. The impact of bonfire night celebrations takes on new significance when we consider that it comes just before the period of freeze-up where settlements will be cut off from each other for a month to six weeks when the ice is good for travel again.

FREEZE-UP

As freeze-up approaches, people grow more anxious about the possibility that navigation will be encumbered and important supplies will not be received before the close of the shipping season. Canadian National and other carriers continue to ship even as freeze-up begins. In some years ships have been stuck in ice and have had to remain on the coast until freed by an ice breaker or in some cases until spring break-up. As freeze-up approaches, weather is harsher and the un-loading of cargo more difficult and hazardous.

Depending on the amount of snow fall and subsequent rain that may wash away the snow, snowmobiles are used on land intermittently prior to and during freeze-up. Snowshoes are not used until later in the winter. If the shipment of supplies is repeatedly hampered by freeze-up or prematurely halted, hardship is experienced in the community. Even though food and supplies are available at Hudson Bay stores and other smaller local merchants, retail prices are higher at these

outlets. In situations such as these demand may outstrip supply, because local retailers are also at the mercy of the same environmental contingencies as the householder when trying to get their supplies. The contingencies of a difficult freeze-up become even more problematic if (a) the preceding fishing seasons were financially disappointing (b) if the market price of fur is low and or (c) valuable fur animals are experiencing a cyclical decline in population.

In quite simple terms, the word freeze-up means that the water in the rivers, bays, lakes and the sea freeze. This complex hydro-meteorological process plays a significant role in the environmental cycle of Labradorians as it does for other Sub-arctic and Arctic peoples. Freeze-up usually begins in November and can stretch on well into the month of December. Freeze-up is a natural process that is predictable in that it occurs in the months of November and December. It is also a variable process, in that it can occur relatively quickly or extremely slowly. Ideally, a good freeze-up should be one that occurs quickly and produces smooth strong ice. A bad-freeze up is one that is delayed and hampers travel to hunting and trapping areas. Informants told me of some years they visited kin across the river on Christmas day via boat instead of crossing the ice. Freeze-up, (like break-up), is a very contingent period. As temperatures continue to drop in November more ice is visible each morning along the banks of rivers. If temperatures stay low and the wind is not

strong enough to break up these thin layers, more ice may form throughout the day. With a base of ice at the 'landwash' (i.e., shoreline) more ice can form on it. If conditions stay cold and calm overnight, a significant amount of new ice can be seen by morning. Freeze-up often starts off in this manner. Optimism runs high that this might be the year for a quick freeze-up. However, what often happens after this good start is that temperatures go up, melting occurs and ice is broken apart by the wind. If rain falls, water collects on top of the ice and creates either slush or a crumbly layer of ice that makes detection of weak stops difficult or impossible. If ice breaks up, it does not usually disintegrate and float out to sea. Rather, it moves on the current in the river and bay and hampers navigation or comes back into shore with the tide. This broken up ice or 'slob' eventually forms a kind of matrix of ice between which new ice forms. This slob ice however, does not make very smooth ice as there are ridges at the point where old ice and new ice meet. The 'slob' does provide the basis for river and bay ice to form areas of strong ice that are useful when people begin to go out onto the ice during the treacherous later stages of freeze-up. The slob is thicker and hence stronger. If one falls through, a pan of slob ice can support the weight of a person. Areas of ice that formed in a single mass do not offer this option.

The centre of the river is the area that is the last to freeze. Ice begins to form at the river bank and continues to extend out from both sides toward the centre. At the centre, the current is the strongest and overflow over the top of existing ice occurs there. Even when ice has been forming well and steadily, ice conditions can be hazardous due to changeable weather conditions. If well-formed ice is present it may withstand short periods of elevated temperatures and rain. Rain however, can make movement on the ice impossible since snowmobiles cannot travel across it and movement on foot is dangerous because holes can not be detected. If rain is followed by lower temperatures and then snow, this snow can effectively blanket wafer thin ice which might be only thick enough to carry snow but not the weight of a human. Thus one can look out one's window and see what appears to be solid ice from one bank of the river to the other. Beneath this ice, however, could be a maze of slushy puddles, wafer thin ice and open water undergoing the erratic process of freezing. The temperatures of the water at near freezing point, conditions can change rapidly from open water to ice or vice versa. Temperature, precipitation, changes in wind and tidal fluctuation are all interrelated in the progressive or retrogressive process of freeze-up. All of this makes movement across the ice dangerous. If one goes across the ice at 8:00 a.m. for example and returns at 11:00 a.m. there is no way of predicting what conditions the ice will be upon

returning. On-shore or off-shore winds can move pans of ice and water to either (a) enhance the formation of ice or (b) hinder it by breaking up and pushing ice away from the shores. Tides in relation to the lunar cycle (i.e., their strength and the time of daily low and high tides), wind direction and the presence of rain and or melted snow are important to ice formation. During freeze-up ice forms essentially on the surface of the water but it builds out from the shoreline and is "anchored" there. This stability helps new ice form onto established shore ice and "grow" out toward the centre of the rivers and bays and eventually the coast. The tide adds pressure to the ice by either heaving it up with a greater volume of water at high tide or letting it drop with a lower volume of water at low tide. Thus, while the wind moves the ice on a horizontal plane the tide moves the ice vertically. The effect of tidal action is most noticeable at the 'landwash'. Excess water at high tide forces cracks in the ice which push the ice upward, forming large crystalline masses. At these stress points, the water comes out on top of the ice. While at low tide these points may drain, they undergo a twice daily tidal action and are thus very weak and hazardous. This is true even when the ice is well formed toward the end of the freeze-up process. Movement around shore ice is cautious because weak spots are still releasing tidal pressures below the ice. Since the only way one can enter onto the ice is via the shore, great care must be

exercised in these areas. Even with the care and knowledge that is utilized most of the recent fatalities that have occurred on the ice have been in the near shore areas during the later stages of freeze-up or at early stages of break-up. Travel does occur on the ice before freeze-up is complete. However, most individuals will only go out on the ice on foot. Snowmobiles and komatik coach boxes (along with the driver) are too heavy for the ice to hold.

Once the tidal areas are negotiated, new ice can be traveled upon but only with the greatest of care. Knowledge of the currents below the ice, tidal strength, and openness to the wind are all considered when traveling at this time. Hunters will walk along the boulder-strewn shore to avoid questionable areas of the ice and then enter the ice along safer stretches. Individuals usually prefer to go out 'in company' (at least two people). Along with traps and game bags they also bring an axe. Every thirty paces or so a tiny hole is chopped in the ice until water shows and the depth is noted. About four or five inches of ice is considered the bare minimum to carry the weight of a hunter. Traveling over the ice is very ticklish business. My experiences of going out on the ice powerfully brought home to me the many contingencies that must be taken into account when hunters travel across it during the later stages of freeze-up. When hunters go out they walk about two to three body lengths apart, walking one behind the other. The more experienced

person takes the lead and essentially guides the others across the ice, carefully, picking their way from one frozen pan of slob ice to another, avoiding patches of snow and black ice (thin ice), never walking with (along) the ice fissures. Yellow-brown ice indicates that seepage from below the ice has occurred and signals possible thinness or a tidal pressure point. Progress is slow. Stopping, changing direction, retracing steps, conferring with each other about direction and then leaving the ice when necessary are all part of the process. Hunters are not out for a pleasure stroll. Idle banter (which included the queries of the ethnographer) is kept to a minimum so that one can listen to the ice for signs of cracking. Walking on the ice also requires a special kind of flat-footed shuffle that minimizes a heavy pounding of the heel making impact with the ice. Skin boots are ideally suited for this kind of walking since ready made boots make this kind of stride less natural. Walking as one does on sidewalks and other firm surfaces in slippery soled shoes also increases one's chances of falling and possibly falling through the ice. My early attempts at walking on new ice were met with a firm look and a terse, "this aien't the city, maid..."

The purpose for such expeditions is checking traps and the hunting of game and seals. Heavy footed strides are not only hazardous to the safety of the hunters but the sound can scare off seals that came up for air at tidal pressure points.

Yet, even with these precautions, Labrador hunters go through the ice. Blanche Davis, in describing her recollections of the freeze-up of the Paradise River in 1907 states,

It was a beautifully clear and sunny afternoon in mid-December, 1907. The ground was covered with snow. Much of the ice in the middle of Paradise River, away up on the south side of Sandwich Bay, was clear and slippery, having been lately formed... around three o'clock on that memorable afternoon, I was a hungry little girl looking down into our black, iron cooking pot, into which my mother was putting a meal of fresh meat for our supper. Mother had just put the cover on the pot when suddenly the door opened and in stepped my daddy. By looking at his clothes I would never have known him. In that respect, he was a real janny (mummer), dressed in a pair of white canvas pants, a bright plaid shirt, a white hunting jacket and a pair of deerskin moccasins with white, canvas leggings: all items of clothing quite unfamiliar to me. At the time I didn't know the reason why Daddy was dressed so but years later and by degrees, I gathered the information that he had spent some time in on Paradise River setting traps to catch what fur-bearing animals he might find. When it was time to come home he would skate a good part of the way. Being a newcomer to Paradise River he must have been unaware of the dangerously strong tide spots and he skated onto a spot which had been newly caught over (frozen) by one night's frost. As luck would have it, he was seen falling through by Uncle Philip Lethbridge Sr. and his sons Philip and John. When he went through the ice he had to throw away his gun, his axe, some traps, and his only skin of fur, a number one marten. Years later he told me how nearly he come to giving up hope because he was exhausted after having broken away yards of ice in his effort to reach ice thick enough to hold him. Just as he was about to give up, the Lethbridge men arrived with boards and rope and saved him. Christmas for us that year was a happy one. (1976:52-53).

During freeze-up, traps are 'struck up', i.e., temporarily de-activated because they will not be able to be checked regularly and animals left in traps for protracted

periods of time will to be eaten by predators and wasted. This is particularly hard on trappers who must sit idle and wait.

Mail service and air transportation are interrupted during freeze-up, as well. Prior to 1985 Twin and Single Otter aircraft landed in open water using pontoons. When freeze-up approached the planes were withdrawn from service to be refitted with skis for landing on the ice. Because freeze up comes at different times along the coast, with an earlier arrival northward and a later arrival southward, service to all coastal settlements was interrupted. While rivers might be frozen up enough to carry the weight of humans and snowmobiles a minimum of five feet of ice is necessary to hold the weight of a plane filled with fuel, cargo and passengers. Unemployment insurance cheques, personal communication with loved ones, mail order supplies (including parcels for Christmas) are delayed. Most importantly, the hospital plane was affected by the same landing problems. Emergency medical care beyond that provided by the nurse at a small nursing station was unobtainable during freeze-up and break-up. Expectant mothers who might deliver around freeze-up (or break-up), are routinely flown out to hospitals in Goose Bay or St. Anthony, Newfoundland before freeze-up begins. Little can be done for medical emergencies that can not be predicted.

In 1985 a rough air strip was completed by the federal and provincial governments at Paradise River. Air service is

no longer interrupted due to the freeze-up and break-up of the ice. However, the particularly unsettled weather of these two periods, that ranges from freezing rain storms, gales, blizzards, high winds and even dense fog can and does interfere with regular service. Weather always plays a key role in transportation along the coast throughout the year. However, the periods of freeze-up and break-up create their own special weather problems. Essentially, it is the liminal nature of weather at these times which causes so much of the environmental and social contingency. In the section which follows I move on to a discussion of winter. During this season the major subsistence activities are hunting and trapping the first two-thirds and wood cutting during the later third.

THE WINTER

Like the beginning of summer, the beginning of winter is dependent upon the shifting nature of the ice. Essentially, then, winter commences with the freezing up of the ice and is signalled by the major means of travel, changing from speed boat to snowmobile. Families are thoroughly ensconced into the winter settlement by this time and are actively involved in the main winter subsistence activities of trapping and hunting.

The heavy snowfalls begin usually in late December and are the heaviest in the months of January, February and March. January and February are the months with the coldest

temperatures. Along with blizzards, ice crystal clouds (ice fog) occur. By the end of the major snow months snow accumulations have reached the first story of most houses. Roofs are regularly shoveled to prevent collapse under the weight of snow. Many mornings, families must dig out their doors as the drifting snow covers them completely. When the snows begin in earnest, snow boards (about a foot [30 centimeters] in height) are nailed across the bottom of the door sills to prevent drifting under the door. One must step over the snow board to enter a house. Until I got used to them, I made many a 'spectacular' entrance into the homes of my informants.

Fishing for rock cod (through the ice) begins in late November or December and was traditionally carried out throughout most of the winter. Today, most rock cod fishing (using a hand line jigger through a augered hole in the thick ice) is done late in the winter and into the early spring. Rock cod offers a delicious and fresh alternative to tinned foods. Toward the spring, when supplies start to dwindle, and or when game is scarce due to cyclical declines in species or poor weather, rock cod takes up an increasingly larger place in the local diet. If a person goes out to a spot where the rock cod are known to run and it is at the right time of the day (with respect to the tide and feeding times), a stack of about fifteen to twenty fish will be one's reward for an hour's work. Standing at an unprotected jigging hole out on

the open bay, hand lining a wet jigger line (even on a calm day) can be very cold work. One's catch is usually frozen solid even before leaving the jigging hole. Before the advent of the snowmobile when sled dogs were owned by every family, the major source of food for the teams was rock cod. While rock cod is delicious and a good source of protein there is still a stigma associated with because it has served as dog food and has been traditionally used as starvation rations. Trout is also fished through pond ice. But because they are not as plentiful as rock cod or as easy to catch, the effort and the patience required often outweighs the long cold wait at the jigging hole.

Hunting and Trapping

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Hunting and trapping of game and fur bearers may begins before freeze-up when the seasons open. During the twelve days of Christmas (and on Sundays) all hunting and trapping stops. Traditionally, trappers who spent the winter in the 'country' (the interior) would trek into their trapping grounds and haul in provisions with the help of one strong sled dog. They would begin trapping and return for the Christmas reverie and then be gone for the rest of the winter. In Chapter Six, which deals with the ritual cycle, a detailed discussion and analysis of events surrounding the twelve days of Christmas is presented.

With the advent of the snowmobile, the "tilt" system (i.e., a series of simple trapper's hunts, providing overnight shelter and a place to cache provisions and pelts) has changed dramatically. "Tilts" were situated along the regular circuit a trapper travels on his trap line. The spatial location of tilts was determined by the distance traveled by snowshoe over the course of day's trapping. Today, Trappers find it more convenient and less lonely to visit trap lines via snowmobile in one or two days than to stay in the country for protracted periods away from their families. This, of course, is the ideal scenario. While 'tilts' are no longer used in the same fashion as they were in the pre-snowmobile era, they are still maintained. Tilts are useful for storing trapping equipment, and emergency food and gasoline supplies. Furthermore they are there in the event the weather quickly turns bad or if the ever-present contingency of snowmobile breakdown occurs. Older, more experienced, trappers observe that the convenience of the snowmobile can not be denied. They agree that on a good day, a trapper can leave his home in the morning, check his entire trap line and return to his family that night. These trappers also note that there are other costs that have to be considered. If a trapper is already on his trap line when bad weather hits, he is still able to get to his traps and empty and or re-set them. But if weather is not good for traveling, then a trapper is not able to get from the settlement out to the trap line. Frequent servicing of traps

insures that trapped animals do not linger long in them, and that they are not as likely to be eaten or spoiled by scavengers. Frequent servicing of the trap lines also insures that traps and snares are operating properly. Each snowfall either covers up traps or reduces the distance between the surface of the snow and snares. Scavengers like the 'cockashe' (Montagnais for wolverine) and the 'whiskey Jack' (Gray Jay) can raid lure and deactivate traps without getting caught in the trap. As well, traps and snares can be set off by quarry and are then ineffective in catching other animals. With each day that traps and snares are left inactive, productivity declines.

Older trappers also note that, beyond the high cost of fuel and upkeep of the snowmobile, there are other disadvantages of snowmobile use on the trap line-- namely, noise. Traditionally, the snowshoe was the major means of transportation in the country. The presence of the trapper did not produce disruptive noise for animals in the area. The frequent presence of snowmobiles is believed by trappers to frighten away animals. Thus, trappers today are grappling with the advantages and disadvantages of this new technology along with existing environmental contingencies and new ones added by technological innovation. For some, a compromise has been reached. They use the snowmobile to travel the long distances to their trapping ground and then stay there for a period of time in their tilts making their circuit via

snowshoe. Then they return to the settlement via snowmobile. This option becomes increasingly attractive when contingencies such as increases in fuel prices occur, one or more fur animal species is experiencing a cyclical decline or the market prices for fur have dropped.

Woodcutting:

With the heavy snowfalls and the burden of accumulated snow on the boughs of trees, woodcutting does not begin until February when high winds and cold temperatures begin to free the boughs of snow. Woodcutting lasts from about February to April. Trapping and hunting activities are still occurring and demand the time of hunters. Furthermore, poor weather conditions can eat away at the amount of time men can put in on the 'wood path'. The region of Sandwich Bay is one of the richest forest areas in Labrador. Dense stands of spruce and fir are adjacent to the settlement. In the late 1970s, a forest fire spread through part of this forest area just southwest of the settlement and nearly destroyed the homes. In this area, much of the more recent wood cutting has taken place. Some families, however, prefer not to take this wood because it is "smutty" (scorched and blackened from the forest fire). Areas along brooks and creeks are also favoured wood cutting areas because frozen creeks provide good (largely straight and smooth) runs to haul logs out of the bush using the versatile snowmobile and komatik sled. Negotiating trails

that are largely curves and turns is difficult and dangerous. Trees are felled according to size and desirability as a fuel. Cutting does not occur in a sweep through the forest where everything is cut out. Rather, a tree is taken here and there, and much depends on the route one will use to get a tree to the komatik and the komatik back to the settlement. There must also be enough room for the tree to fall so that it will not get hung up on other trees and be wasted or pose a hazard. On fair days when there is not too much wind (to avoid hazard to the wood cutter) the men and boys are out in the 'wood path'. There is always a steady stream of snowmobiles and komatiks moving up and down the frozen river and the sound of chain saws in the distance. While there is no real sense of territory that each family uses for getting their wood, each family tends to have their preferred locations for taking wood.

There are two ways of storing wood. The most common way is to haul in felled trees (limbed on the wood path') to the community. There, they are arranged butt end to the ground, in a conical shaped stack. Using this arrangement, drying is enhanced and snow does not collect on wood. Each of these limbed trees is called a 'stick' or 'turn' of wood. It takes about 1,000 'turns' of wood to keep a family in fuel through out the twelve months of the year. Some families, limb and then saw "turns' into short logs (the length of an axe being the measure) while still on the wood path'. Then

they haul these short logs back to the settlement where they are stacked into rectangular piles and covered with tarpaulins. This latter system is related, I believe to the introduction of log burning stoves. The conical system is used more by families who use cook stoves. Cook stoves require smaller pieces that must be split. The conical system, enhances drying and cutting. Splitting is usually done on a daily basis so exposed wood is not left out in the snow or rain.

Once the woodcutting for the winter settlement is done, the woodcutting for the summer settlement begins. Wood for the summer station is hauled out to the coast whenever there is good travelling weather. If left too late in the winter, changing ice conditions could halt all shipments by the economical snowmobile and komatik. Wood for the 'outside' is cut and hauled first because the best weather and ice conditions persist for trips like this between the hinterland and the coast. Concerns regarding weather contingencies or snowmobile breakdowns (snowmobiles, which are primarily recreational vehicles are not made for the heavy use they get in places like Labrador. Hence, they are prone to breakdown) bear heavily on the minds of men. Many men will try to get in their own wood supplies as quickly as they can so that they will be able to cut wood for elderly parents or to cut wood for sale to families in Cartwright. Cartwright has a large population of over 600 people when compared to Paradise

River's roughly 100 people. Each year Cartwright families must go further and further away to get their wood. Paradise River's excellent hinterland forests provide good dense stands of large trees compared to the sparse growth and smaller trees of coastal forests like those closer to Cartwright. Some small coastal woods adjacent to Cartwright are largely empty of good sized 'sticks'. Given Paradise River's proximity to these forests, families there have easier access and lower expenses. The demand for fuel in Cartwright provides added income for enterprising men in Paradise River. It also makes the time when 'men go at the wood' a very hectic period.

During the winter, women are busy knitting garments for their families particularly one and two fingered mitts (the latter for ease when shooting rifles in the cold), socks, gloves, toques (a characteristic design known on the coast as a Paradise toque) and sweaters. Knitted items are usually made with great speed and precision following intricate traditional patterns handed down from mother to daughter. Women also produce duffel parkas in the distinctive pattern of the Labrador Inuit, with a duffel inner coat and a outer coat made of heavy cotton cloth known locally as 'Grenfell cloth'. These parkas, along with other duffel items like mittens and slippers are embellished with silk or wool embroidery. Spring sealing and hunting 'dickies' made of heavy white or mustard coloured sail cloth (canvas) are also made by the women. These garments shed water well, are wind

proof and provide camouflage when out on the spring ice. Not as heavy as a winter parka, these 'dickies' provide warmth and protection during the warmer spring months without overheating a hunter.

Until roughly the late 1950s, Labrador women made sealskin boots which were sold or exchanged for desired items with Newfoundlanders during the summer fishery. Ford (1978) notes that in one exchange forty pairs of boots were exchanged for a motor boat without an engine. The production of seal skin boots is now declining. Most experienced hunters say that seal boots provided greater comfort when walking in 'racquets' (snowshoes) and on the trap line. People speculate that since trappers no longer walk into their trapping grounds but use snowmobiles instead, a person's feet are not warmed in the process of walking and need to be kept warm with modern insulated boots. Changing styles and the amount of work required to make boots for the whole family each year along with keeping them in good repair were additional factors which influenced the decline in sealskin boot making. Duffel inners (liners) are still made in the pattern of seal boots but are now used in rubber boots.

During the winter, women are also involved in the filling of 'racquets' with 'babiche' and 'tabiche' (Montagnais words for the close and loose gauged webbing of snowshoes). Men 'turn' (carve, soak, bend and cure) the wooden frames. Traditionally, the webbing was caribou sinew

but with the decline in caribou in this region nylon cord has been substituted. Snowshoes are oval in shape with a broader section at the front and a tapered heel. Beyond these clothing items women are involved in rug hooking, fancy crochet work and embroidery, along with the sewing of clothes for themselves and their families. As the spring approaches, women focus many of their needle projects toward the auction and or sale of items at the annual Easter Fair. The rugs, parkas and other items of some of the most experienced women fetch a handsome sum at the auction where bidding is swift and competitive.

While men do the bulk of the hunting and fishing, women are responsible for cleaning the fish, small game (grouse, ptarmigan, rabbit, beaver) and other food animals. Up until the 1920s porcupine were also taken on the coast but their populations have dwindled. Their quills were used in decorative work by the women. Once an animal is cleaned and there is more meat than can be cooked at a meal, the surplus is either frozen or is entrusted to the children to carry to an elderly trapper and his wife. In earlier times, when there was a much greater dependence on caribou, more women were involved in dressing out larger animals. This is less true today since caribou have not been hunted due to decreased herd size and the fact that no legal season is open to residents of Sandwich Bay. In the late 1980s some caribou hunting has been permitted by wildlife officials on a trial basis. Fur bearing

animals are usually skinned and the pelts prepared by the trapper. The meat of most fur bearing animals (except for beaver) is not considered suitable food. The meat and carcass of fur bearers is not given to dogs either.

Depending on the number and age of children in a family, a woman will help her husband with some of the wood hauling and stacking. Many women know how to shoot shot guns and hunting rifles and enjoy opportunities to accompany their husbands when hunting small game. During the annual Easter Fair, women take pride in participating in shooting contests, along with snowmobile and racquet races. Generally, work in the household keeps women in the settlement and not in the bush.

With the warmer and longer days of April and the arrival of the tiny snow birds, the end of the winter is heralded. The annual Easter Fair is usually held in March or early April. Trapping and hunting decline and thoughts begin to turn once again to break-up and the return to the summer salmon and cod fisheries.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have outlined the environmental cycle, detailing the subsistence patterns and climatic conditions of each of the seasons. Beyond a description of these seasons there is an important issue which relates to our understanding how the events of the environmental cycle relate

to time. This issue surrounds the management of contingency inherent in the Labrador environmental cycle generally and in the events surrounding break-up and freeze-up in particular. In using the word management to describe the way Labradorians deal with contingency, I do not mean the more common corporate definition; "to make and keep submissive" but rather the less common definition; "to treat with care" (Webster's Seventh Collegiate Dictionary: 1971). Contingency is important to the analysis of time because it consistently challenges human efforts to impose regularization or predictability upon human experience. We know that one way humans impose regularization and predictability is by the invention of time.

In discussing environmental contingency in Labrador, it is essential to examine what it is that might fall into that categorization. In this dissertation I have defined contingent events as those occurrences which are characterized by a condition of chance or unpredictability. Contingency can manifest itself in various degrees of intensity, from mild to severe. I discuss for example two of the most extreme conditions of contingency on the environmental cycle: break-up and freeze-up. These two hydro-meteorological events serve as the focal points of the year. They are dangerous in that chances of fatal accidents or hardships are intensified at this time. The processes of break-up and freeze-up are structural analogues of one another -- each is progressive and retrogressive. Within the passage of a few hours they can

move back and forth between conditions of ice and open water. These periods can be perceived as being environmentally liminal in that they are betwixt and between the time of open water and the time of ice.

When the management of these contingencies is considered, the application of situationally adjustive responses becomes as significant. In Labrador, these responses can be proactive and directed at the specific conditions at hand. They can also be more informal and indirect or what I have termed a "wait and see" approach. The "wait and see" approach, while it appears to be basically inactive, reflects the understanding that sometimes nature takes care of things without human intervention. In this light, the "wait and see" approach is not passive. Rather, it is a knowledgeable awareness (based upon experience) that the various forces at play, both human and natural, have significant input into the outcome. It reveals an attitude which holds that humans are not destined to conquer the environment but rather to work along with it. In this partnership, nature always holds the controlling shares. Furthermore, this approach reflects a paradoxical understanding that one can "accomplish something" toward a desired goal, by "doing nothing".

The "wait and see" approach is adaptive for Labradorians because frequently it is the safest, simplest and sometimes the only realistic option. By waiting and seeing

what happens, individuals can end up making less work for themselves and/or enhance the effectiveness of their application of various proactive responses. The key is to carefully read and re-read the situation, gauging responses as conditions change. These approaches are applied at various stages throughout the contingency management process. After a proactive response has been made to a particular situation an individual may then "wait and see" what happens next and then decide what measures if any should follow and when. The application then, of adjustive responses is made incrementally and intermittently. This was seen most dramatically in the excerpts from Cartwright's and Gordon's journals and from Mrs. Burdett's story regarding prolonged break-ups. Today outsiders, such as provincial development workers, who have tried to motivate local people to act on specific project, have felt frustrated by what appears, at least on the surface, to be indecisiveness. Making a decision for the sake of making a decision is not a dictum that guides the behaviour of Labradorians, nor is it adaptive for the kind of habitat they live in. In Labrador, it seems that in both natural and social environments, people tend to wait to see how situations will develop. For example, people wait and see if the weather will clear so they can do some desired activity. They also wait and see if better telephone services will be provided after they talk to a succession of local MHAs (Member of the House of Assembly). In settlements like Paradise River, it

took in excess of fifteen years before telephone service was finally available to individual homes in the mid-1980s.

In Chapter Three, on the historical and social setting we saw how a long pattern of changing mercantile houses meant an economic and social climate subject to contingency. Such conditions continue to this day. Economic ventures like logging or fox farming proposed by outsiders were big on promises for future financial prosperity but ended up as shortlived failures. From their own life experiences then, Labradorians learn that conditions can undergo many changes between the time a plan is made initially and when it is finally implemented.

An important element in devising suitable responses to contingent events is competency. Competency develops via a combination of keen observation, experience, trial and error, and an ability to know when to act quickly and when to wait and see. Competency is developed within a context for dealing with contingency.

Over a life-time, an individual can acquire greater ability in dealing with the contingencies that confront him or her. Nevertheless performance, using a series of responses, may be successful one time and may not be in another. Hence, a person can be competent and still be ineffectual in meeting the challenges of contingency. Each situation must be evaluated and possible responses ordered accordingly. In essence then, the management of contingency not only requires

competence but it also requires the flexibility to prioritize and re-prioritize responses (that is to order and reorder in a temporal sequence) as events change. Sometimes they change radically and abruptly, sometimes they change slowly. This flexibility is at the core of Labradorian adjustive responses.

I describe the way Labradorians manage contingency as responding rather than reacting to contingency. I make this distinction because reacting is rather uni-dimensional and is generally understood to mean an action that is in opposition to a force or stimulus. Responding however, suggests that there is a multidimensional context that informs the actions of the respondent. In effect, there is a variety of scenarios one can be caught in and there is a repertoire of actions from which to choose. What is seen then, is that Labradorian time on the environmental cycle is, by necessity, flexible or elastic and grounded in a more immediate or present temporal frame. While present time is the temporal context in which adjustive responses are implemented, possible responses are reevaluated on an ongoing basis. Forethought regarding the appropriateness of responses and their longterm ramifications are an integral part of the entire process.

As mentioned at the onset and elsewhere in this chapter, contingency and predictability are two aspects of temporal organization in Labrador. In the chapter which follows, I examine the avenues by which predictability finds

its way into the contingent world of coastal life. This examination is set within the general context of the daily cycle and more specifically within the context of male and female work domains.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DAILY CYCLE

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter two basic issues are addressed. The first: what are the significant structural components of the Labrador daily cycle and what is the nature of their interrelationship? The second: in what way does contingency influence the nature of daily activities? The examination of these two questions is divided into five parts. In the first part, the divisions of the Labrador daily cycle are described. In the second part, I discuss the work/visit complex of the male daily round and the influence of contingency on their activities. In the third part, I turn to the discussion of the work/visit complex of the female daily round. In this section, I focus on the regularity of the domestic scene. In the fourth part, I deal with characteristics of the meal/'mug-up' complex, examining how they link together various elements of the daily cycle. In this section I explore the tensions which exist between private time and public time during the daily cycle. I also examine resolutions made between these two temporalities, especially as they reflect the tone of social relations within the community. In the fifth and final part of the chapter the interrelationships between contingency

and regularity, male and female spheres of activity and private and public time are examined. It is argued that while these parts display contrastive qualities, they likewise exhibit complementary characteristics when viewed from the perspective of the daily cycle as a whole.

THE DIVISIONS OF THE LABRADOR DAILY CYCLE

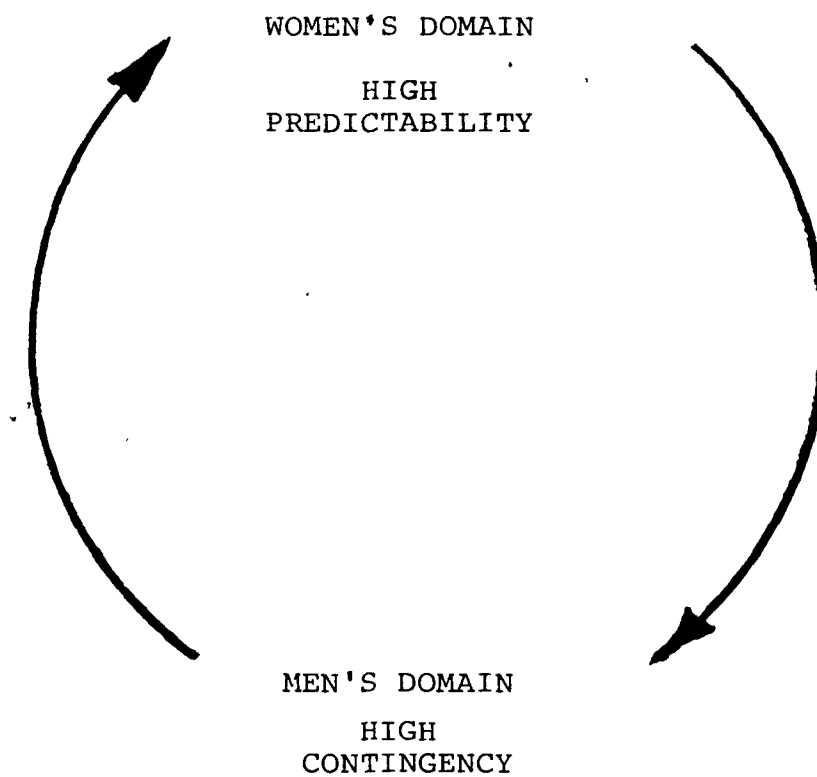
The daily life of Labradorians is broken up into two main categories: namely periods of activity and sleep which correspond to day and night time respectively. However, the focus of this chapter is primarily on the divisions of the day time and the interrelations of activities which occur during that period. This includes activities which are regulated or structured as well as those which are affected by contingencies. The day time is separated into the morning, evening and night. The activities which occur during the day centre around work, visiting and meals. However, in analyzing the interconnectedness of these three activities it is useful to examine variations in the daily round which are characteristic of male and female spheres. From this I turn to the discussion of meals and their role as links or nexi between not only morning, evening and night but also between working and visiting periods of the day.

Working and Visiting in the Male Daily Round

For both men and women, the most important period of the day with regard to the completion of work is the morning. Depending on the time of the year, men can be found performing their work tasks outside of the home, primarily on the hunting, trapping or fishing grounds or secondarily in their outbuildings within the settlement. The subsistence patterns of fishing trapping and hunting are, by definition, characterized by a pervasive state of contingency. In any one of these subsistence activities, the success or failure of a venture is dependent upon not only the (1) skill and perseverance of the individual but on (2) weather, (3) species variability and (4) chance. The very nature of Labrador subsistence patterns precludes the opportunity for much reliable planning or for regularity in men's daily activities. The immediacy and mutability of daily affairs directs attention away from the anticipation of future activities and firmly focusses concerns in the present.

Since a formal schedule of activities is not associated with the labour of men, work and visiting form a flexible set, that can be altered throughout the course of the day. The relationship between work and visiting, however, is not equal or reciprocal in nature. Visiting is not automatically opted for as an alternative to some attempted activity during the morning or afternoon. Work is given the first priority and visiting is seen as a kind of

FIGURE 6
CONTINGENCY AND PREDICTABILITY
IN FEMALE AND MALE
WORK AND TEMPORAL DOMAINS



substitute activity when situations or contingencies arise which can delay the completion of work. Visiting can be further categorized in terms of both the light visiting mentioned here and more formal socializing.

During the trapping season for example, men prefer to get up early to check their traps and snares. Storms or high winds, however, can curtail their work. In such cases, a man might perform some light chores or repairs while keeping a constant eye on the weather. It is not uncommon for the weather to clear suddenly. When this occurs, men prefer to move quickly, taking advantage of improved conditions before they change again.

As mentioned above, the morning is considered the most important time of the day in terms of getting work accomplished. However, tasks which men might want or need to complete are frequently delayed until later in the day or into the next day. Ideally snares, traps and fish nets should be checked and cleared regularly. This is important because (a) quarry and catches are always subject to the problem of scavengers and (b) a delay in the removal of quarry or catches can serve to diminish their value as food or furs. The morning is also critical to trapping operations because many animals, both quarry and scavengers, are nocturnal feeders. Likewise, morning is important in fishing since overnight weather changes, the movement of undetected ice floes or icebergs onto the fishing grounds, seals and dog fish (a type

of small shark) can all threaten both catch and expensive gear. Optimally, nets should be checked three times a day during the height of the salmon season -- otherwise, they should be regularly checked twice a day. Snares (for rabbit) are usually checked once or twice a day. Traps (for fur bearing animals) may be checked once a day upward to once every week or two depending on such factors as the distance to the trap, the species pursued and the phase in the season. Thus, prompt and periodic checking is the ideal.

This ideal, however cannot always attained and losses occur due to contingencies largely outside of a fisherman's/trapper's control. Finally, the morning is important to hunting ventures since travel to hunting grounds should optimally begin early in the day (usually at daybreak) to take advantage of limited hours of light during the winter, to accommodate possible mechanical break-downs, changes in the weather and hazardous travel conditions. These precautions apply to most travel during both the winter and summer months.

As I have already noted, delays in making morning hauls or trap inspections are not uncommon. Thus, visiting is not automatically opted for as an alternative since weather conditions could change rapidly. When visiting does occur, a man might drop in for a short visit with a nearby kinsman or friend. The topic of conversation usually revolves around the weather. On days when morning tasks are not delayed, men might complete any necessary chores and repairs related to

fishing or trapping. They may then drop in on a relative or friend, if there is time, before the midday meal. There is usually a flurry of activity in the home at this time as meal preparations are in full swing. Men try to absent themselves during this period to leave women with time to complete their work.

During the 'evening' (i.e., the afternoon), more visiting tends to occur; this is because (1) there is generally a midday lull between morning and evening trap and net tending and (2) on days when the weather shows no signs of improvement by evening, work is concluded for the day. This type of decision is arrived at by evaluating and reevaluating local weather conditions throughout the morning and by listening to the radio forecasts from Goose Bay. On days when men are still hoping to get in at least one trip to the traps or nets, the anticipation of the morning gives way to the tedium and anxiousness of waiting and watching. Involvement in such speculative ventures as hunting, trapping and fishing develops a series of emotions ranging from anxiety to simple curiosity regarding the outcome of one's labour. Each day's involvement, for the Labradorian, can be seen as the unfolding of one's fate in the form of a pelt, a meal or a quintal of fish. This drama is indeed real and suspenseful. People are often heard remarking that the 'time seems long in the evening'. Men will usually busy themselves with various chores: wood chopping, water hauling, or the upkeep of

equipment. But often the evening provides men with more opportunities to visit other men in the settlement after the midday meal. Some may congregate in the shed of a boat builder while others may drop in on a number of men or call in at the home of a kinsman or friend. Generally, men visit outside of the home, conversation invariably focusses around the subsistence strategy currently being pursued that season or current news in the settlement or from around Sandwich Bay. Many times visits are largely silent. A riddle capitalizes on this style of visiting in a humourous way: "what is the shortest conversation between two fishermen"? Answer: "Ar'n"? "Nar'n"! Arn'n, meaning: did you get any fish? Narn'n, meaning: No, none! This economy with words or plain silence is not surprising when it is recalled that most people in small settlements like Paradise River, have known each other all their lives and often have little news which differs from their established daily routine. Visits are, thus, an opportunity to share one's company and to offer a brief change of pace and possibly a tidbit of news.

Visiting which occurs during the night is of a different quality. The work of the day is over, The night is seen as a time for relaxation, usually in one's own home. Visits often include the playing of checkers, cribbage or other card games. People rarely extend invitations to visit for a specific day or time. The idea of saying, "come over for a game of cards on the 25th at 6:30", is alien to coastal

people. An open invitation is in effect for all coastal people. When comparing the coast to Goose Bay for example, people often say, "in Goose Bay you got to make an appointment just to have a mug-up!" Most visits which occur at night are usually longer than those during the day. As well, a husband and wife might visit at a house together. But men tend to do most of the night visiting. Recently, some of the younger men have begun to congregate at each other's houses for the occasional poker game. At one or two houses weak television signals can be picked up which draws a few diehard hockey fans on Saturday nights during the winter.

Working and Visiting in the Female Daily Round

The critical work period for women as for men is the morning. However, the reasons are somewhat different in the case of women. The nature of women's work as opposed to men's is not focussed on specific tasks like trapping, hunting or fishing. For the most part, women's daily work does not fluctuate from season to season. Furthermore, the work of women tends to be more steadily paced throughout the day, unlike men's subsistence activities. The nature of women's work also facilitates the maintenance of weekly schedules which are largely impractical in men's work. The location where women do most of their work is in the home. There are short periods of time in the late summer and autumn when they

are involved in the collection of berries on the wooded fringes of summer and winter settlements.

Meal preparation begins the Labrador woman's day. Depending on the day of the week, a woman might begin one of a number of tasks which can consume a large portion of the rest of her day. Monday, for example, is laundry or washing day. After breakfast women or usually their husbands or sons will haul the necessary water (in large pails) from a spring, well or brook. Water is then placed in large boilers on wood burning stoves. Most women use electric wringer washing machines and scrub boards. Even if the weather is not sunny and/or breezy (ideal drying conditions) women still try to do their wash on Monday. Frequently, clothes might have to remain outside on the line for more than one day. But as one woman remarked, "if I waited for a proper (ideal) day to wash me clothes, I might wait as long as a week"! In the same way, women try to start their work as early in the morning as they can to maximize weather conditions. They also try to get their laundry done as early in the week as possible. However, when washing is delayed, it is usually due to unusually severe weather. In the middle of the winter clothes are still hung outside in the extreme cold where the frigid conditions draw out most of the moisture. Clothes are then brought into the house frozen where they are hung above the stove to finish drying.

Once or twice a week, depending on the size of families, women bake bread. There are no bakeries on the coast. Thus, if a woman does not bake bread regularly, there is no other source. Bread along with fish are central to Labradorian fare. Like washing, baking begins early in the morning with its various stages (of mixing, kneading, double rising and baking) and continues into the 'evening'. Baking, however, is rarely done on wash day or scrubbing day and is prohibited on Sunday. I often heard the following piece of folk wisdom quoted on baking day: "if you bakes on Sunday, you'll bake for three Sundays after". A weekly housecleaning occurs on Saturdays. This includes scrubbing floors on hands and knees and a general cleaning of all rooms in the house. On washing, scrubbing and baking days women will prepare a simple slow cooking one pot meal for dinner so that time is not taken away to prepare elaborate meals halfway through their work or to take up valuable space on their wood stoves where large cauldrons of water are kept boiling.

On the days when women are not involved in these specific jobs, the morning is usually taken up with light housekeeping chores as well as knitting, crocheting, sewing (for both their families and as a cottage industry to supplement family income), mending and child care. At midmorning women will prepare the 'mug-up' and afterwards they will begin dinner (i.e., the midday meal) preparations. After dinner and clean-up women may return to their housekeeping or

needlework, or child care. If the weather is fair, and if a plane could get in with the mail, a woman might walk to the post office in the company of another woman and or children or stop in on another woman along the way. Most visits are impromptu and brief. Work however, is seen as being the more important activity throughout the morning and evening. For women, a great deal of visiting (especially during the day) could be viewed negatively in that she might be regarded as lazy or inclined toward gossip. There are also two other significant aspects of the woman's daily round that are related to visiting patterns. First is the woman's role as hearth tender and the second as the preparer of food. All homes in Paradise River, with the exception of the teacher's residence (maintained by the regional school board) rely on wood burning stoves. While men take responsibility for the cutting, splitting and replenishing of wood, along with making the morning fire (in temperatures as low as -20 degrees F.). It is the responsibility of women to keep the fire going through the day. This fact has a direct influence on the length of time a woman might visit and the distance she might go away from her own home. As a result, women try to maximize their time by (1) visiting with other women as they walk, (2) stopping in on another woman while they are on a errand, or (3) visiting a nearby kinswoman or friend. Women are also responsible for the preparation of meals and 'mug-ups' as mentioned above. This further restricts women's visiting time

to about two and a half to three hours in the early afternoon.

After supper is eaten and the kitchen is straightened away the major tasks of the day are done. Women will once again take up their ever present needlework or sewing or they might pick up some light reading. Women do not visit in the evening as much as men, especially at longer distances up or down river from their homes. When women visit at night they usually go for a short visit to a nearby neighbour or kinswoman or they go with their husbands to visit at the home of another couple leaving their children in the care of an older daughter or niece.

In the two preceding sections' the focus has been on the work/visit complex in male and female spheres of daily time. There is another element in daily time which plays a central role in its structure even though it represents only about one eighth of the entire day. This element is the meal.

MEALS AND 'MUG-UPS' IN THE DAILY CYCLE

Hallowell, in his discussion of timed daily activities among the Sauteaux, notes that "sleep has proved a convenient point of reference because of its periodic and regular occurrence" (1955:222). For Labradorians, the convenient point of reference is the meal, although retiring for the night has its place in the temporal scheme, as we will see. The meal is a significant event in the daily cycle because it serves as a nexus at which other temporal intervals connect.

This characteristic of regularity is a key element in understanding how meals relate to the structure of the daily cycle and how male and female time is interrelated. No other activity in Labrador life (aside from school attendance) is as regulated as meals.

The regularity or punctuality associated with meal times does not appear to be a product of the local culinary tradition since Labrador's simple but hearty cuisine is noted for its long cooking and adjustments to baking times due to the use of wood stoves. Precise timing, therefore, is not an integral part of food preparation. This element of punctuality then, is meant to communicate a set of meanings to two groups, namely (1) the diners and (2) others.

When I asked women about the punctuality associated with meals they would offer responses like "How will they (their families) know when to come home for their dinner (or supper)?" While this response provides a valid, albeit straight forward explanation, on an other level it communicates another important message aimed not only at the family members but to others as well. In effect, this punctuality conveys the message that meal times are reserved for the family and that one's place at that time is with one's family. In other words, punctual meal times are not only ways of getting family members home for their meals but are a way of clearing the kitchen of visitors. This is not to give the impression that Labradorians are miserly with food. This is

in fact far from the case. Rather, this punctuality signifies something central about the nature of mealtimes and their relationship to the daily cycle: namely their qualities of privacy and family orientation. Mealtimes are sharply contrasted with the 'mug-up's' (light snacks eaten through the day, consisting of tea, bread, 'butter' and jam) which are highly public in nature. Aside from mealtimes the only other period of the day when the family unit can re-congregate (without intrusion) to speak uninhibitedly is when the family has retired for the night. In English we refer to going to bed at night as retiring. We likewise define the word retiring as the withdrawal from public view. In the Labrador context, especially, this semantic similarity is most apt since it succinctly expresses the parallel intentionality of mealtimes and sleeping times.

Both mealtime and bedtime are temporally and socially similar because they are periods that are exclusively private family times as opposed to public times (a symbolic reversal of this pattern takes place during the annual three day Easter celebration, which is explored more fully in the following chapter on the ritual cycle). Both periods are characterized as times when information can be exchanged and intrusion is least likely to occur. In both outport Newfoundland and Labrador it is the custom to leave doors unlocked during the day. The only times doors are barred are when families have retired for the night, when they have left the settlement for

a day or two or when they have shifted out for the summer fishery. During the day, however, any resident of the community can enter another's house without knocking. Chiaramonte notes, "household talk about other members of the community or about problems that concern the household ceases when someone from the outside comes in; the subject is changed when the outsider enters and resumes when he leaves" (1969:78). The local adage which maintains that 'only strangers knock' conveys the extent to which the house (particularly the kitchen) is the venue for social relations and is part of the public spatial domain. Szwed's observations in the Codroy Valley of Newfoundland, corroborate this view. He notes that, "the visitor invariably arrives on a scene best described as "domestic neutrality" as he enters the house: there will seldom be any talking, the wife will be at the stove or the wash, the husband in a chair by the fire, the children quiet. But at night when it is not easy to see a visitor coming, his arrival may be greeted with apprehension: "who could be coming in now? "what's that noise? 1966:99).

Mealtimes and sleeping periods thus share an important structural feature of the day--both provide a method for excluding non-family members from the house for prescribed periods of the day, thus creating private family time. Barring the door after retiring serves as an effective physical barrier to the outsider. By comparison, the

punctuality of mealtimes sets up a symbolic, yet no less effective, barrier to outsiders during the day. In effect, the message communicated by punctuality is that: this is a specific time reserved for the family and that one's place is with one's own family. It serves as a "time-out", so to speak, in the very public context (the almost "goldfish bowl existence") of coastal settlement life.

'MUG-UPS'

I noted in the last chapter the importance of 'boiling the kettle' during family excursions in the spring. While meals and 'boiling the kettle' are family times, they can be contrasted to another food consumption period, the 'mug-up'. 'Mug-ups' are short (half hour or so) teas that occur during the mid-morning, mid-evening and before retiring. They range from a simple mug of tea (usually) to a 'lunch' with linen table cloth, cups, saucers and more elaborate fare. The term 'lunch' is used more frequently on the island of Newfoundland and is used in the same sense as the Labrador 'mug-up'. I have only heard 'lunch' used on rare occasions when a 'stranger' from the 'outside' (usually a Newfoundlander) was a guest and an elaborate 'mug-up' was prepared (see also Firestone 1967 and Szala 1978).

The newcomer to Labrador might find the seemingly unending stream of tea breaks and visits throughout the day a source of irritation and interruption. On closer examination,

however, it becomes apparent that they are an integral part of the Labrador daily round. They are welcomed interstices in what are otherwise unhurried and flexible days.

With Labrador's low temperatures, even throughout most of the summer, frequent tea breaks are in fact a very practical means of warming up. This is the case not only for men coming in from the outdoors, but for the women indoors, since houses are not well insulated.

In a broader social context, however, the 'mug-up' is a public rather than a private time. It is public in the sense that while it is consumed by members of the household, it is one of the occasions when it is appropriate for non-householders to partake. There are, however, certain intricacies in social dynamics which build up to this sharing of the 'mug-up'. For example, as the time for the 'mug-up' approaches, it is not uncommon for a visitor to make a statement to the effect of, "well, I'll be goin' now, or he may simply rise and walk over to the door. With this statement the host is given the opportunity to let the visitor leave (with polite salutations, but without protest), if he prefers that he not stay for the 'mug-up'. If however, the host would like the visitor to remain he will employ a reticent, yet effective form of extending an invitation. The host might simply say, "Lots of time, Jim!" This is usually followed by a perfunctory protest on the part of the visitor, but usually these shallow remonstrances quickly succumb to the

petitions of the host. The general tone of the visit changes once the invitation is accepted by the guest. This is illustrated by what happens with one's coat. When visiting, the removal of one's coat is considered a breach of etiquette; to do so would (1) suggest that the visitor had every intention of making it a lengthy visit and (2) presumes that the host has nothing better to do. Even if this were the case (especially throughout the winter), it would be considered unmannerly to admit this openly. However, once the guest has accepted, the host will ask the guest to remove this coat and take a seat by the table.

While the removal of one's coat (even in a very hot kitchen) shows a person's lack of consideration for the host's time, the removal of one's boots (often snowy, muddy or both) displays consideration for another person's home and recognition of a woman's housekeeping skills. Thus, when an individual enters a house he automatically removes or attempts to remove his boots. This act is met with a barrage of protests which go unheeded and he is finally offered a seat by the fire, a sign of hospitality. The act of inviting a guest to join in the 'mug-up' has significance on a number of levels. On one level, the host is taking a further step in providing greater access to his private sphere by inviting a visitor to share his table. However, during the course of the 'mug-up' the guest could never be included in the inner circle of that household. The guest may, to some degree, experience

a glimpse of the more private world of the host and his family but the tenor of the 'mug-up' will continue to have a public tone. In fact, even when the most humble 'mug-up' is shared with a visitor, a more formal tone is apparent.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have addressed two basic problems. The first, refers to the structural components of the Labrador daily cycle and the nature of their interrelationship. The second involves the way or ways contingency influences the nature of the daily cycle.

During the early stages of analysis, I saw the Labrador day as falling into four very broad periods: morning, evening night and sleeping. While this is accurate in a general sense, little can be learned about more complex workings of the daily cycle from this alone. There are really two pairs of linked temporal categories which constitute the day. The first is the work/visit complex and the second is the meal/'mug-up' complex (see figure 7 below). Inherent in each set or pair is a contrastive as well as complementary quality. In the first set, working is contrasted with visiting. In each of the three major divisions of the day (morning, evening and early night) however, working and visiting form a linked complementary pair. As the day progresses, they alternate back and forth. Similarly, in the second pair, meals and 'mug-ups' are two

FIGURE 7
THE WORK/VISIT AND THE MEAL/'MUG-UP' COMPLEXES

MORNING:	Work	Meal
	Visit	'Mug-up'
EVENING:	Work	Meal
	Visit	'Mug-up'
NIGHT:	Work	Meal
	Visit	'Mug-up'

different forms of food consumption yet they alternate throughout the daily cycle as well. With regard to elements of contingency these two sets of complexes also display varying aspects of flexibility and regularity.

These two pairs also work conjointly. In other words, the three work/visit clusters of the day are linked by mealtimes while 'mug-ups' frequently occur at periods of visiting. Thus, while mealtimes and 'mug-ups' make up only a small fraction of the day they play a pivotal role in the structure of the daily cycle.

The pattern of alternation between (1) periods of work and visiting and (2) between meals and 'mug-ups' can also be seen in relation to public and private times of the day. The larger portion of the Labrador daily cycle is spent as private time. The nature of the substance patterns for both men and women precludes very much communal work. By and large, individuals complete their work tasks either alone or with another kinsman or kinswoman. The individual and his immediate kin group are the key social units. Nevertheless, in small isolated communities such as Paradise River, there exists a "high degree of exposure of the self to community evaluation and comment" (Szwed 1966: 98). Thus, interaction which occurs outside of the home is subject to intense public interest. I did not become fully aware of the intensity of this scrutiny until I had left the field. The first few days I was back in Ottawa I found myself jumping up and looking out

my kitchen window every time I heard a car go by. I never realized until that time just how much conditioning I had absorbed while living in Labrador.

For coastal people, such constant exposure to scrutiny results in the close monitoring of the private sector of one's life. This monitoring can be seen vividly within the context of the daily cycle. Take for example the open door policy which operates throughout the settlement. The statement 'only strangers knock', communicates more than one message. On one level it is making a public statement to the effect that everybody's welcome here, we're all familiar with each other and there's no need to stand on formality--we don't bar the door to anyone. Yet to maintain this spirit of open egalitarianism while protecting the private domain, people must establish other ways of "barring" (at least metaphorically) admittance to their "backstage", to borrow a term from Goffman (1959). Thus, people construct their houses in such a way as to be able to see the river (the main thoroughfare, winter and summer) from their kitchen window. This enhances their ability to view not only movement within the settlement but to ensure that they will not be surprised by an undetected visitor. Creaky wooden walkways also serve the same function as do 'bridges' (outside porches or passages) where people can, in a sense, "knock with their boots", to announce their presence. Members of the settlement also help foster this open door policy while maintaining the

privacy of the home by approaching a house in a deliberate fashion or by making their presence known in other ways. This is an aspect of the public/private sphere of Labrador and Newfoundland settlements that other writers (Firestone 1967, Szwed 1966), working primarily in the tradition of Goffman, have failed to take account of.

In an earlier section of this chapter, I briefly compared the private quality of mealtimes with the privacy characterized by the late night. Within the context of the day as a whole, the late night is the most private time of all. This is when intrusion is least likely to occur. Public scrutiny is at its lowest level when families retire for the night. The word retiring aptly describes not only what people do when they bolt the door for the night but also what they do when they return home for their meals. They are, in effect, retiring from public view. Just as individuals retire to rejuvenate themselves after a day of work, they likewise join their families at mealtimes for a respite from the steady scrutiny of the tight-knit community. The alternating pattern of private and public time creates intervals throughout the day which make possible this withdrawal from public view.

In the preceding chapter on the environmental cycle I examined a parallel condition related to 'boiling the kettle'. During the inversive and liminal temporal domain of spring break-up the kettle is boiled by the family instead of taking

a 'mug-up' in the family kitchen. That is, a short tea break is taken, not in the settlement where 'mug-ups' usually take place but outside of the settlement. Boiling the kettle in this context provides the family with an opportunity to retreat from public scrutiny, as in the case with mealtimes. In this instance individuals transform the tea break which is usually situated in the public temporal domain into the private. Even space is inverted when the kettle is boiled. The wood path which is customarily associated with males is transformed when women and children join in the commensal event. In connection with this, we are reminded that it is also during break-up that the customarily private family mealtimes can be intruded upon by members of the community who are low on supplies. Hence, during highly contingent and liminal spring break-up, mealtimes can become public times and 'mug-ups' can become private times.

As stated earlier, meals are subject to a schedule. They are practically the only activities that are tightly regulated. This scheduling is largely a reflection of the regularity of order prevalent in the woman's domestic sphere. Far less scheduling applies to 'mug-ups' in comparison to meals though 'mug-ups' are consumed in the home and are prepared by women. For example, a 'mug-up' generally occurs during mid-morning. However, when the 'mug-up' actually occurs, is largely a reflection of the activities of men who will be coming in from their traps or salmon nets for a hot

cup of tea. 'Mug-ups', therefore, are not rigidly established but rather dependent upon the contingent-prone routine of men rather than the more regularized routine of women.

This variation between men and women in terms of meals and 'mug-ups' is seen even more dramatically with regard to work and visiting patterns of men and women. The differences between male and female activities focusses on states of contingency and regularity respectively. The nature of male subsistence patterns: fishing, hunting and trapping are characterized by ever present contingency or indeterminacy. A man's livelihood is dominated by risk and the outcome of any subsistence activity is a gamble at best. As I showed in Chapter Four on the environmental cycle and discussed further in this chapter, the source of this contingency stems largely from nature, specifically (1) the weather, and (2) the fauna that they pursue. Women on the other hand, spend the vast majority of their time within the confines of the home. Their domestic universe is sharply contrasted with the world outside of the home. Here the Labrador woman has a large degree of control over her activities from day to day. Women, in comparison to men, also have a schedule of work tasks which they can chart out over the course of the week. Certain days are assigned specific tasks and women can and do accomplish their work within these guidelines. Women also attempt to diminish the amount of interruptions to their work by planning in advance. On baking or washing day, for example, they will

plan their menu so that they do not have to stop and prepare an elaborate meal half way through their work. Even the folk saying which states, that: "If you bake on Sunday you'll bake for three Sundays after" is aimed not at contingencies that are out of a woman's control as is the case with men's work. Rather the responsibility for getting work done is placed squarely on the shoulders of the woman. The implication of this saying suggests that if a woman is so out of control in the domestic scene that she must bake on a Sunday, the day of rest, then it will probably take her another three weeks to regain control of her domestic environment. There is also a slight punitive tone implied, suggesting a warning to girls and women that the sabbath should be maintained. Men's work is also suspended on Sundays but they do not have as many folk sayings or prohibitions surrounding their work. Traps and nets are 'struck-up' (deactivated) on Sundays and wood chopping or water hauling is done on Saturday.

The male and female spheres of activity represent two significant and interrelated aspects of the daily cycle. To focus on one sphere over the other would distort our understanding of the day as a unit of time. The activities of women within the realm of their domestic universe for example would provide a picture of the daily cycle which was characterized by a high degree of regularity. Similarly, by focusing only on the activities of men in their confrontation with the environment would provide a picture of the daily

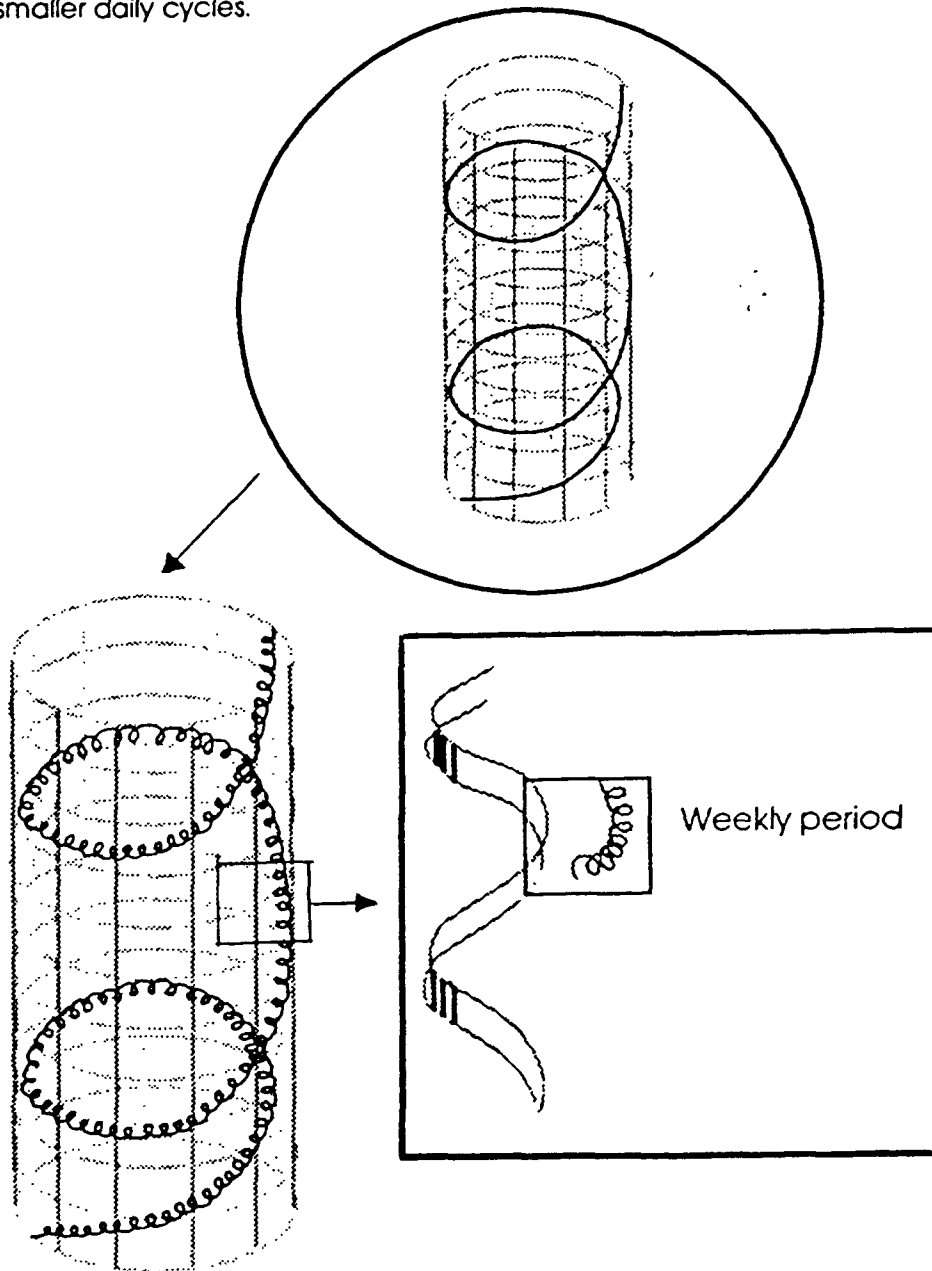
cycle which is characterized by extreme contingency with little or no predictability to modulate it. Neither, however, is a complete representation of the daily cycle by itself. Rather what is apparent from viewing these two constituent parts is that the daily cycle displays what Moore (1975) terms both the processes of regularization and readjustment. The women's sphere and the men's sphere are not in opposition to each other. Rather they are complementary to each other. In the realm of women for example, conditions are conducive to the establishment of order since chance has less of a foothold in the domestic sphere. By contrast, the domain of men is highly contingent -- the weather is changeable, animals become scarce or plentiful. Hence, men are continually making readjustments in light of these contingencies.

But it is important to remember that neither the male nor the female spheres are immune to the effects of either order or contingency respectively. Rather, the contingency that is experienced in the daily lives of women is filtered largely through the experiences of men. Conversely, the regularity which helps to shape the daily routine of men is filtered through to them via order characteristic of the domestic scene. Together, they create a complementary duality. However, techniques or methods for dealing with daily experiences are not the specific domain of either men or women. In situations where adjustments to conditions

FIGURE 8

MACRO AND MICRO HELIXES
REPRESENTING
ENVIRONMENTAL AND DAILY TIME

The first magnification depicts the two major turnings in the environmental cycle. In the second, the environmental cycle is composed of smaller spirals or weeks. The third magnification shows that each week is made up of seven even smaller daily cycles.



outside of one's control are warranted, men and women react appropriately. Likewise, when situations lend themselves to regularization, both men and women try to impose some type of order. An awareness of the dual nature of daily experiences -- the order and the contingency -- provides a clearer understanding of the temporal reality of men and women in coastal regions such as Sandwich Bay.

Within a broader temporal context, the daily cycle plays a significant role. In Chapter One, a helical model was introduced to illustrate the unity of cyclical and lineal forms of time (see figure 8 above). It is argued here that the progression of each day with its repetitive and alternating periods of work, visiting, meals and 'mug-ups' represents a tightly coiled revolution in a micro-helix. The passing of one day into the next forms the substance of a larger macro-helix. This larger helix is, in effect, made up of the smaller. While the smaller helix revolves according to its own tension, a larger helical pattern simultaneously takes form.

CHAPTER SIX

SYMBOLIC INVERSION AND CONTINGENCY IN THE RITUAL CYCLE

INTRODUCTION:

Anthropological thinking on time has reached a turning point. The work of important figures such as Leach have advanced our understanding of temporal conceptualizations. In the course of this research it has become apparent that an approach which considers time from other angles has the potential to offer new insights into the nature of time -- an approach that accounts for not only time's orderliness and predictability but its disorderliness and contingency. The literature in the area of symbolic inversion offers a useful perspective on order and by extension on time. Because the area of symbolic inversion usually deals with the ritual realm the application of notions developed in this body of literature is well suited to my discussion of the ritual cycle in Labrador.

This chapter examines ritual time through the notion of symbolic inversion, focussing specifically on the celebrations of Christmas and Easter. In this chapter three questions are asked: firstly, what are the types of cultural items inverted and how are they inverted; secondly, what is the impact of these inversions with regard to the nature of

Labradorian time and finally; how is the notion of inversion related to contingency and ritual time? I argue that inversion and contingency are related via their effect on temporal order. Inversion negates order, and it is through this negation that contingency and by extension, change, can be accommodated.

The activities around which Christmas and Easter celebrations centre are jauneying and drinking, respectively. These activities provide vivid examples of inversive behaviour practiced by participants. This inversion is manifested by masking and disguising. Related to this chapter's examination of the relationship between inversion and contingency are discussions of dichotomies which exist between private and public time, leisure and work, reticence and garrulousness, the roles of stranger and friend and finally the dichotomy between notions of order and chaos. It is around this last dichotomy that questions about the seeming predictability of ritual time and the assumed dangerousness of contingency's disorder is posed.

Babcock, in her introduction to a collection of essays entitled The Reversible World, defines the concept of symbolic inversion as follows; "Symbolic inversion may be broadly defined as any act of expressive behavior which inverts, contradicts, abrogates or in some fashion presents an alternative to commonly held culture codes, values, norms be they linguistic, literary or artistic, religious or social

and political" (1978:14). Babcock emphasizes that the "world order" of a culture is not only determined by the systematization or regulation of events, objects or behaviour but also by turning them upside down.

In Labrador, this is accomplished through the practice of janneying and drinking. These practices, when contrasted with behaviour during the rest of the year, form an inventory of opposing pairs which reveal or obviate those expectations, actions and qualities that are significant in ordering the Labradorian socio-temporal universe.

This chapter is divided into five parts. In the first part, I discuss the celebration of the twelve days of Christmas. In this section the significance of visiting and the presence of two types of ludic, liminal and disguised figures: Santa Claus and the janney, are discussed. In the second part, I focus specifically upon the symbolic inversion surrounding the practice of janneying and explore the contingency or indeterminacy characteristic of the janney. In the third part of this chapter, I describe the celebrations of Easter and in the fourth I discuss the symbolic inversion inherent in Labradorian Easter practices, in particular that of drinking. In the fifth and final section I consider the practices of Christmas janneying and social drinking in light of their inversive qualities and their different though related expressions of disguise. In effect, it is argued here that the janneying and drinking which occur in ritual time are

types of masking behaviour which celebrate the social contingencies of Labradorian life.

THE TWELVE DAYS OF CHRISTMAS

The earliest recorded accounts of Christmas celebrations in Labrador are found in the journal of Captain George Cartwright. On December 24, 1770 he wrote;

At sun-set the people ushered in Christmas, according to the Newfoundland custom. In the first place, they built up a prodigious large fire in their house; all hands then assembled before the door, and one of them fired a gun, loaded with powder only; afterwards each of them drank a dram of rum; concluded the ceremony with three cheers. These formalities being performed with great solemnity, they retired into their house, got drunk as fast as they could, and spent the whole night drinking, quarrelling and fighting. It is but natural to suppose, that the noise which they made (their house being but six feet from the head of my bed) together with the apprehension of seeing my house in flames, prevented me from once closing my eyes. This is an intolerable custom; but as it has prevailed from time immemorial it must be submitted to. By some accident my thermometer got broke.

December 25, 1770 The people were all drunk, quarrelling and fighting all day. It snowed early in the morning, the forenoon was dull, and the rest of the day clear with a hard frost (Townsend 1911:57-58).

Cartwright in various other entries in his journal refers to this Christmas tradition with equal disregard. He makes no mention of janneying or mumming. Since janneying usually occurs on or after Christmas day, and since his entries do not begin again until after January 6 (Old Christmas and the last day of the twelve days of christmas), it may be that he was not paid a visit by the

jannies since as Sider (1976) speculates, a master-servant relationship might have prevented janneying from occurring. Janneying in its customary practice occurs between co-villagers and and develops from the egalitarian and reticent relationships that develop among co-villagers.

Anspach, in A History of Newfoundland, also makes note of the yule log tradition and the commencement of a season of "joy and merriment" (1819:475) at sunset of Christmas night. Anspach it should be noted, provides the first mention of janneying (mumming) in Newfoundland. He also makes note of a widespread custom for holding Christmas feasts consisting of vension, salmon and other selected delicacies shared among friends and family.

Story (1969:167-185) notes that numerous historical accounts describe the use of alcohol to celebrate the twelve days of Christmas. Boillieu (1969:45-51), on describing his duties as superintendent for a British mercantile house, in Bay St. Lewis (Labrador) during the 1850s, mentions the excessive use of rum throughout the year and devotes a short chapter specifically to Christmas celebrations. Boillieu notes that being absent from the house (dormitory) would require a man to be fined one or two gallons of rum. "Very frequently more than one absent themselves, just for the sake of being fined and to give more drink to the rest"(1969:48-49). Along with this fining, men were clobbered, that is, they were given by their companions, "a dozen strokes across the soles of the

feet with a wooden slice" (Ibid. 48), or were chastised "across the shoulders with old shoes" (Ibid. 48). Boillieu describes another favourite game played by the servants, known as "Sir Samuel and his Man Samuel". In this game the roles of authority were inverted and "punishment" could be levied on offenders. In this case, punishment did not come in the form of "rum fines" but in prankish chores enforced upon drunk revelers by their cohorts. Older residents of the Sandwich Bay region note that they had played "Sir Samuel and his man Samuel" in their youth.

Rowe, in A History of Newfoundland and Labrador (1980) devotes an entire chapter to the impact of alcohol use. He notes that "from the earliest day alcohol--particularly--rum played a disproportionately large role in the economic and social life of the region" (1980:251). Rum was used as the daily grog ration and to celebrate special occasions like Christmas and weddings. The following excerpt from "Proceedings of the Court of Sessions for the District of Labrador, 1826-1833" dated 13 August 1827, illustrates the significance of alcohol in the lives of Labradorians during the early part of the 19th century.

The servants employed by Mr. Chalker at Packs Harbour came this day to complain to the Court that they had not a sufficient quantity of provisions allowed them. They were however, satisfied to receive the allowance given by the Trade of Arthur Hunt, Esq. of Dumplin' Island, it being the oldest establishment on this part of the Coast. The following is the allowance given each man per week. 7 lbs. bread, 6 lbs. pork, 3/4 lbs. butter, 1 pint molasses, 3 pints flour, 1 1/2

pints pease, or in lieu thereof, three pints flour and allowance of molasses for spruce beer, dry fish on Friday. As much fresh fish as necessary. Two glasses of grog per day during the fishing season. (P.T. McGrath Collection, n.d.: Box 10. Folder 3, P.10)

Unlike the exchange of gifts or the custom of janneying, the use of alcohol in connection with the celebration of Christmas, has had the greatest longevity. Drinking and janneying are interrelated in a number of other important way's beyond their obvious affect on merrymaking during the Christmas season.

In the following section, I will examine symbolic inversion in janneying and drinking behaviour by juxtaposing these activities with the day to day routine experienced throughout the rest of the year. In addition, I will be analyzing the masking behaviour of social drinkers and the contingency they introduce into events not only during the twelve days of Christmas but symbolically throughout the rest of the ceremonial cycle.

Christmas begins on December 25 and continues until 'Old Christmas' (January 6). In October and November, women begin preparing Christmas cakes and other baked goods and start placing Christmas orders with catalogue companies. Women explained that an early start on orders is critical since harsh December weather and the variability of freeze-up can, and frequently does, disrupt mail service. During the twelve days of Christmas a general moratorium is placed upon

all but the most necessary work. Sufficient water is drawn and firewood is split for the period by the men. Women do the bulk of the housecleaning and other holiday preparations prior to Christmas and only prepare daily meals through the holiday period. This leaves time free for visiting and celebrating. Depending on the weather and the progress of freeze-up, families usually celebrate Christmas day in their home settlement. They may then visit around the bay as conditions allow during the twelve day period. Activities during the Christmas holidays include gift giving, 'janneying' and social drinking.

In Sandwich Bay, it is the custom for gift giving to occur not in each individual home or at the home of a related kinsman but at the community hall. The journal of Reverend Henry Gordon, an Anglican minister posted in Sandwich Bay, makes the first mention (1915) of a group gift exchange with a Santa Claus figure. "The climax of the festivities was reached, when, across the ice, came a team of fourteen dogs driven by Santa Claus in person and loaded with sacks of gifts for young and old. These were distributed beneath one of the growing fir-trees, which had been lit up and decorated for the occasion" (Gill 1972:40). Today, families usually take their gifts to the church hall where one of the village men, dressed in Santa Claus attire, will pass them out to the children and adults. When this tradition initially began, toys and clothes solicited by IGA workers and by the clergy

from prosperous Newfoundland and Canadian congregations were distributed to the children. In later years, parents began to bring their children's gifts to the hall. At the hall, a tree is decorated and children's games are organized before the arrival of Santa Claus. The following description by Muriel Way, of a 1930s Christmas in Cartwright, illustrates a number of significant aspects which reflect a distinctive Labradorian adaptation of this tradition.

Once the tables were cleared and darkness began to fall, the minister would announce that Santa Claus was coming. You could hear bells ringing and Santa would arrive at the hall door in a komatik coach box with a dog team. There was great excitement when he appeared wearing the usual red suit and black seal skin boots. He would walk up to the Christmas tree and turning to face the people, he would tell them of all the problems he had getting here. Immediately he would start giving out gifts with the assistance of someone to help read the names. When my name was called I walked up slowly, feeling a bit scared, Santa wanted to kiss me but I hurried back with my gift and unwrapped it (1979:40-41).

One of the features of Christmas gift giving as described by Muriel Way that has persisted is the attitude toward the Santa Claus figure. Today, apprehension toward Santa is still felt not only by children but by adults as well. Each time Santa Claus calls out a name, adults and children must literally be cajoled by others to go up for their gifts. This reticence continues though (1) most adults know the identity of the "Santa", and (2) are at least aware that the "Santa" is from their own settlement. Faris (1969) and Firestone (1969) have observed similar responses by

informants in Northern Newfoundland. Firestone states that many children "will not go up for their presents and many cry. Those who do neither are thought to display a remarkable bravery in approaching him"(1969:72). Faris, describes similar conditions surrounding the Santa Claus figure and adult reactions to him. However, to be able to examine this behaviour more fully it is useful to broaden the context by turning attention to another aspect of the Christmas celebration -- janneying.

Probably one of the most distinctive features of the Labrador Christmas revelry is the appearance of the Janneys. For a variety of perspectives on janneying and mumming see: Halpert and Story 1969, Sider 1976, Firestone 1981, Handelman 1983 and Robertson 1984. Janneys can be divided into two categories. There are 'big jannies' (adults) and 'little jannies' (children). Janneying in Sandwich Bay, like in other regions of Newfoundland and Labrador has diminished since the 1960s. However, janneying is still seen throughout the Christmas season and in the late 1980s has experienced a renewed interest (Pocius 1988).

From December 26th until January 6th both men and women dress in homemade disguises. Favourite forms include the use of old clothes turned inside out (or worn back to front), oversized clothes (stuffed with pillows, etc.), clothes of the opposite sex (or both sexes), mismatched or oversized boots, gloves and mitts. Face masks are made of

cotton flour bags, paper bags, or cardboard cartons displaying brightly coloured and frightening features. Capes, hoods, hats and veils are also used to further conceal the identity of the janney. From around 6:00 p.m. to midnight the janneys roam from house to house. Groups of friends, consisting of both men and women, band together to janney. They arm themselves with 'splits' (short wooden sticks) and visit around the settlement. In their travels, janneys are usually boisterous and rowdy and engage in mischief with other bands of janneys or young boys who try to learn their identities. When a band of janneys arrive at a house one will knock on the door with a 'split' and shout, "Can we come in, please" or "Janneys allowed in?" With few exceptions the request is granted. Once inside the kitchen the host might ask; "Where are you from"? The response is often, "From the moon!" Widdowson (1977:148) notes that the moon man is one of the many strangers and frightening figures found in Newfoundland and Labrador. When the janneys are invited in they are expected to dance, sing and otherwise entertain their hosts. The hosts try to guess the identity of the janneys by peering at their disguises (but avoid getting too close, due to the 'splits' janneys carry) and by trying to catch a clue from the questions they ask them.

They also go about frightening children as well as threatening and often poking people who try to learn their identities by other than accepted means (i.e., guessing).

Female janneys are known to be just as brazen as their male counterparts, an inversion of acceptable decorum which guides women's behaviour throughout the rest of the year. While the composition of janney 'crowds' varies from night to night and there may be several types of janney 'crowds' abroad (Chiaramonte: 1969), the universal axiom relating to janneys still applies--"you never know what they might say or do"!

THE SYMBOLIC INVERSION OF JANNEYING

The disguises created by janneys provide a revealing insight into the degree to which Labradorians are skillful and dedicated observers of each other and their environment. In such small homogeneous settlements as Paradise River, full fledged camouflage is required to effectively confuse and test the householder's observational skills. Disguising is an elaborate process that takes into account various diacritica. For Janneys, the face is the most important part of the disguise and the one most assiduously guarded. Various false faces or coverings are employed to conceal the identity of a janney.

The hands of janneys are covered by mittens, large rubber fisherman's gloves or socks. Feet are encased in oversized or mismatched boots and tattered woollen socks are slipped over regularly worn boots. Talk is suspended or ingressive speech (inhaling while talking) is substituted for what would be immediately recognized by residents. Even one's

laugh is disguised. The idiosyncrasies of one's gait are also widely identifiable and are usually modified in a comic fashion. The concealment of the stature and physique of a janney is related to the overall gender masking. This is often produced by stooping, wearing lifts in boots and by the artful use of padding, opposite or mixed sex garments and the adoption of gender stereotypic traits. In turn, the purposeful reorganization of janneying bands is done to confound a host since a janney's gender and identity can be quickly derived by the skillful householder who identifies one janney and deduces the identity of his or her cohorts due to knowledge of pre-existing social or kin ties. Thus, janneys must conceal not only their bodies but must try to fool the keen social observers who are their hosts. To disguise effectively, a person must be self-reflective. Janneying requires insight and awareness about the subtleties of one's speech, body, gait and such mannerisms as a cough. Janneys need to know themselves well enough to create an effective disguise as well as what it will take to eventually be unmasked by the householders they visit. Because some nights individuals will go janneying and on other nights they will play the part of host, they know from their own experience as hosts how important effective concealment is. From this we see that inversion of the conventional is at the very core of janney escapades.

Janneys "play" with the customary rules of social relations. They invert, in a flagrant and ludic fashion, the phenomenological and ideational order of their culture. This is vividly seen in relation to customary visiting etiquette. Janneys do not make house visits alone or with kin or their regular circle of friends. This is the inverse of how most people visit throughout the year. Rather, the janney visits in a group or at least with one other janney. As well, when janneys are travelling about the settlement, they conduct themselves in a boisterous manner purposefully drawing attention to themselves. This is a reversal of appropriate public conduct. When the janneys attempt to gain entry into a house they knock and call out to the householders within and then request admittance. This, probably more than any other janney behaviour most tellingly expresses the inversion of customary visiting practices as discussed in the previous chapter's section on visiting and public and private time. By knocking, the janney, in effect, is identifying himself as a stranger and thus a person to be feared. The householder, in turn can bar the janney if he so desires, reaffirming the stranger role of the janney and acknowledging the janney's threatening identity. The further establishment of the janney's stranger identity is reinforced by questions about where the janneys come from. Responses promote the notion that janneys are "from away" -- that they are strangers and their behaviour is likely to be frightening and unpredictable.

This alien category (i.e., coming from the moon) makes them even more extreme for they are in effect, "extra-terrestrial" or other worldly. This visiting behaviour is also an inversion of accepted etiquette; shoes are kept on when they enter the kitchen, they jostle about rather than standing or sitting quietly. They do as they please whether their actions threaten or amuse their hosts.

In terms of conventional interactional tone, the janneys display a dramatic shift from the usual reticence to garrulousness and in some instances even to aggression. The janneys, it should be remembered, often carry 'splits' (i.e., stout sticks of firewood). These 'splits' are used to keep overly curious non-janneys from sneaking a peek under a veil or for fending off prankish "attacks" from bands of non-janneying boys along the dark settlement paths. This physically threatening aspect (janneys do threaten non-janneys with their 'splits') of janney behaviour stands in marked contrast to the usual interactional style of reticence. It is the assumption that all are welcome in each other's houses and that fellow residents have nothing to fear from each other that is inverted. The janneys symbolically "play" with local notions of egalitarianism and community by turning the customary markers of these notions upside down. Often, over the course of the twelve days, janneys will take the opportunity to visit at houses which they do not ordinarily frequent. In their garrulous janney persona, they might be

able to overcome their own hesitancy to visit at these houses and if their identity is guessed (or if they "let" themselves be recognized) they often take the opportunity to rekindle a lapsed friendship made awkward by the lack of contact or a misunderstanding.

The decorousness which guides typical social exchanges throughout the year is abrogated in the hands of the janneys. Janneys will try to steal a kiss from a woman or they might punch a householder on his arm "playfully". Sexually ribald remarks, jokes or songs might be sung uninhibitedly. Women janneys take leave of their ordinarily reticent tone and frequently behave as brazenly and roguishly as their male counterparts. In effect, janneys are not only masking their customary social roles to further confuse their householder hosts but take an opportunity to relax from somewhat inflexible conduct expectations ordinarily in effect. Even when a sensitive remark is made by a janney and it is "all said in fun", the intent has been communicated nonetheless.

The janney and the householder represent two opposing categories that are not only part of the Christmas celebration but are part of every individual in the community. The janney personifies the fool, with merriment as his foremost priority. The janney holds little regard for most conventional rules, but rather, does as he or she pleases in blatant contravention of the rules or expectations which society fosters. This lack of concern for rules stands in marked contrast with the

sensible moderate householder who places work above play (as we saw in the previous chapter), who strives to interact with other members of the settlement in accordance with prescribed decorum, and is concerned with the image he presents to the rest of the settlement. The janney in his role as stranger, portrays that concealed "other side" of every personality in the settlement. There is, of course, a familiarity between people which is based on a lifetime of face-to-face interaction. People immediately recognize the distinctive individuality of laughter, hands, stature, gait and clothing. However, there is a necessity in such a small settlement, where public scrutiny is so common, for the concealment of some part of one's personality. This will always be unknown or 'strange' to others. There is, even during the rest of the year, a "stranger" in every man and woman, that his or her coresidents can never really come to know. It may be, that part of that "stranger" is released for a night or two at Christmas.

Strangers, in the Labrador context, meaning those who are not residents of the settlement, are approached with caution. They are for the most part, an unknown entity; their reactions are unpredictable, their reason for being there is unknown, unclear or misunderstood. They are usually unschooled in local customs and interactional styles. They appear foolish in their attempts to interact with people in the community while at the same time they are often used as

fearful figures to keep children in check. "The mountie, the doctor, the woman (i.e., meaning the anthropologist) will take you away in his or her bag if you don't be good"! Widdowson notes that, a stranger has something of the aura of many supernatural/invented figures in that his origins and intentions are unknown, he lacks definite location and positive information, his behaviour is unpredictable (and therefore less controllable) and he is potentially malevolent and dangerous" (1977:270). Thus, while a stranger might strive to overcome his stranger identity and become known, the resident in turn, strives to preserve the unknown depths of himself, while maintaining the known and familiar. During Christmas the janneying individual bridges both roles in that he defends his identity while in his disguise but it is ultimately his goal to be recognized over the course of the night so that he can return to his customary persona.

While janneys are more obviously associated with contingency and ambiguity, the figure of Santa Claus also shares similar characteristics. Probably, the most prominent feature they share is disguising. The figure of the Santa Claus is actually played by a man wearing a costume, beard and mask. For adults especially, his identity may be known or for those who are uncertain of his identity they may at least try to guess who it is. The Santa Claus figure, like the janney, occupies two roles simultaneously. He is, on one level, the stranger while on the other a neighbour and friend. Responses

to the Santa Claus figure reflect this ambiguity in role. While individuals might know the costumed person, they must still deal with the role he is playing. That is, a role characterized by a high level of contingency. A Santa Claus often pokes fun at gift recipients, he asks them to sit on his knee, he tries to steal kisses from the women and is usually frightening to children. An inventory of his behaviour holds obvious parallels with the behaviour of the janney. Like the janney, the Santa Claus figure comes from a distant uninhabited place (the north pole) and he displays a garrulous nature: noisy, mischievous and uninhibited about how he acts or what people think about him--he is above all of that-- a stranger.

The householder plays a key role in the performances of both Santa and the janney. Through the householder the Santa Claus figure and the janney are able to display their ambiguity, contingency and playfulness. Without the householder, the antics of the janney and the Santa Claus are not humorous. These disguised figures are "playing" with the norms which govern social relations. In this burlesque, the householder is the "straight man", while the janney and the Santa Claus play the role of fool or comedian. Humour and play are created here through the reversal of the customary. This is a common ludic style. What is found amusing is frequently that which is incongruous--backwards, upside down or inside out. In this case both the clothing and the

behaviour. The amusing quality of the antics and comments of these ludic figures comes about as an inversive response to customary codes of conduct represented and upheld by the householder. When the janney or the Santa Claus figures come together with the householder the amusement that is experienced can be broken down into four forms. In the first form, the antics of the disguisers are enjoyed for their inherent comic qualities. Secondly, people enjoy vicariously the interaction of other people with the janney or Santa. Thirdly, there is an exhilaration that comes about through their confrontation with these ambiguous figures as well as the challenge of guessing identities. Finally, the janneys and the Santa Claus also derive pleasure by suspending their customary behaviour and exercising licence in their interaction with householders. Clearly, the roles of the householder and the ludic figures are inextricably linked. Without this oppositional pair, the negation which Burke discusses could never be. While the householder maintains the "moralistic thou-shall-nots" (Babcock 1978:13), the ludic figures aim to breach these dictums by flagrantly inverting them.

With respect to the inversion of daily temporal patterns during Christmas, five elements surface as significant. They concern (1) levels of activity during the day, (2) attitudes toward work and leisure, (3) prescribed days of rest, (4) visiting patterns and (5) dimensions of

private and public time. During the twelve days of Christmas the prime activity periods of the daily cycle are inverted. During the day, people spend time at home relaxing or possibly recuperating from late night celebrating or the after effects of enthusiastic social drinking. The night by comparison, is electrified with all the activity going on in both the dwellings and along the paths. The celebrations of the twelve days of Christmas are night celebrations. In fact, when informants respond to inquires about the manner in which Christmas is celebrated, they describe those activities which take place at night. By comparison, when informants respond to inquires about the normal daily cycle, it is primarily the events of the day time that they describe. Christmas celebrations then, are associated with night while daily events (during the rest of the year) are associated with the day time.

The significance of work during the daily cycle as described in the preceding chapter is also highlighted and inverted during Christmas. For the duration of this twelve day period, a general moratorium is placed on work. During Christmas it is not work which assumes first priority in peoples lives, but rather play. Visiting, which by and large, is the most important form of recreation along the coast, takes form in contrast to daily subsistence activities. At least during Christmas, inactivity is subject to the controls of people and not to the contingencies of the environment.

The moratorium on work during this holiday period is also linked to the structure of the week. Customarily, Monday through Saturday is reserved for the completion of work tasks. Sunday is reserved for rest and worship. On Sunday, relaxation and visiting are the usual activities. However, while the twelve days of Christmas and Sunday are structurally equivalent in the sense that, (1) both carry religious import and (2) they are times when work is halted and leisure activities are encouraged, they are also symbolically opposed. While Sunday should be kept holy and subdued, the Christmas saturnalia is unmistakably marked by revelry and licence. Here, in relation to Sundays, holidays and other times during which behaviour is highly proscribed, one can begin to see the association that Babcock (1978:19) makes between symbolic inversion and what Burke terms an "aesthetic negative whereby any moralistic thou-shall-not provides material for our entertainment, as we pay to follow imaginary accounts of 'deviants' who in all sorts of ingenious ways are represented as violating these very don'ts" (1968:13).

The public and private dimensions of time which serve as a central focus of the daily cycle are also subject to the inversive effects of Christmas revelry. The work/visit organizational complex is temporarily suspended for twelve days and the rhythmic oscillation of public and private time is similarly interrupted. During this period, the primary focus of the day is play, not work. Social interaction is open

and garrulous as opposed to being controlled and reticent (the latter could be viewed as another form of concealment). The individual, for example, instead of returning to his home at night to retire from public scrutiny prepares himself instead, for a steady stream of not only friends but "strangers" in the form of janneys. Ordinarily, the night time is when the family is most secure from intrusion. During Christmas however, the night is the time when the most intrusive (janneys) are likely to call. Similarly, during most of the year, the day is the time of greatest social interaction yet during Christmas this is reversed. The day time becomes the subdued private temporal domain where people retire to rejuvenate themselves from the previous night's socializing.

The fundamental temporal structure which juxtaposes private and public domains however, remain intact. But what occurs as a consequence of the inversion of the twelve days of Christmas is that the juxtaposition between private and public time becomes less articulated, more relaxed and possibly more responsive to the spontaneity of the festive period. The important point is this: public time and private time are never lost or abandoned--they just switch places.

While Labradorians put aside order and celebrate contingency and ambiguity, their revelry is still couched within certain expectations of order. For example, individuals janney but they don't mask and act foolish for the entire night or during the day time. Similarly, janneys

threaten people with 'splits' yet they don't go as far as beating them up with them. In other words, order exists but it undergoes a temporary transformation. it is partially order and partially disorder in a paradoxical duality. This inversion creates an image analogous to a photographic negative where the light and dark portions are in the reverse positions of the original photographic subject. In the transparency there appears to be a confusion but an order nonetheless is discernible, albeit, inverted.

THE CELEBRATION OF EASTER

In contrast with Christmas, Easter celebrations appear to be of a later emergence. The earliest reference to the celebration of Easter appears in Reverend Henry Gordon's journal in the spring of 1918, three years after his arrival in Labrador.

I had a nice time to rest up a bit before the strenuous festivities for Easter were upon us. These have increased so much in popularity each year that they have almost assumed the character of a national festival. Despite the first beginning of the break-up of ice, visitors poured in from all directions, until Cartwright overflowed with people and dogs. The special feature of this occasion was the Easter Fair, the proceeds of which were to go towards the School fund. This produced an astonishing sum of just over a hundred dollars (1972:117).

The Easter celebration in Sandwich Bay takes form in what is known locally as the Easter Fair or Easter Spree. The fair, while occurring around Easter does not necessarily fall

on the actual liturgical feast of Easter, since the four communities (Cartwright, Paradise River, Black Tickle and Rigolet) which comprise the Anglican parish, all have their own three-day fair. In this way, "Easter can go on for a month".

The fair lasts for three days with much visiting, games and amusements for children, rummage and bake sales, snowmobile (replacing dog team) and snowshoe races, target shooting, football (soccer) matches on the frozen bay ice, suppers, dances, a play and an auction (the latter of which is the high point of the fair). On the last day of the fair (Sunday) a religious service is held in the morning. One of the activities that does not appear on the fair schedule but nonetheless enjoys widespread popularity is drinking. Like Christmas and weddings, Easter is characterized as a period of social licence. As one man put it, "a man's got to have a chance to break loose, doesn't he?"

A great deal of conviviality springs forth, most visibly among men, who drink, tell stories, sing and occasionally scuffle together throughout the three days. Women on the other hand, tend to spend a large portion of their time cooking, organizing events and making their homes open to the virtual flood of visitors who stream in and out, day and night during the fair. Women do visit and socialize, but they do so within the context of those aforementioned roles. The visiting that goes on during the fair is sharply

contrasted with the routine of daily life which was outlined in the preceding chapter on the daily cycle. Ordinarily, visiting is firmly structured and meals are strictly family affairs. During the Easter Fair, however, the reserve and reticence which characterizes social relations throughout the rest of the year is relaxed. The day is practically one long 'mug-up'. Houses are open to all and visitors and overnight guests are welcome even if they are not well acquainted with (or kin of) the host family. This is indeed a sharp turnabout from an attitude where strangers are usually met with fear, reticence and avoidance.

SYMBOLIC INVERSION OF THE CELEBRATION OF EASTER

Earlier in this chapter, I discussed aspects of symbolic inversion in janneying and other forms of disguising during Christmas. The festivities surrounding the celebration of Easter also display several inversive features which are noticeably similar in form to those observed during the twelve days of Christmas. Inversive behaviour or events occurring during Easter can be divided into three broad categories. First, the inversion of customary practices or codes; second, inversion of the daily cycle and third, inversion of forms of social interaction.

During the Easter fair, a three day moratorium on work is put into effect. As at Christmas, only the most essential domestic chores are done. Play and leisure are the rule of

the day in opposition to regular subsistence or domestic routines. Behaviour not normally sanctioned during other times of the year is permitted. This festive attitude creates a state of community openness not only between neighbouring households but between one community and another. This is a reversal of the normal state of affairs which typifies social relations both within the settlement and outside of it. Ordinarily, households maintain a separateness from others. Interaction is regulated by clearly defined standards of courtesy. As well, visiting usually occurs within the settlement and between kin however, during Easter a kind of pan-Bay reciprocal visiting takes place. On another level, individuals also have the opportunity to rekindle and or initiate relationships not only in their own host community but in other communities as well. This brief state of openness also reflects the isolation and confinement of the long winter which is finally coming to an end and it anticipates the opening of the bay and coast to navigation after break-up.

Celebrations surrounding Easter produce a number of inversions which affect the daily cycle, some of these inversions are similar to those occurring during Christmas. The most significant reversal affects the opposition between public and private temporal and spatial domains. Two prominent features influenced are meals and 'mug-ups'. As noted in Chapter Five, meals and 'mug-ups' form important

temporal markers throughout the average Labrador day. However, hospitality and 'crusin' are the catchwords of the Easter Fair. "Crusin" can be defined as leisurely and or random visiting at various homes in the settlement. In this respect, Easter visiting might be loosely analogous to the practice of holding an open house in some regions of North America. Instead of only one family declaring open house however, the entire settlement opens it's doors to all Fair goers. In essence, it is a 'open community' for three days. Significantly, during those three days, Fair goers from distant communities do not need to knock before entering a home. It seems that during the Fair an endless stream of tea is served up throughout the kitchens of the settlement. This is of course, accompanied by freshly baked breads, cakes, pies, and other luncheon savouries served in a more elaborate fashion than usual. 'Mug-ups', which usually occur at three specific times of the day can, during Easter, be served according to the desires of the hosts to express their hospitality as frequently as they wish. For these three days, when a guest or guests are present it is safe to assume that a 'mug-up' will be served. Thus, in contrast to ordinary 'mug-up' patterns the offering of food is dictated more by the presence of guest as opposed to the inclination of the hosts or their work loads. Again, since the primary focus of the three day fete is play and not work the rationale for foregoing a 'mug-up' is gone.

In a similar light, Easter meals provide an interesting contrast to ordinary meal time patterns. With the opening up of homes to visitors, families must provide their guests with not only a place to sleep but their meals as well. As the preceding chapter illustrates, meals are ordinarily perceived as being strictly family events. Decorum dictates that as meal time approaches, visitors leave. Yet during the Easter fair, the meal is shared with house guests and for that matter, with other Fair goers on a spontaneous basis. Frequently, a man will invite a few men with whom he has been visiting and drinking with (in his own home) to stay for a meal. Protestations on the part of guests are rarely made and invitations are accepted readily. Consequently, the privacy of the family meal is lifted for a time to permit inclusion of both strangers and friends. Clearly, in comparison to ordinary time, meals during the Easter fair, are more flexibly scheduled. They reflect a reversal in orderliness and punctuality. This reversal makes possible the enjoyment of spontaneous events or visits since domestic schedules are suspended.

The privacy of domestic time is also related to the privacy of domestic space. Through the inclusion of non-family members at meals, private family time is transposed into public time. By welcoming strangers into one's home for the duration of the Fair, the householder provides them with a glimpse of the private 'backstage' of the house, i.e., the

bedrooms. In the Labradorian home, one remembers, the major locus for social interaction is the kitchen. During the Fair, the kitchen is heavily used in this manner, but with the welcoming of overnight guests, the rest of the family dwelling is in effect, opened up for the duration. It is transformed from a predominantly private sphere to a public one. The domestic separateness so characteristic throughout the year gives way to a much freer access to not only people's homes but presumably to themselves as well. In Chapter Five I have argued in my discussion of private and public time that oscillations between these two dimensions provide individuals with a way of regrouping after being under the watchful eye of co-residents. However, during Easter not only are meals recast into public times but the sleeping period (the time least subject to intrusion by outsiders) is inverted. Not only are guests invited to stay overnight but in many instances drinking and merrymaking continue until the very early morning hours. Likewise, doors are left unlocked at night for revelers when they finally return home. This is another instance in which the privacy of the home is inverted under these special circumstances and opened up to the public domain. But what the guests see is under the protective understanding that the private domain is at this time not "normal".

During the Fair there is a pervasive atmosphere of gaiety, relaxation and conviviality. For many Fair goers,

especially men, this amicable state is embellished through the use of alcohol.

EASTER DRINKING AND CHRISTMAS JANNEYING RECONSIDERED

As accounts of early life in Newfoundland and Labrador indicate, alcohol has long played a significant role in the daily and ceremonial life of inhabitants. Beyond its ability to relax drinkers and to affect their behaviour (in often comical ways), alcohol also has significance on another level. This significance is related to the revelry of the twelve days of Christmas, namely janneying. Both janneying and Easter social drinking can be interpreted as being basically two forms of masking. Janneys mask their identities for the enjoyment of it but also to do things that they might not otherwise do. The rough and tumble of these Christmas revelers is sanctioned because of their altered state. Janneys, like strangers, are thus beyond the rules or expectations of the group. They are excused from decorous behaviour because they are acting the fool. In fact, the term fool is often used as a synonym for janney. Easter's social drinkers are also masking. But they use the effects of alcohol on their personalities to release themselves from their customary manner of interaction. During Easter the quality of interaction between individuals can deteriorate to the level of quarrels and occasionally fights. Like janneys, drinkers often take this opportunity to say and do things that

they would not customarily say or do. However, after heated exchanges, bystanders and others frequently make statements like "He wasn't himself you know, he was drinkin' a good while before". The self they are referring to is the self that is known and recognizable to their co-residents and friends, not a more personal, private side known only to the individual or possibly his or her immediate family. Many times the comments people make in a state of inebriation are pointed. Given the face-to-face quality of social relations this is one of the few times that feelings or opinions can be aired without severe sanction.

However, the consequences of social drinking at Easter are not exclusively negative. Social drinking also has an inoffensive, favourable side. Drinking has the means of relaxing inhibitions. This includes the inhibition toward affable behaviour. The expression of emotion is usually confined to the family. During Easter, however, social drinking promotes a more open display of affection and friendliness. Men who are usually too hesitant to sing, dance or tell stories are more apt to do so when drinking with a crowd of supportive congenial friends. In a crowd of social drinkers, foolish or comical behaviour is not only accepted but encouraged. Merrymaking and comradeship are central. Through social drinking, men are able to not only clear the air over differences but they are also able to initiate or rekindle friendships or relationships. They are able to

express hostility or discontentment as well as friendship and amicability. As forms of affect, these are structurally opposed, yet both represent an inversion of the customary forms of social interaction found in Sandwich Bay. They invert the reticent tone for one that has a high emotive charge either in an affable or hostile mode. Ordinarily, the behaviour of individuals is predictable and reliable. This is based on extensive knowledge people have acquired about their neighbours. When people disguise or mask their public images (and they are therefore 'not themselves') they can effect changes in existing social relations and can communicate messages that could not be so easily communicated outside of this altered state. These messages are not simply or only expressions of suppressed in-group hostility. While this explanation has been forwarded by other researchers in the region (Firestone: 1969, 1981 and Szwed: 1969) it accounts for only part of drinking and disguising behaviour. While some have suggested that this drinking behaviour also fosters a relaxation of the rather tight hold people keep on their emotions and their interactions with each other, they have failed to recognize the link between janneying and drinking and their relationship to social change. Janneys and drinkers can and do take advantage of the license that is available to them in sexual and other contexts. It is not uncommon for example for "jokes", comments or accusations to be made about local political tensions, kinship animosities or dishonesty in

the community or on the trapping and fishing grounds (i.e., poaching) when drinkers and janneys are in an altered social state. Some individuals have arrived at community meetings with alcohol on their breath, and "act" in an inebriated manner. They proceed to say what is on their mind (usually problematic or inflammatory) and then leave without threat of the social sanction that they would have received had they attended the meeting "sober". The next day, the now "sober" meeting crashers can exonerate themselves by apologizing and pleading that -- "they weren't themselves". In a situation such as this, a volley of potentially explosive statements can be discharged into the centre of a political or social situation. Of course, once they are said they can't be taken back. They become part of the ongoing process but the person responsible for introducing them has only limited personal liability for the impact they will create. Thus the contingent character of the janney or the drinker gives them access to a direct method of communicating ideas in a climate where reticence and indirectness are the norm.

Individuals do have pent up emotions but these feelings are not always hostile. They can be amicable and comical as well. Just as there are some individuals who experience difficulty with expressing critical or unpopular opinions, the customary reticence of Labradorian society frequently makes the expression of more effusive emotions less easy. Janneys and drinkers are not only able to ignore social

barriers but they also ignore the spatial or proxemic barriers between persons. Janneys and drinkers invade the personal space of others. They touch, hug, kiss and loll on one another. Drinkers often sit very close together with arms draped on each others shoulders singing and socializing. The display of physical contact is very much an inversion of customary behaviour. This is the case for young courting couples and is especially so for members of the same gender.

In effect, these periods of drinking and disguising provide a *carte blanche* for individuals to be different. However, being different from what one is usually perceived to be need not be considered stressful or hostile. It can be pleasurable not only for the individual but for his or her cohorts as well. I argue that for these festive contexts in Labrador (and probably Newfoundland as well), anthropologists and other social scientists should avoid seeing the act of being different as being necessarily deviant or in some sense pathological. This has been an underlying implication of earlier approaches and has the effect of clouding the understanding of inversive behaviour and the linkages that exist between different celebrative events in the Labrador ritual calendar.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have approached the ritual cycle in Labrador time through the notion of symbolic inversion,

focussing specifically on the celebrations of Christmas and Easter. Primarily three questions were asked of the data: firstly, what are the types of cultural items inverted and how are they inverted, secondly, what is the impact of these inversions with regard to the nature of Labradorian time, and thirdly, how does the notion of inversion, as articulated in the anthropological literature, inform our thinking about the relationship between contingency and ritual time?

Among the various activities which occur at Christmas and Easter, drinking and janneying are central. It is around these two activities that inversion crystallizes. The impact of janneying and drinking is seen most prominently, on two levels: firstly, on the level of social relations especially within the context of dichotomies existing between (a) stranger and friend, and (b) between reticence and garrulousness; secondly, within the structure of the daily cycle, particularly in relation to contrasts between (a) public time and private time, and (b) between periods of leisure and work.

However, it is in the dichotomy centering around aspects of contingency and predictability that janneying and drinking display their most significant input with respect to the analysis of Labrador time as a whole. Janneys and social drinkers "play" with the customary rules of social relations, they invert, in a flagrant and ludic fashion, the phenomenological and ideational order of the culture. This is

vividly seen in their inversion of customary visiting etiquette and the inversion of meal time routines. As well they turn the day upside down by visiting when people usually retire and they sleep when people are usually working.

In terms of conventional interactional tone they display a dramatic shift from reticence to garrulousness in some extreme circumstances even to aggressiveness. Through their inversive behaviour, they are able to "play" with notions of egalitarianism and decorousness which are a key to how co-residents view the ideal tone of their social interactions. During these peak ritual occasions the janney and the drinker personify the exact inverse of the reticent moderate householder who strives to interact with his co-residents in accordance with prescribed and predictable decorum. It is through this contrastive pair (that is, the householder and the ludic figure), that "moralistic thou-shall-nots", are inverted.

Both Christmas and Easter share similar structural features with respect to the inversion of the ordinary routine. Firstly, a moratorium is placed upon regular work during the celebrative period, secondly, much visiting (both intra- and extra-village), socializing and a general atmosphere of openness characterizes the periods: thirdly, both ritual periods, while associated with religious themes are characterized nonetheless by social licence; and fourthly, a radical inversion of public and private time is observed.

This juxtaposition between public and private time is a critical one. What public and private time do in effect, is switch places with each other. This switch, which I have been referring to as inversion creates not a state of chaos but rather a state of disorder. The inversion may have an unsettling, frightening and possibly even a threatening effect -- but this does not connote the creation of chaos. As creators of cultural order, humans have the potential for placing that order into a state of disorder from time to time. Furthermore, this disorder can also be exhilarating, amusing and even gratifying. This is what occurs at Christmas and at Easter.

Villagers are disturbing, not destroying, the normal social and temporal order. They are celebrating contingency and ambiguity. Within the context of these celebrations order exists, **but** it undergoes a temporary transformation. During these celebrations identities become "confused", gender becomes indistinct and behaviour is turned upside down. But I argue that this confusion continues to reflect the structure of order since it is fundamentally a response to order.

During Christmas and Easter, when people disguise or mask they can affect social relations and the social order of the community. Through this social contingency the dynamic quality of ritual time becomes discernable. Through the play of symbolic inversion, spaces are created where new ideas and roles can be experimented with. Erikson has called such

spaces spielraum The use of notions such as play and spielraum represent a processual as opposed to a functional view of ritual time. The latter focusses on a closed system perspective which views ritual periods as times which permit the release of repressed hostilities and as a result fosters the maintenance of the status quo. The former approach however, sees ritual times as periods when social life is subject to manipulation. This manipulation is not necessarily threatening nor possessing a potential for creating chaos. It has been argued that the disorder caused by periods of ritual inversion is a kind of "rehearsal for those real life situations in which it is vital for our survival to endure cognitive disorientation" (Peckham 1967: 314). From this perspective, inversion can be viewed-not as an element of danger but as an adaptive mechanism. This parallels my observations of myself in Chapter Four on the environmental cycle and Briggs' (1984 and 1986) with respect to how arctic and sub-arctic peoples react to environmental contingency. It is my argument that during inversion rituals, the participant's aims are not the destruction of order (what benefit could possibly be derived from such a move?) but rather, a detachment from it. The assumption in the anthropological literature has been that order is the primary element of ritual time and further, that the content of ritual time is secondary to its form. I have questioned this. It is my view that contingency and inversion are related via their

effect on temporal order. Inversion negates order and it is through this negation that contingency can be accommodated. The implications for this with respect to cyclical time (that is, time that gives the illusion of being repetitive and thereby having an internal consistency and stability) is that it also has a significant dynamic component. It is agreed that the specific time for a performance of a ritual can be predictable and repetitive. But, if we hope to advance our understanding of ritual time beyond this, it should be stressed that the content of a ritual event can be contingent and provide an opportunity for change to be introduced. Through this understanding the paradox inherent in ritual time is revealed, since the contradictory conditions of order and disorder are simultaneously represented. Ritual time can be both repetitive and non-repetitive.

When considering ritual time in the context of the helical model a number of notions surface. Firstly, as inversive rituals occur they represent a continuity with all preceding observances of the ritual. Secondly, the nature of the inversive ritual carries the potential for change -- for a departure (either temporarily or permanently) from preexisting patterns or norms and a tolerance of contingency. For example, janneying has continuity with earlier observances in years past. At the same time janneying has the potential to influence events both during and following the ritual period.

It has been the case in anthropology, that ritual time has been seen as "time out of time" and that a discontinuity exists on this temporal plane. In looking more holistically at the temporal structure however, considering both the cyclicity of ritual time and the linearity of time as it unfolds, this discontinuity comes into question. What happens in ritual time has an effect on the rest of the temporal structure. The cyclical and the lineal features are integrated -- as opposed to being two separate systems. How might this look on a three-dimensional plane? Just as days are a specific kind of time so too are ritual periods. Ritual periods have a special feature, their inversiveness, which distinguishes them from daily time and provides them with the potential for introducing change. Unlike the broad helical revolutions of the environmental cycle or the tight twenty-four hour revolutions of each of the days of the year, the ritual periods encompass a number of days and have a different "colour" which signals a special phase within the temporal system. This phase is special. But it is not outside of time. While the events of these ritual days are inverted from the rest of the days of the year they remain integrated components of the overall temporal system.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CONCLUSION

From the context of the culture of hunters, trappers and fishermen of South Labrador I have addressed some of the important anthropological ideas that have informed the study of time and contingency in anthropology. A framework of key notions or understandings emerged from this examination, namely: (1) that time is dynamic, (2) that cyclical and lineal aspects of time are interrelated, (3) that time has multidimensionality and finally (4) that contingency in its various environmental and cultural expressions can affect the way in which time is conceptualized and organized.

In this thesis I have presented an integrative view of cyclicity and linearity which examines the interrelationship between these two conceptualizations, by focussing on the influence of contingent events within the specific ethnographic context of South Labrador. Contingency, in its environmental, social and economic manifestations, was explored in Chapter Three on the historical and social setting of the region; in Chapter Four dealing with the environmental cycle; in Chapter Five on the daily cycle and in Chapter Six on the ritual cycle. The issue of the interrelationship between contingency and cyclicity and linearity has been

addressed particularly in Chapter Two which situated the research within the context of existing anthropological literature and in Chapter Six in relation to ritual time. I have employed a three-dimensional helical model to illustrate the dynamic complementarity of cyclicity and linearity.

In anthropology the notion of time is understood to be a uniquely human phenomenon, having two important features or characteristics, namely cyclicity and linearity. However, it has been a general assumption that they are separate and opposed to one another. On the one hand, cyclicity is understood to mean a series of events or happenings that regularly recur and which lead back to a starting point (e.g., break-up follows freeze-up, mug-ups follow meals, and Easter follows Christmas). On the other hand, linearity is understood to mean a succession of events that follow each other and are characterized by the quality of irreversibility (e.g., historical time, the passage of life from birth through to death).

There are a number of reasons why this distinction is perceived to exist between these two aspects of time. Both cyclicity and linearity are conditions which are commonly observed and experienced in the life process of humans and in the world around them. Day turns into night--night turns into day, again and again. A person is born, grows old and then dies. While different etiologies may be applied from one culture to the next, these conditions remain fundamental to

how time is experienced. It is in this way that time is a cultural construction.

Anthropologists however, in their examination of cyclical and lineal features of time have placed greater emphasis on their difference rather than their similarities. Furthermore attention has been narrowly focussed on the characteristics of repetitiveness versus irreversibility. In Chapter Two, for example, I explored how a focus on ritual time from a functionalist perspective helped to form this view. Problems arising out of the maintenance of this opposition are borne out particularly well in the instance of the daily routine of men and women in Labrador. On preliminary examination the daily routine of women appears to be marked by repetitiveness and predictability, whereas the daily routine of men is characterized by largely contingent and irreversible events. A woman's ability to predict the tasks she will complete in a given day are enhanced by the relatively circumscribed domestic sphere she operates in. A man however is less likely to be able to predict what he will accomplish since environmental contingencies can influence fishing, trapping and hunting to a greater extent. To examine, let us say, only the routine of men or only the routine of women would (a) misrepresent the nature of Labrador daily time, and (b) leave unexplored the complementarity of female and male daily time when taken together. In Labrador, the predictability in the female sphere and the contingency of

the male sphere modulate each other so that neither presents an extreme condition for the individuals involved.

Superficially, at least, cyclicity does give the appearance of being diametrically opposed to linearity. Their differences seem to be paradoxical and therefore irreconcilable. However the repetitiveness of cyclical time is a structural configuration which individuals assign to temporal events. The relative arrangement of events in cyclical time has a highly conspicuous nature because of its very repetitiveness. Its pattern is circumscribed and it thus may be more easily recognizable to the observer and possibly even to the culture bearer as well. This cyclicity is a cultural imposition placed upon temporal events. This has been particularly well illustrated in Chapter Five on the daily cycle. South Labradorians, for example, organize daily time in terms of (among other things) repeated rotations between meals and mug-ups. These constant rotations in effect, serve to delimit the boundaries of public and private time.

I have argued in this dissertation that the primacy attributed to cyclical time is not appropriate. This primacy comes under question when the cultural experience of time as a whole is considered. Temporal phenomena, at their root, are fundamentally lineal, that is, a succession of events. Cyclical configurations are recognized within the context of linear time. This relationship between cyclical

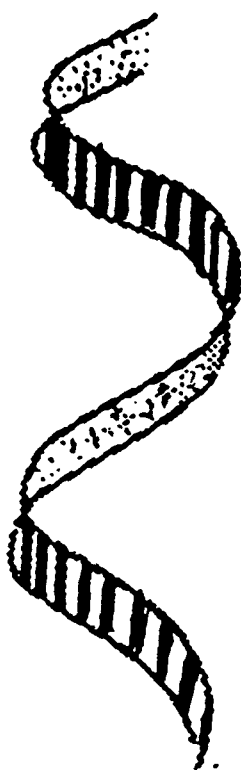
and lineal time is aptly illustrated through the use of a three-dimensional model. Quite simply, there can be no spiralling motion within the helix, no cyclical revolutions, unless there is something that can revolve. This necessary substance is a ribbon or succession of lineal events. The helical model developed in this work facilitates our understanding of the dynamic nature of time where repetitive and irreversible features of time are intertwined. It shows the successive quality of linearity and depicts its elemental and primary position in the structure of time as a whole. As well, the helical model shows cyclical time as not being confined to a unidimensional plane but reveals a multidimensional potential for change. While linearity provides the elemental substance of temporal structure, cyclical time creates a repetitive spiralling configuration. Viewed separately, they reveal a partial understanding. Viewed together, they reflect a dynamic complementarity that provides a more comprehensive understanding of the human experience of time.

In Labrador, for example, when fishermen recollect the progression of the salmon fishing season they usually discuss it in terms of major events: the strike dates; smallest and largest hauls and the end of the season. While events such as these are stressed and patterns are recognized, this does not mean that other occurrences, which do not fall into this list, are unimportant to the structure of time. It is not only

periodic events which are recollected but events which do not conform to recognized and expected patterns which are also recounted. Events such as storms, extremes in weather conditions, abnormalities relating to the salmon themselves or in their numbers, are noted and ultimately have importance in the overall temporal system. Furthermore, all events (both remarkable and unremarkable) are structurally essential since it is within the context of all the events of the salmon season (or the year as a whole), occurring in the basic chronology of experience, (see figure 9) that more prominent events can be contrasted. It should be emphasized that repetitive patterns in addition to non-repetitive events constitute time. The importance of linearity however has remained underdeveloped. One of the reasons lineal time has not been given greater consideration in the anthropological literature is based, in part, on the analytical task of isolating regularities (repetitive events) for the purpose of formulating generalizations -- an undeniably important objective of anthropological research. In light of this it is not very surprising that cyclicity has been emphasized. Cyclicity projects, by its repetitiveness, an illusion of structured preciseness which is neatly circumscribed and easily observed when pattern recognition is a goal. Furthermore, its repetitive nature facilitates its reobservation. As social scientists, we are limited in our ability to replicate

FIGURE 9

A SPIRALLING SUCESSION OF TEMPORAL EVENTS



research conditions. Cyclical phenomena however, become attractive because they permit us to reobserve, thus providing a unique opportunity to verify the statements we make about phenomena and the relationships we presume to exist between them. Related to this emphasis on cyclicity is the additional predisposition in the functionalist approach to time which focusses on identifying regularities and correspondingly deemphasizing conditions characterized by ambiguity, change and contingency.

Mauss, Durkheim and Leach among others assume that time is inherently orderly. This notion of orderliness is based upon the observed regularity of cyclical time. It is also related to a general assumption that human beings need and crave order. This assumption carries the implication that periods of temporal ambiguity or contingency are undesirable and should be avoided.

The Labrador data concerning the liminal, inversive and socially contingent periods of Christmas and Easter indicate however that the contingent behaviour of revelers is not maladaptive but is, as Turner, Moore and others suggest, highly adaptive. During Christmas and Easter for example, social tensions are not only dissipated (not necessarily returning to a state of equilibrium) but can also be addressed in a climate conducive to their resolution. At these and other temporal interstices people mould and remould time to conform to environmental exigencies and evolving cultural

perspectives. These celebrative periods, while characterized by heightened contingency, are not avoided by individuals, but rather, are anxiously awaited and are participated in enthusiastically.

Environmental contingencies such as break-up and freeze-up do not throw Labradorians into a state of overwhelming disorder. Protocols such as those followed by George Cartwright's ill-fated employees at Hinchinbrook Arm (1775) or by hosts in the spring of 1980, who discreetly fed their neighbours who ran low on supplies; indicate that when customary practices are disrupted an alternative order with greater flexibility and accommodation of indeterminacy emerges. Contingency is seen as a condition which is potentially dangerous and frightening -- one that ideally should be avoided whenever possible. Unfortunately, the literature has failed to address the deeper question of who is more affected by this potential danger: the theory builder or the culture bearer?

The data from Labrador indicates that contingent and sometimes dangerous situations continue to occur. Many of these situations cannot always be prevented or avoided. However, strategies for coping with these situations exist, they include: (a) the recognition and acceptance of the danger and (b) the ongoing adoption and/or restructuring of responses which mitigate the effects of these contingent periods of time as they unfold. Stories about the hardships of a severe

break-up or stories about the collision of a passenger ship with an iceberg for example are told with humour yet they have a powerful educative impact with respect to the transmission of adaptive strategies and the adoption of an appropriate state of mind when dealing with such contingencies.

While conditions of contingency and danger exist, there are components that offer the potential for festive and playful behaviour and for experimentation with new social roles and modes of cognition and interaction. In the Labradorian context important illustrations of this type of behaviour include masking, inversions of the daily meal routines to accommodate food shortages and responses to conditions during break-up and freeze-up. The research data from Labrador substantiates the view that the existence of dangerous situations does not immediately imply a loss of control. In fact, the data suggest that what exists is a condition of danger with measured control. It is clear that what is being dealt with here, in terms of contingency and danger, are situationally specific aspects of "disorder". These aspects can be (1) dangerous as in the case of the premature break-up of 1915, described by Reverend Henry Gordon when trappers were nearly stranded without supplies or a safe route out of the interior, (2) they can be playful as when janneys jest about established forms of behaviour and provide comic relief in what is otherwise a tight - knit community where one's behaviour is subject to constant scrutiny, or (3)

they can also provide experiential options as in the case of festive drinkers who open up opportunities for the re-evaluation of existing social ideas and behaviour or the creation of new forms. Thus, when conditions of disorder are examined, it is possible for any or all of these adjustments to be expressed. Furthermore, it is possible that while part of an event is dangerous another part may not be. For example, while drinkers could become inebriated to the extent that they might cause harm to themselves or to others, they are still able, through their liminal and inversive states, to effect changes interpersonally or in the community as a whole.

This research has revealed that to develop a clearer understanding of the cultural construction of time, a more comprehensive and more integrative approach is required than has heretofore been the case. When the analysis of time is grounded within the context of a particular culture it is possible to see how time is experienced in the hurly-burly of everyday life. Cyclicity influences the laying down of events found in a chronology, but the spontaneous events in nature and in social life also impinge upon the playing out of established cycles. There are events that radically influence the direction of spiralling time, as seen in Chapter Three with the case of the Spanish influenza epidemic that occurred during the freeze-up of 1918. Events which took place were spontaneous, irreversible and dramatic. The epidemic shaped not only the demographics of Sandwich Bay but served as the

catalyst for change in other areas of coastal life. The establishment of an orphanage in Sandwich Bay in the wake of the epidemic placed traditional kinship obligations to parentless children in a new focus. The militarization of Goose Bay in the 1940s and the failure of the cod fishery in the 1960s serve as other examples of how events can influence decisions made in the future. While Goose Bay could conceivably revert back into a tiny fishing village if the armed forces pulled out and the cod fishery could become bountiful once again, the initial effects of those events can never be reversed nor the decisions that were made in light of them.

This work has shown that a firm grounding of the analysis within the ethnographic data serves not only to contextualize time but offers the conditions under which various research perspectives can be considered and applied. This is illustrated in this dissertation through the examination of the dynamic, inversive and contingent aspects of time and in the examination of the relationship of linearity and cyclicity.

Earlier perspectives which focussed on broad concerns such as the maintenance of equilibrium, did not sufficiently address the conditions of disorder, contingency, experimentation and their interrelatedness. The examination of these conditions, when grounded in the ethnographic context of a specific society such as Labrador, illustrates the

dynamic quality of time and suggests that multicausal explanations and multidimensional models more thoroughly account for the rich nature of the temporal data. It is accepted that distinguishing cyclical from lineal features of time is a useful analytical exercise when trying to isolate their distinctive parts. Ultimately the more interesting question arises after we recognize elements of their distinctiveness and then go on to ask how cyclicity and linearity fit together in the temporal realities of cultural systems from which they spring.

We have discovered that cyclical time does not truly repeat itself nor is lineal time a simple succession of events. On the experiential plane they are not found in isolation from one another but are inextricably bound together. We do not live out our lives in a vacuum. Rather, we live in the physical world, intertwined with the lives of others around us. The unfolding of each of our lives creates an experience of time. Our experience of that time creates a sense of security borne of repetition and predictability and a sense of awe borne of contingency.

ENDNOTES

1. Historical background on various Inuit and Naskapi/Montagnais occupations along with early European settlements along the coast are outlined in detail in APPENDIX I that follows the text.
2. See endnote number one.
3. In Chapter IV, on the environmental cycle, I discuss Cartwright's account of the severity of environmental contingencies associated with the spring break-up of 1775. Cartwright eloquently chronicles the stark realities of hardship, drowning and starvation associated with that uncertain time of the Labrdorian year.

APPENDIX I

INTRODUCTION

This appendix provides the historical background of the pre contact populations of the Inuit and Naskapi-Montagnais of Labrador. It also provides historical information on the earliest European settlements along the coast, beginning with the Viking settlements in the Strait of Belle Isle and including the Basque, French and Moravian settlements up to the time of the commencement of the British fishery during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This appendix relies heavily on archaeological and historical sources and highlights features of contingency in the adaptive strategies of indigenous peoples and early Europeans. The period from European contact to the present is covered in Chapter III - The Historical and Social Setting.

Pre-contact Labrador

Prior to full scale European settlement in Labrador an extensive period of human habitation of the region is in evidence. It is estimated that Paleo-Indians circa 12000 B.P. were the first to occupy Labrador after the glaciers retreated. At about 11000-9000 B.P., it is believed that Paleo-Indians were living near what would have been ancient

shore lines and were probably hunting herds of caribou. Because of the inundation of these shore lines however, it is difficult to know to what extent, if any, they exploited a marine adaptation.

A drastic change in Paleo-Indian subsistence and settlement patterns appears to have occurred around 8000 B.P. At this time a de-emphasis in interior caribou exploitation occurred and an emphasis in the use of marine food resources was on the rise. It has been suggested that this transition marks the beginning of what has been termed the Maritime archaic tradition pursued from Saglek Bay, Labrador, southward along the northwest Atlantic littoral to the coast of present day Maine. The Maritime Archaic tradition flourished for a period in excess of 4000 years (roughly from 7500-3000 B.P.). Its seasonal fluctuation between interior and coastal adaptations appear to have been a fairly successful subsistence strategy necessitating little modification.

The Demise of the Maritime Archaic Tradition

Tuck (1975:91) has noted that it was probably not long term climatic changes which lead to the demise of the Maritime Archaic tradition. Rather, he argues that rapid and extreme climatic changes (namely a cooling trend), which could not be easily adapted to, was the key feature. However, some gaps in the data do not account for isolated instances where the Maritime Archaic tradition persisted. Thus, it is

recognized that while environmental variables played a critical role and even a predominant part in the disappearance of this group, these variables do not represent a complete picture. The demise of the Maritime Archaic tradition and the onset of the Dorset occupation can be related to this general cooling trend because cooler temperatures may have presented a condition to which the encroaching Dorset (Inuit) were more accustomed, thus making Labrador a more attractive location to them. By the same token, this cooling to period may have heralded the departure of Paleo-Indians to more temperate areas. There is, however, evidence to suggest that contact between the Paleo-Indians and the incoming Dorset was possible, especially since data for the two groups are close or overlapping. Some traits suggest possible diffusion between the two groups. It has been postulated that the Maritime Archaic people could have retreated either (a) southward, or (b) that internal upheaval and possible hostile contact with in-migrating Dorset precipitated their demise. Any and possibly all of these factors could have been at work around 3900 B.P., when the presence of Paleo-Indians faded in Labrador.

Inuit Occupation of Labrador

At about 3900 B.P., evidence of a Paleo-Eskimo presence in Labrador is detected in the form of pre-Dorset (Arctic Small Tool tradition) artifacts. In many respects,

this tradition differed only slightly from subsistence and settlement patterns of the Maritime Archaic tradition. The Dorset peoples continued to flourish along the Labrador coast from about 3900-1400 B.P. A significant feature of this adaptation was the use of semi-subterranean houses.

As many as three different periods of Pre-Dorset occupations have occurred in Labrador. It has been argued that rapid and extreme fluctuations in climate played a significant role in the decline, retreat or extinction of these groups. As well, it has been argued (McGhee 1975, and Maxwell 1976) that a eastern Arctic core area (Foxe Basin and the northern region of Hudson Bay) probably existed which had (a) a rich resource base, (b) had cultural homogeneity and (c) had a pattern of expansion from core areas to fringe areas (Cox 1978:114). It is considered likely that Labrador served as one of these fringe areas and that retracting and expanding Pre-Dorset groups travelled between these areas in response to socio-economic factors in either the core or the fringe. Evidence of Dorset occupations suggest that there was probably a population replacement of pre-Dorset with Dorset. However, population expansion and contraction characteristic of Pre-Dorset occupations in all likelihood prevailed into Dorset times. Similarly, it is suggested that the extreme climatic variability also played a significant role in Dorset occupation in Labrador.

Demise of Dorset Culture

There are no clear explanations for the demise of Dorset culture in Labrador. While it has continued to confound eastern Arctic prehistorians; weather, ice conditions, biological calamities and long term climatic change all appear at least partially related (Tuck 1975:198). Fitzhugh (1972) along with Tuck, has also speculated on possible Indian migrations into the middle coastal regions as being another variable.

Thule Culture

Evidence for a second major Inuit move into Labrador has been recorded for around 1500 B.P., when the Thule, in an easterly drift across the Canadian Arctic, arrived in Labrador. The Thule were the most recent Inuit arrivals in Labrador and their presence is believed to have extended into the early twentieth century. Thule sites in Northern Labrador have yielded data dating from 1500 to 72 B.P. At Ikkusik, large communal houses made of whale bone, sod and stone have been excavated. Schlederman has suggested that these communal dwellings reflect an "adaptive mechanism in times of social stress" (1976:32). Schlederman has suggested further, that this occurred during a cooling period (382-137 B.P.). At this time, weather was in flux and this may have caused "variations in the amount and seasonal distribution of sea ice, which, in turn, may have effected the availability of certain game

species" (1976:34). It is apparent from the above descriptions of conditions during the pre-contact period, that both Paleo-Indian and Paleo-Eskimo cultures were heavily effected by the environmental changes found in the form of radical fluctuations in climate and fauna. Similarly, socio-cultural contingencies, taking the form of population decreases and increases and the onslaught of migrating groups also played a critical role. Both environmental and socio-cultural changes continued to be significant even when the time frame and the groups changed.

Naskapi-Montagnais Occupations

At about the time of European contact (circa fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries), the Naskapi Indians were making their eastward expansion into the Ungava Peninsula. This move forced existing Inuit populations to move northward and progressively eastward. The Naskapi move was essentially a reaction to Montagnais occupation of their lands. Iroquois and Micmac invasions occurring in the areas south and west have been deemed responsible for Montagnais encroachment into Naskapi territory. Until the time of French settlement along the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, the Inuit were still able to maintain their coastal territory. The French, capitalizing on existing antagonisms and pressures between the Inuit and Indians, provided the latter with firearms. This act by the French, helped precipitate the final demise of

Inuit populations in the southern regions of the coast and along the extreme northeastern shores of the St. Lawrence River. The Inuit, who did manage to survive these armed conflicts with the Indians, Europeans and the fishermen finally retreated to the north, albeit, with severely reduced populations.

Early European Contact

While John Cabot is frequently attributed with being the first early European explorer to discover Labrador, it is estimated that Norsemen not only sighted Labrador but actually set foot upon the land over 500 years earlier, in around 986 A.D. (Zimmerly 1975:41, McGhee 1982). Biarni Herjulfson is thought to be the first European to visit Labrador, when his ship was driven off course on a voyage to Greenland. Leif Ericsson is believed to have named the region of Labrador Markland, for its dense forests, which were the site of frequent Norse timber cutting expeditions. While excellent documentation exists for a sustained Norse presence (which probably included women) along the Strait of Belle Isle, evidence still remains to be found for protracted stays along the Labrador coast.

It is only toward the end of the fifteenth century, when the great expeditions of discovery began, that European interest in Labrador escalated. In 1497, it is claimed that John Cabot was the first to see Labrador landfall.

Controversy, however, surrounds this assertion which was made by Cabot's son Sebastian and was based on confusing accounts.

In 1499, Joao Fernandes, a Portuguese explorer, sent by King Manuel, touched Greenland, which he named Tiera de lavrador (land of the husbandman or farmer). In time, most of the northwest Atlantic coast came to be known generally as Labrador. Eventually, the name came to be associated exclusively with the eastern coast of the Ungava Peninsula. In the same year, another Portuguese explorer, Gaspar Corte Real, left on a voyage of discovery and found the island of Newfoundland. It is assumed that he attempted the exploration of the coast of Labrador but was lost in a gale.

John Rut, on the behest of Henry VIII, sailed as far north as Hawkes Harbour, Labrador in the year 1527, in search of the Northwest Passage. In the spring of 1534, Jacques Cartier finally laid claim to Labrador for France. Unfortunately, his landing on the stark tundra littoral rim failed to impress Cartier. His superficial and unsympathetic report back to Europe has fueled misconceptions of Labrador even to this day. It was Cartier who first referred to Labrador as, "the land God gave to Cain" (Jackson n.d.:8). While Cartier only saw the coastal tundra zone and deemed it a barren and inhospitable place (if only from an agricultural perspective), the Basques associated it with great abundance.

In the late 1500s, according to recent documentation, (Barkham :1982, Tuck :1982), extensive Basque whaling operations were carried out along the south coast of Labrador. Archaeological and archival research during the 1970s, indicate that Red Bay (named by later fishermen, for the thousands of red roof tiles found there) was used as a land base for processing whale oil and other products. It is estimated that around eight hundred men and boys summered at Red Bay. This Basque operation might have continued to thrive, had (a) the humpback whale not disappeared from Labrador waters in the 1850s (possibly due to over harvesting), and (b) the whaling fleet not been recalled in 1588 to form part of the ill-fated Spanish Armada.

Martin Frobisher, in his quest for the Northwest Passage, landed on the shores of Labrador and attempted mining activities in 1578. During the 1580s, John Davis reported on his extensive survey of the coast, touching at Sandwich Bay and noting the great abundance of waterfowl and timber. However, it was not until 1587 that the first recorded reference to the British fishery in Labrador waters was made.

The French however, did have a thriving business centered around the area of Bradore (Brest) and focussed on fish, oil and furs during the 1500s. By the mid-1600s, Brest was in a period of decline but regained its position as an important mercantile centre in 1704 when Augustine Legardeur (the Seigneur de Courtmanche) was granted four leagues of coast

by France to develop trade. Within four years, Brest claimed 1,000 winter residents involved in the production and or sale of fish, furs and seal products. The French continued to make a dedicated claim to exploiting Labrador's resources with Pierre Constantin being issued a grant for most of mineral rich modern day western Labrador.

Throughout this period, Britain showed little interest in developing a fishery in Labrador, largely because they focussed most of their efforts in the Grand Banks off the east coast of Newfoundland. It was not until the end of the seventeenth century, when the Grand Banks became overcrowded, that the British began to seriously consider Labrador's fishery potential.

The Moravians

The increased presence of Europeans in Labrador caused the Inuit to retreat northward. More peaceful relations only began during the early 1700s. However, it was not until 1765 that the governor of Newfoundland, Sir Hugh Palliser, declared a truce with the Inuit and laws were then passed which prohibited the plunder and slaughter of the Inuit. As early as 1752, the Moravian Brethren attempted the establishment of a mission in Northern Labrador. This early reconnaissance was abruptly ended when the Moravian party was murdered. Twelve years later, the Moravians were invited by Palliser to missionize (and pacify) the region. In 1771, Jens Haven

established the first successful mission at Nain. From 1771-1960, ten mission stations were opened. In the 1870s, Moravians did try to move into the area of Sandwich Bay. A detailed reconnaissance of the region and a census of the families and their fishing stations were conducted. However, their overtures were met with little or no encouragement and in some instances outright antagonism. As a result Moravian missions in Labrador were located in Northern Labrador, exclusively. Only five mission stations remain open today.

The Moravians not only spread Christianity to the Inuit, but they took great pains to preserve what they felt to be the best of Inuit life. While introducing European culture and religion to the Labrador Inuit, the Moravians also set to work at the task of translating religious tracts and books from English and German into Inuktitut, devising a system of notation from latin characters.

Criticism has often been laid against the Moravians, particularly with respect to their efforts to restrict the trade access of outside groups with the Inuit. While it has been argued that they did realize some profit from their monopoly it can also be argued that their isolationist stance actually served to protect the Inuit from intolerant and unscrupulous traders. In the final analysis, the good the Moravians achieved in Labrador ultimately stands in testimony to their work along the coast (Hillier 1967, Richling 1979).

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