Atlantic Canada: Heritage and Regeneration I

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Introduction

Edward MacDonald, John G. Reid and Robert Summerby-Murray

This and the following issue of the *London Journal of Canadian Studies* (Volumes 30 and 31) represent two parts of a single project.[1] The collection as a whole is all about resilience. Canada's Maritime Provinces have faced many challenges within Confederation, most obviously economic but also political, environmental and cultural. Since 1949, when Newfoundland and Labrador became part of Canada, Atlantic Canada as a whole has continued to encounter serious obstacles, even though in recent decades the proceeds of offshore oil have created in Newfoundland and Labrador a contrast between prosperous St. John's and other less affluent areas. To make matters worse, as Ernest R. Forbes pointed out many years ago, the region has also had to contend with being the butt of demeaning stereotypes.[2] Why should Canadian taxpayers prop up sleepy Atlantic communities that cannot or will not help themselves? Why are Atlantic Canadians too lethargic to take action to better themselves, preferring to take the hand-outs that keep them as the grasping but perennially poor relations of more dynamic compatriots in central Canada and the west? In reality, such critiques are unfair, self-serving and offensive. There are reasons for the adverse conditions under which the Atlantic provinces have historically too often laboured. In the context of the federation, as Richard Starr has recently argued, the Atlantic Canadian experience gives cause for concern as to whether the most basic principle of equal citizenship has been maintained in Canada.[3]

What has never wavered, however, is the level of hardiness and creativity with which adversity has been met. At the level of individuals and families, it has frequently been expressed in outmigration. Initially, during the late nineteenth century, the destination was most often

New England. Later waves of migrants went to southern Ontario and most recently to the energy and other resource fields of the western provinces. Sometimes the outmigrants have moved permanently, and sometimes – especially in the era of air travel – they have commuted a few weeks at a time in an effort to maintain a home and family life in Atlantic Canada. For all, the effort has been strenuous and often costly, and has represented a degree of sacrifice that the critics for the most part would never have been called upon to contemplate.

The essays in these journal issues consider another expression of resilience: the drive to rural, urban and economic regeneration through heritage. Heritage is a debatable and contested concept. By those who choose to see an awareness of heritage as essentially stagnant and backward-looking, this may be perceived as yet another expression of sloth and lethargy, or at best as a stubborn adherence to the characteristics of a world gone by. Certainly, as Ian McKay and Robin Bates among others have pointed out, there have been times when the Atlantic provinces themselves have marketed the region for tourist purposes as a land that time forgot.[4] The contributors to this collection, however, examine the concept and the practice of heritage from a different perspective. Both historically and in more contemporary contexts, these studies consider heritage as a facet of regeneration: economic, environmental, and cultural. The discriminating employment of heritage as an economic resource thus becomes much more than a tale of reflex, romantic nostalgia for what once was, but instead a dynamic conversation between present and past. It involves deliberate choices, based on perception and present need, about what stories to tell and the manner of their telling. In the process, communities' lived experience is recast for new purposes in the making of new economies.

The project that led towards the writing of all of these original essays began life as a conference at the National Waterfront Museum in Swansea, sponsored by the Canadian Studies in Wales Group and organised by Michael Williams, Graham Humphrys and Huw Bowen. The original event had a Welsh as well as an Atlantic Canadian focus, although the present collection brings together only the contributions that deal primarily with Atlantic Canada. The opening theoretical analysis by Williams and Humphrys, however, offers a reminder that the issues considered here do not have an exclusively regional significance but rather are of wide significance and are reflected in a sophisticated international literature. Accurately characterising regeneration as 'an attractively positive concept', the authors reflect on the scale of heritage values ranging from the universal to the national and regional, and they

effectively problematise the extent to which 'heritage and identity – in all of their pluralistic forms – [do or should] shape regeneration plans and achievements'.

The first group of four essays links heritage and regeneration in historical contexts of economic dislocation. Rainer Baehre focuses on two communities on the west coast of Newfoundland, one a traditionally fishery-based island community that fell into decline during the twentieth century and was caught up in the resettlement policies of the province's government, and the other a now-demolished community that once formed a multi-ethnic neighbourhood of Corner Brook. Both, for Baehre, offer possibilities for heritage revitalisation that can not only enhance the cultural health of this portion of Newfoundland but also foster a modest but significant tourist presence based not on exploitive stereotypes but on a realistic dialogue between past and present. This dialogue is also a central theme for Richard MacKinnon and Lachlan MacKinnon as they consider the class-related cultural heritage of another island. Coal mining and steelmaking run deep in the collective memory of Cape Breton Islanders, and MacKinnon and MacKinnon show how the associated class struggle is embedded in 'the stories, songs, language and rituals of these worksites', as well as giving rise to *lieux de mémoire*. As Cape Breton continues in the twenty-first century to cope with the loss of its major industries, the authors argue that industrial heritage retains a key role in retaining community cohesion, offering 'a future-oriented sense of resistance against economic decline by tapping into the pre-existing culture of working-class consciousness and solidarity'.

Robert Summerby-Murray then discusses the efforts at various sites throughout the Maritime provinces to promote tourism but also to represent cultural identity to audiences including both tourists and more local visitors. Summerby-Murray finds that there is a source of profound tension between, on the one hand, the appetite of visitors for 'authenticity' and, on the other, the tendency of industrial heritage sites to sanitise – downplaying the 'dirt, noise [and] environmental pollution' of heavy industry – and also to seek to entertain. Although industrial heritage presents opportunities for regeneration, the danger remains that 'collective memories of real experiences of labour, gender and environmental legacy' will be 'replaced by a landscape of consumption and spectacle'. Finally in this section, Janelle Skeard explores another unique example of class-based identity formation as shown in the resilience of the single-industry ore-mining town of Buchans, NL. After mining ceased in 1984, the town faced a profound challenge to its

survival, and Skeard shows that its success in remaining viable despite economic dislocation and population decline owed much to a 'social cohesion [that] was formed through decades of shared history and struggle, producing a form of social capital that has been immensely valuable'.

The second group of four essays (the first group in Volume 31 of the journal) turns the focus to heritage and environment. Claire Campbell revisits the environmental history of one of the region's highest-profile heritage sites, Grand Pré. Not only a National Historic Site but also, since 2012, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, this former Acadian marshland settlement can be seen at one level as a shining example of sustainable agriculture. As Campbell shows, however, a more rigorous heritage-related understanding of Grand Pré must also extend to the later, more scientific and industrial history of the site and its surrounds. Only by considering all of the elements of this complex past can a genuine appreciation emerge of 'the realities of modern agriculture and the need for sustainable alternatives'. A complex past is also revealed in Edward MacDonald's examination of economic regeneration efforts in the distinctive physical and cultural environment of Prince Edward Island (PEI). As a small island society at the edge of a continent, PEI suffered a profound economic setback with the abrupt decline of its shipbuilding industry during the 1870s. The result, however, was not resignation and stasis, but rather a series of innovations – all of them drawing on environmental and/or cultural heritage – that for MacDonald suggest 'a population seriously grappling with economic dislocation rather than simply learning to live with it'. None of the innovations, ranging from lobster fishing to fox farming and seed potato production, and finally to tourism, proved entirely successful but all of them were active strategies that 'stubbornly confronted the essential geographical dilemma of the Island's economy' and illustrated the resiliency of the continuing 'quest for sustainable economic prosperity'. Sustainability is also an important concern of Dean Bavington and Daniel Banoub in their study of culture and heritage as seen in the development of Newfoundland fish farming in the wake of the collapse of the wild northern cod stocks. For Bavington and Banoub, 'culture' is central to this process. This complex word applies to aquaculture, they show, both in the sense of culturing the cod to abandon cannibalistic ways that exist in the wild and in that of culturing fishers through 'developing savage hunters into professional harvesters'. The outcome must still take time to become clear, but in the meantime 'the diversity, complexity and interconnections of aquacultures in Newfoundland illustrate an ongoing process, stories in the

making'. Finally, Erin Kelly examines the possibilities for regeneration in another of Newfoundland's primary industries. Heritage considerations, Kelly argues, are important in forestry in the context that 'citizens of the island have a long-standing relationship with its forests steeped in traditional subsistence uses'. However, this sensibility rests uneasily with commercial and industrialised approaches to forest harvesting, and the processing of the resource in the now-declining pulp and paper sector. In the future, 'community forest government and development' will likely favour small business rather than industrialised corporations, making heritage-based knowledge and practice an important tool of regeneration.

The third and final group of essays also deals with the role of heritage in regeneration, but with a policy-related orientation. Simon Lloyd takes an approach to the value of 'memory institutions' – libraries, archives, museums – in creating sound cultural foundations for economic regeneration that, in the spirit of the original Swansea conference, adopts a comparative perspective. Although the main focus is on Prince Edward Island, the essay explores these themes as they affect PEI through an extended comparison with Wales. Although relative funding levels in the two jurisdictions are comparable, effective planning for the future of memory institutions is much more evident in Wales. Advocacy is needed in this area, Lloyd concludes, because well-chosen investments 'can produce demonstrable benefits out of all proportion to the amount spent'. In the second of the essays, Jane H. Reid and John G. Reid sketch a broad context of repeated de-industrialisations in the Maritime provinces as the essential background to heritage-related urban regeneration in the region. While this chronological multiplicity presents difficulties to the emergence of coherent historical memory, a further complication arises from the absence of an effective policy framework for evaluation of heritage-related regeneration efforts. The essay advocates both a 'place-based' approach to evaluation and a regionally-integrated structure for policy guidance. Finally, Jill L. Grant and Gladys Wai Kwan Leung take the city of Halifax as a focus for examining the changing relationship between cultural priorities and new governance patterns in urban regeneration. Whereas in the recent past heritage considerations took priority, the emergence through the networking of young urban professionals – markedly influenced by creative city arguments – has signalled a new emphasis on distinctive architecture and urban density. Thus, the meaning of regeneration itself has become more fluid and characterised by competing visions of how resilience can and should be defined.

While the essays comprised in these two volumes of the *London Journal of Canadian Studies* are diverse in their specific themes, they are united by a belief that heritage and regeneration are closely and inextricably connected. The persistent resilience of Atlantic Canada and its communities is a profound and recurrent historical reality. As this robust aptitude stretches forward from the present day a deep and sophisticated heritage awareness can be seen as forward-looking rather than backward-looking. Recovery from economic dislocation, environmental prudence and the seizure of sustainable opportunities demands no less.

Notes

1 We are very grateful to Michael Williams, Graham Humphrys and Huw Bowen, the organisers of the conference in Swansea that originated this project. Entitled *Regeneration, Heritage and Cultural Identity: Transatlantic Perspectives*, the conference was held at the National Waterfront Museum on 22 June 2013. It was sponsored by the Canadian Studies in Wales Group/Cylch Astudiaethau Canadaidd Yng Nghymru/Association Galloise des études canadiennes, and we thank this group not only for its role in the conference but for its consistent encouragement and support for the publication of the essays. We are also most grateful to Tony McCulloch, Senior Fellow in North American Studies at the UCL Institute of the Americas, as Editor of the *London Journal of Canadian Studies*, to UCL Press and, of course, to all the contributors to the collection.

2 E.R. Forbes, *Challenging the Regional Stereotype: Essays on the 20th Century Maritimes* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1989).

3 R. Starr, *Equal as Citizens: The Tumultuous and Troubled History of a Great Canadian Idea* (Halifax: Formac Publishing Company, 2014).

4 I. McKay and R. Bates, *In the Province of History: The Making of the Public Past in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

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From Universal to Regional: Theoretical Perspectives on Regeneration and Heritage

Michael Williams and Graham Humphrys

Abstract

Regeneration comprises a set of processes designed to take a specific place from obsolescence to a projected future. It embraces the past, the present and the future. Inevitably, for some place is the principal focus while for others people come to the fore. Central to any discussion about regeneration is the concept of heritage, including both its tangible and intangible components. Influential individuals, groups and communities often bring divergent views to any plans for environmental and social preservation, conservation, construction and regeneration. An analysis of values lies at the heart of this and this analysis requires a multi-disciplinary approach in which specialists from many disciplines have a part to play. To focus our discussion we examine heritage as a social construction highlighting the importance of defining cultural benefits in any regeneration strategy. Referring to UNESCO Conventions we discuss tangible and intangible cultural heritage with particular reference to universality and individuality. Within this there is a concern to confront issues related to geographical marginalisation, language conservation, political devolution and decentralisation and the continuities in cultural expressions in music, text and the creative arts. The significance of these is evident in debates about the criteria used for the designation of UNESCO World Heritage sites and European Cities of Culture. We conclude with a discussion about the nation-state and cultural identity. It is essential in debates about the intrinsic and instrumental values of heritage to recognise the fundamental importance of national identity constructed from, or alongside, a multiplicity of cultural identities and heritages.

Regeneration is an attractively positive concept. It conjures up a future of inspirational new buildings and infrastructure combined with a cultural renaissance, bringing hope, aspiration, community consciousness and an improved sense of wellbeing to the residents of regenerated places. Degeneration, on the other hand, is epitomised by the dereliction and squalor of ghost towns, deserted villages and obsolescent industrial buildings. Regeneration comprises a set of processes designed to take a specified area, at a variety of scales, from obsolescence to a projected future. Regeneration, then, bridges the past, the present and the future. The key question underpinning this collection of essays relates to the ends that any regeneration policy, plan or project is designed to achieve. In a means-ends typology Sutton, drawing on the work of Ladd, distinguishes between 'pure people-oriented strategies' and 'pure place-oriented strategies'.[1] The former address the concerns of individuals and groups of residents especially with regard to their employment opportunities and well-being. The latter strategies are people-free and seek to achieve strictly economic benefits. These strategies, in their purest form, constitute the ends of a spectrum and between there are many varieties. Interestingly, she uses the term 'revitalisation' to highlight the people-oriented strategies, a powerful term that is encountered often in the regeneration literature.

Central to any discussion of regeneration is the concept of heritage. Regeneration occurs in places that have a history and within that history is embedded heritage. Heritage in any place is constituted by tangible and intangible cultural manifestations that are considered by influential individuals, groups and communities to be worthy of preservation, conservation, reconstruction and regeneration. As Gibson and Pendlebury state, 'The preservation of an object or environment is an assertion of its importance and therefore the culture or history associated with it'.[2] Combining the two concepts of worthiness and importance highlights the subjectivity inherent in any discussion about any heritage object. Values lie at the heart of this.[3]

The centrality of values

For a comprehensive review of the centrality of values in any discussion about heritage we can turn to the paper written by Mason in 2002 where he emphasised the diversity of values derived from their socio-cultural roots.[4] Values cannot be disentangled from their location in time and place. They are dynamic in character and subject to

interpretation by groups and individuals who differ in their capacity to influence significant decision makers. It is remarkably easy to identify the principal types of values, including social, economic, political, aesthetic, cultural, environmental and national, but as one examines this list it soon becomes obvious that each type comprises a multiplicity of definitions, meanings and interpretations. Much depends on the perception of any individual and hence there are as many varieties of meaning as there are individuals. The varieties inevitably are the source of the search for harmony and consensus, on the one hand, and the source of conflict, on the other. What is clear is that to make sense of values in any consideration of regeneration and heritage requires a multi-disciplinary approach in which specialists from many disciplines have a part to play.

This is evident in the definitions of values Mason used as he developed a comprehensive typology of values in conservation. He distinguished between values seen as 'morals, principles, or other ideas that serve as guides to action (individual and collective)' and the 'qualities and characteristics seen in things, in particular the positive characteristics (actual and potential)'.[5] In the context of regeneration, stakeholders have a choice of giving precedence to one definition or seeking to balance both. In essence, the choice is often made between developing a policy and a plan for regeneration of a place that seeks either monetary profit or the satisfaction of as many as possible of those people on whom any regeneration will directly impact.

Decision making in the context of regeneration policy making and planning is a social activity where many voices, each with a particular value set, will wish to contribute but not all may be heard. Just as values are socially constructed, a message that echoes through the literatures of several disciplines especially since the 'cultural turn'[6], so are regeneration plans. In analysing any plans, questions regarding the power and authority of individuals and groups, the positions of 'insiders' and 'outsiders', the interplay between politics and economics, the significance of community participation and citizenship issues all need to be addressed.

Values may be derived from social, economic, political, cultural and environmental contexts. There is a debate concerning the universality of values and a search by philosophers for basic values. Finnis regards the following as irreducible: life, knowledge, play, aesthetic experience, sociability, practical reasonableness and religion. They take on particular significance when they are placed in the context of the essential choices made in the prioritisation of aspects of heritage.[7]

Heritage as social construction

In everyday parlance, heritage is a simple concept. It refers to anything and everything that is inherited by one generation from another. Beneath this simplicity lurks an array of definitional difficulties, not least because a concern for heritage must inevitably lead to a consideration of priorities since heritage is umbilically linked with conservation, protection and preservation, activities and processes that are circumscribed by a spectrum of forces that extend from philosophical contention to resource allocation. Bluntly, not everything from the past can be retained as heritage. Choices have to be made. It is in this regard that heritage becomes, like values, a social construction. As such it is a dynamic concept, changing over time and between and across cultural groups.

It would be simplistic to suggest that heritage is all about the past but as Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge assert:

> The concept of time has remained central: heritage is a view from the present, either backward to the past or forward to a future. In both cases, the viewpoint cannot be other than now, the perspective is blurred and indistinct and shaped by current concerns and dispositions, while the field of vision is restricted to a highly selective view of a small fraction of possible pasts or envisaged futures … The present needs of people form the key defining element in our definition.[8]

This gives rise to a number of profound questions, including: who most needs heritage, people now or future generations? Why do they need it? And having identified those aspects of heritage significant for the present and then for the future, short term and long term, what are the benefits of those aspects? What are the criteria for defining a benefit and which agencies should be given or should take on the task of defining the criteria and then selecting the heritage aspects that best meet the criteria?

The relevance of these questions for urban regeneration has been carefully explored by scholars such as Garcia. She argues that 'a key realisation during the last decades of the 20th century was that, although cities have always had cultural functions, the evolution of a global, service-oriented economy has placed culture at the very centre of urban development, and has shifted traditional notions of culture as art and heritage to a view of culture as an economic asset, a commodity that

has market value and, as such, a valuable producer of marketable city spaces'. She goes on to state, 'In order to make the process of producing and marketing culture more transparent, cities need to develop policies that acknowledge whose culture is being supported at any one time and for what purpose.'[9] It is clear that culture is her preferred term but it could just as readily be substituted by heritage. The term cultural heritage has become increasingly familiar suggesting that there are alternative adjectives that offer different discourses and voices.

Heritage is tangible and intangible

A useful starting point for a consideration of such discourses and voices lies in two UNESCO Conventions. The 1972 *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* uses three categories to define cultural heritage: monuments 'which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science'; groups of buildings with the same universal value; and sites, 'including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view'. The Article continues with a definition of natural heritage that also has three categories: 'natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view'; geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value'; and, 'natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty'.[10]

This was followed three decades later by the UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* and it used this definition: 'The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.' For the purposes of the Convention five intangible groups of

phenomena were highlighted: oral traditions and expressions, including language; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and traditional craftsmanship.[11]

The distinction between the emphasis on things of 'outstanding universal value' in the 1972 Convention and on what 'individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage' in the 2003 Convention is striking. There is obviously a profound difference between universality and individuality. To some extent, the latter is a reaction to what can be described as an over-commitment by influential authorities to time-bound and place-bound high cultural phenomena. As Watson and Waterton comment: 'Aesthetes and experts, connoisseurs and curators, have [thus] made heritage their own resort, and their associated skills in interpretation, presentation and representation have defined a dominant discourse that is both powerful and resilient. There are two problems with this discourse, however. The first is its obsession with material culture … The second problem is that the reification of heritage has encouraged scholars to be equally focused on materiality and its associated representation practices.'[12] The shift away from materiality to a fundamentally different conception of cultural property and its place in cultural heritage was to some extent a recognition of the vulnerability of indigenous communities to the multiple forces of globalisation. It also represented a shift toward a postmodern perspective that emphasised the significance of the relationships between universal, multi-cultural and individualistic concerns. It reflected, '… growing doubt about the universality of Western notions of property and widespread recognition that culture cannot be reduced to an inventory of objects without marginalizing its most important features'.[13] In this quotation we confront, in the context of intangible cultural heritage, the sources of confusion and contention: universality, 'Western' hegemony, the concept of property and its significance and ownership, and the marginalisation of important features. In the context of the essays in this special issue of the *London Journal of Canadian Studies*, where the focus is particularly upon post-industrial regeneration, these terms take on special significance in places confronting issues related to geographical marginalisation, language conservation, political devolution and decentralisation, and the continuities in cultural expressions in music, text and the creative arts. Underpinning this are the challenges posed by multiculturalism located in place and time and the hierarchy of heritages that may or may not contribute to the contemporary cultural landscape, challenges to which we shall return later in this essay.

Heritage is hierarchical

A theme that has emerged above is the hierarchy of heritages that has universalism at one level and individualism on another, with a number of other levels in between. As we have seen, the UNESCO Conventions of 1972 and 2003 have regularised the concept of universal heritage, highlighting the need for governments to heed the global importance of aspects of heritage of outstanding universal value. This is embraced by the work of UNESCO's World Heritage Committee that has identified 759 cultural sites, 193 natural sites and 29 mixed sites that have met their selection criteria. The categories of sites are those used in the 1972 Convention, listed earlier. Here we wish to highlight the World Heritage Committee's definition of outstanding universal value as expressed in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*:

> Outstanding Universal Value means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole.[14]

From the universal we can, following Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, move on from the macro-level, the world, to the meso-level, the continent. Illustrative of this level is the European Capitals of Culture programme. This programme affirms the existence of a European identity and a common heritage shared by Europeans. It was introduced by the European Commission in 1985 as the European City of Culture project. This was changed to the European Capitals of Culture programme in 2005 with a set of objectives specified in Article 4 of Decision 1622/2006/EC. Here it states that the programme must 'foster cooperation between cultural operators, artists and cities from host country and other EU countries in any cultural sector; highlight the richness of cultural diversity in Europe; bring the common aspects of European cultures to the fore'. Further, the programme must 'foster the participation of citizens living in the city and its surroundings and raise their interest as well as the interest of citizens from abroad; be sustainable and be an integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city'.[15]

The merits and demerits of this programme have been subject to much cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary attention. An early

comprehensive collection of studies of the European Capitals of Culture programme was edited by Bianchini and Parkinson and this focused particularly upon cultural policy and economic and physical regeneration.[16] Bianchini follows the transition in urban policy making from the 1950s and 1960s to the electronic age. Few connections had been made 'between a city's cultural resources and their possible exploitation for urban renewal, tourism, image or economic development purposes'.[17] In recent decades, most, if not all, European cities have felt the impact of social movements, some with strong political agendas that have disintegrated any sense of a harmonious, uniform culture drawn from a common heritage.

Multiculturalism, defined by, amongst others, ethnic, religious, gender and racial criteria found expression in tangible and intangible phenomena in which Bianchini includes 'experimental theatre groups, rock bands, independent film-makers and cinemas, free radio stations, small publishing houses, radical newspapers and magazines'.[18] The local politicisation of such activities combined with changes in national centralisation and decentralisation policies brought the creative sector into the realm of cultural planning. Inevitably, this has resulted in tensions between advocates of using 'traditional' definitions of culture, embracing outstanding, permanent and tangible heritage aspects, and those who favour 'postmodern' definitions that celebrate diversity, participation and dynamism. These tensions also divide those who see heritage as precious and requiring careful conservation and protection, and those who see heritage as ever-changing and responsive to various contemporary and futuristic individual, community and national needs. This latter perspective fits well with the European Capitals of Culture programme where there is an explicit reference to the valuable opportunities afforded by the programme to: 'regenerate cities; raise their international profile and enhance their image in the eyes of their own inhabitants; give new vitality to their cultural life; raise their international profile, boost tourism and enhance their image in the eyes of their own inhabitants'.[19]

How this works out in practice has been demonstrated in case studies of Glasgow, Rotterdam, Bilbao, Bologna, Hamburg, Montpellier, Liverpool and Rennes.[20] It should be noticed that all of these are provincial or regional urban centres and all are faced with the complex needs of a post-industrial renaissance. They exhibit models of regeneration where heritage has an important part to play. One has only to reflect on Bilbao, located in Spain but rooted in a

Basque culture, to understand the interplay between an economic goal to achieve greater economic prosperity and a cultural goal that seeks to promote and sustain the heritage of the Basques. However, as Gonzalez explains, Bilbao was riven by two conflicting scenarios: one focused on projecting the city as a European capital attracting outside investment and tourists; the other focused on the indigenous strengths of the city with regeneration directed at the needs of local citizens.[21] It is here we encounter the crucial matter of the tensions between cosmopolitanism and localism, between the need to construct a representation of the city that seeks to place the city in the globalised mainstream and another representation that seeks to highlight the distinctive heritage and culture of a particular place with its indigenous qualities.

At about the same time as Bianchini and his colleagues were analysing the European Capitals of Culture programme, Ashworth and Larkham brought together scholars from various disciplines and from various European countries at a time when the European Union was being enlarged to accommodate the nations of Eastern and Central Europe.[22] What unifies the studies in this book is the question: does a new Europe require a new past as a precondition for its emergence? The authors explore the tensions between policies that seek to promote European harmonisation and policies that seek to reinforce local, regional and national diversity. They identify the commodification of heritage to meet the requirements of an ever-burgeoning heritage tourist industry and the evidence of this in niche-marketing, city branding and urban and rural regeneration. For those seeking to market heritage, and especially a European heritage, the challenges are obvious. Europe means many different things to many different people both inside Europe and outside. This reference, easily written, to insiders and outsiders, raises many questions. Is Europe a place or an idea, or even an ideology? If it is a place, are the boundaries set by membership of the European Union (EU) and defined in terms of treaty bound nation states restricted or, given the changing membership of the EU, too fluid to be meaningful? Do the boundaries define heritage, identity and citizenship? Is the definition of European heritage the responsibility of Eurocrats seeking a centralised concept or the responsibility of the European citizenry or some elites? Either way, the task would appear to be circumscribed by difficulties associated with histories of war and international rivalries, the problems of the -isms, and challenges arising from representations of heritage in time and space perspectives.

The nation-state and cultural identity

Not surprisingly, Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge argue that 'the national scale still remains the dominant focus for heritage'.[23] They refer to the multiplicities of meanings and identities evident in nations. The commonalities of shared perceptions of heritage within a nation may be minor compared to the perceptions of heritages by individuals and groups. This is obvious when one considers the notions of heritage that are carried by the immigrants who have always been a feature of European nations, just as in the nations located in other continents. They also assert, 'The discovery and propagation of a distinctive national heritage was a pre-condition for the creation of the nation-state but, conversely, the organization and instruments capable of sponsoring and supporting a national heritage require the existence of a nation-state.'[24] As Lowenthal succinctly pointed out, 'Heritage is always mongrel and amalgamated … No heritage was ever purely native or wholly endemic; today's are utterly scrambled. Purity is a chimera; we are all creoles.'[25] Here, he echoes the sentiments expressed by Inge, 'A nation is a society united by a delusion about its ancestry and by a common hatred of its neighbours … We are all mongrels and the better for being so.'[26] While acknowledging the cultural diversity that characterises nation states, we recognise that in terms of heritage-related policies and the linkages between heritage and regeneration, we agree with Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge that the nation state is the key player. Nation states are social constructions, defined by boundaries of varying porosity and permanence. Nation states come and go but perhaps their heritages go on forever. The consensually accepted heritage of a nation state is likely to alter substantially over time.

This is not to suggest that aspects of such a heritage will be regarded equally between the national core and the periphery or between various parts of the core. If, for example, language is identified as a key component of a national heritage, and especially of its intangible representation, and the language survives as a minority language only in the spatial periphery, then those persons speaking that language will have a different sense of national identity from those nearer and in the core. Furthermore, if the nation state – as in the case of Canada – is a federation in which sovereignty in key areas lies with provinces, then of course the provincial state may undertake key roles with respect to heritage and regeneration that in unitary states are explicitly national. Thus, in Atlantic Canada four provincial

jurisdictions are involved, with the additional complication that all give some recognition to region, through the Council of Atlantic Premiers. However constituted, the state has the authority and the power to direct collective definitions of heritage. Governmental agencies lead the state in a continuous process of nation building in which political, economic and social sustainability is the major preoccupation. Crucial to this sustainability is a sense of heritage. Heritage is often seen as a unifying force that contributes to the citizen's sense of identity expressed in place and time. The creation of a collective memory through various state directed channels is essential to this. It can be seen, for example, in educational curricula, state festivals, state owned and/or controlled monuments and landscapes, state galleries, museums, libraries and other public buildings.

Forging a sense of unity becomes increasingly difficult in the face of globalisation and this force is particularly noticeable in urban architecture and city planning. Travellers are wont to complain about the homogenisation of architectural style that becomes apparent as they walk though international airports and travel on expressways to city centres that appear no different from the places from whence they came. Uniformity of city centre streetscapes can be seen not only in the arrangement and brands of shops and offices, banks and fast-food outlets but also in the associated residential buildings. Iconic buildings designed by 'starchitects' give cityscapes a distinctive characteristic but this distinction is symbolic of the search for modernity and vibrancy by city planners seeking to engage in a global competition for foreign investment and tourist income. To design buildings that aspire to celebrate aspects of national heritage, as different from national identity, may be perceived as part of the 'instrumental performatives roles of heritage'.[27] It is in the debate over intrinsic and instrumental values of heritage that national identity, alongside, or constructed from, a multiplicity of cultural identities and heritages, is an essential component. This debate informs regeneration policy making and planning since both intrinsic and instrumental values may be projected through new buildings, clusters of buildings and whole districts in both urban and rural settings. Of course, both sets of values may simply be ignored or more deliberately rejected. Places that have been regenerated have their own characters, raising the central question: how far do, or should, heritage and identity – in all of their pluralistic forms, ranging from the universal to the provincial and regional – shape regeneration plans and achievements?

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Reconstructing Heritage and Cultural Identity in Marginalised and Hinterland Communities: Case Studies from Western Newfoundland

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Abstract

This essay examines the issue of missing heritage, cultural identity, and regeneration of two historically marginalised communities in the Humber River Basin region of western Newfoundland, Canada: Woods Island and Crow Gulch. This region was shaped by the implementation of international treaties which restricted settlement until the turn of the twentieth century by Britain, France and the United States. The first case study focuses on a former fishing community in the Bay of Islands, Woods Island, whose prosperity once coincided with the need by large fish producers based in Gloucester, Massachusetts; they relied on the Bay of Islands for a herring bait fishery to conduct their operations, making the location one of the most important sources of supply in the North Atlantic. Issues surrounding treaty rights and access to this region's resources resulted in international arbitration and The Hague Tribunal of 1910, and set a legal precedent for opening up global access to the world's oceans. A half-century later, in the face of the forces of 'modernisation', Woods Island was resettled under pressure from the Newfoundland government, as part of a larger strategy to transform the island's society and economy. Its heritage remains however important to former residents and their families in understanding a world now lost. The second case study explores an abandoned underclass community, consisting mostly of residents with French/Aboriginal background who were largely discriminated against because of their ethnicity. While also no longer in existence, Crow Gulch in its iconic role is significant in the

wake of a recent major Mi'kmaw resurgence in Western Newfoundland. Together, these studies demonstrate how to conserve tangible and intangible culture of marginalised communities by linking micro-history to macro-history and how to preserve the past for future cultural benefit.

Introduction

The idea of conserving heritage extends back to the nineteenth century, though public concern about heritage has undergone a major revival in recent years. In 1972 the UNESCO report on World Cultural Heritage focused on preserving important buildings and sites, or 'tangible heritage'. In the 1980s, the concept of heritage conservation was extended to the protection of 'non-physical heritage', 'traditional culture and folklore' and 'intangible heritage'.[1] Both tangible and intangible heritage linked to 'inheritance,' 'legacy' and 'ownership' are now considered as necessary in preserving the past and reflecting 'a communal awareness of what is worth collecting, conserving and passing on to the next generations'.[2] Additional conceptual dimensions of what constitute heritage preservation surfaced under the European Landscape Convention of 2007, namely, that heritage can embody the 'historic urban/rural landscape'. This dimension has now been extended to include coastal waters and territorial seas – the 'historical seascape'.[3] In this essay, two 'abandoned' communities in western Newfoundland, Woods Island and Crow Gulch, represent both landscape and seascape and reflect this wider discussion of the tangible and intangible components of heritage.

These case studies also however raise the question of what purpose the conservation and preservation of obscure sites serve? The answers I propose are rooted in the recent discourses governing heritage. One, conservation and preservation of heritage can form part of an economic strategy in terms of sustaining communities or regions facing possible decline from adverse social and economic developments. In this sense, promoting the past benefits the tourism industry can contribute to local and regional economic sustainability. A second and at least equally important rationale focuses on the cultural aspects of heritage and its relationship to identity formation. Tangible and intangible heritage provides the symbolic and historical reference points through which individuals and communities construct meaning, identity and a sense of rootedness.

Other positive contributions of heritage conservation have also been argued. Some studies suggest the possibility of social and even

political benefits from heritage preservation and community regeneration, because cultural facilities and programmes can be used to address community social and civic issues such as poverty, crime and education.[4] Heritage preservation can add to a collective sense of purpose and acceptance of cultural diversity[5] and even provide insights into global issues, for example, in maintaining links between natural and human environments. In describing the nature and objectives of heritage, Europa Nostra – 'the voice of cultural heritage in Europe' – makes the sweeping claim that, 'Heritage reflects our ongoing relationship with the environment and plays a role in defining modern culture and identity'.[6]

Interest in and support for heritage conservation has become global though each country presents its own distinctive agenda and approach. Canada, a nation where a heritage conservation movement has been active for over forty years, is no exception. In late 2012, a National Heritage Summit, 'Regeneration: Toward a New Vision for Heritage', was convened in Montreal and announced 'the launch of national conversation', the greater purpose of which was heritage preservation.[7] This Summit not only had the objective of preserving the tangible past in the form of rehabilitating older buildings but focused on how 'to embrace the entire environment, including spirit of place, community, memories, stories and traditions'. This meeting was followed up in 2013 with a conference, 'Regeneration: Heritage Leads the Way', where the issue of 'how older communities, cultural landscapes, buildings and intangible heritage' were acquiring 'new relevance' was discussed in light of 'the shift to smaller government and the drive for sustainable communities', with the search for 'new conservation strategies and legislative tools' as a key theme.[8] This broad approach by the federal government, upon which many heritage projects for funding depend, suggests a further widening of the once narrow definition of 'culture' that ties together cultural conservation with a growing interest in the regeneration of small communities in order to make them sustainable, especially in light of existing economic pressures and efforts by government to reduce costs in a fiscally conservative climate.

Outside influences on the federal government of Canada in directing heritage, regeneration, and sustainability discourse have become manifest and share not only in redefining what to conserve and preserve but also on how to carry out this task. In this regard, new approaches encompassing vernacular heritage challenge the traditional 'top down' approach to defining heritage and nationhood. Heritage is thus increasingly identified in terms of multiple identities shaped by 'context, social values, cultural attitudes and participation'.[9] Again,

however, questions of what constitutes culture, whose culture is to be preserved, and which communities are to be regenerated, do not always find easy answers. There are many smaller communities, even those that can boast a heritage committee, whose past remains little known or unknown and not well understood, even at the local level. For such already disadvantaged communities with no identifiable and distinct architectural heritage or perceived site of recognized national historical importance, the difficulties of preserving 'culture' remains problematic.

Heritage-based community identities are filtered through 'landscape' and 'place' that connect past and present. Their reconstruction and application in heritage and economic regeneration projects however require more than adequate funding but researching, developing, and promoting local heritage, not only what remains visible but also what remains forgotten, hidden, or intangible. If a community's past is barely accessible or non-existent in textual form, it is absolutely necessary to engage in 'nearby history' in rigorous, scholarly, ethnographic and historical research using local knowledge. This involves using oral interviewing of individuals who still retain some memory of the local past and rewriting their community's history from the bottom up – to reconstruct and archive the vernacular collective memory before it is entirely lost. Otherwise, once the memories fade and disappear, the community's heritage risks disappearing alongside.

Historically and culturally distinct, even within Atlantic Canada, the province of Newfoundland and Labrador consisted once of hundreds of small fishing and logging communities, or outports, and one large metropolitan and mercantile centre, St. John's. The relative decline of the fishery that led to the collapse of the centuries old cod fishery and the end of the historic cod fishery in the early 1990s has contributed to a social and economic shift away from the fishery towards other natural resource industries, particularly offshore oil and minerals. While fish stocks continue to decline, the once dynamic pulp and paper industry has also declined in the international marketplace and one of two pulp and paper mills has closed recently with continuing concerns expressed about the other's long-term survival which, in turn, has negatively affected the logging industry.[10] Despite these downturns, Newfoundland and Labrador has become a 'have province' for the first time in its history because of the revenues generated from the capital intensive oil and mining sector. This shift away from the traditionally more labour-intensive maritime and forest resources has resulted in a decline of smaller rural communities, a growing number of which have lost population, have been abandoned or continue to face a bleak

future. In terms of its cultural heritage, Newfoundland's identity has remained strongly tied to the fishery and, to a lesser extent, its forest industries and the provincial government has been seeking ways to preserve its cultural heritage. The problem of doing so remains cost, a reality exacerbated by a sparse population of roughly 600,000 residents living thinly spread out over a geographical area larger than Japan.

To protect its culture, the Newfoundland and Labrador government established a Heritage Foundation (HFNL) in 1984 to identify and preserve its architectural heritage, followed in 2008 with an Intangible Cultural Heritage Strategy, or 'Living Heritage'.[11] Initially, recognised heritage sites existed primarily in eastern Newfoundland, particularly the Avalon Peninsula where the capital city of St. John's and much of the island's population is located. Now such sites exist throughout the province including Labrador. There are six heritage sites in the immediate Corner Brook region – the general location of the two cases studies, Woods Island and Crow Gulch, which will be discussed below. As part of its strategy, the HFNL has programmes for promoting fisheries heritage, municipal heritage designation, intangible cultural heritage, heritage days and educational resources including the Newfoundland and Newfoundland Heritage Fair Programme and an extensive Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage Website. It is part of a much larger government initiative housed within the Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation which encompasses the Culture Economic Development Programme, the Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Programme, a Commemorations Programme, the Provincial Archaeology Office and The Rooms, the Provincial Museum of Newfoundland and Labrador and the Provincial Archives. There are also 148 smaller and volunteer-run local museums and historical societies in the province, many of which belong to The Museum Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, which also provides professional development and other services, and the Association of Newfoundland and Labrador Archives. The various campuses of Memorial University of Newfoundland and the College of the North Atlantic also engage scholars and practitioners in history, folklore, and other heritage-related disciplines, as research specialists and teachers. Particularly noteworthy are the collections held by the Centre for Newfoundland Studies and the Memorial University Folklore Archive. The relevance of 'culture' to this small province is demonstrable in terms of the resources which government has devoted to heritage preservation, though the task remains incomplete.

Newfoundland and Labrador has also adapted its views on what culture to preserve and why cultural preservation remains important

for the future. A 2002 report, *A Cultural Policy for Newfoundland and Labrador*, states that it was the government's intention 'to nurture and preserve this province's culture for its intrinsic value, as well as for its social and economic benefits'.[12] This report defines 'cultural resources' as those things 'creative, archival, archaeological, architectural, educational or historical'. In recent years, its people, culture and landscape are considered key in marketing the province to outsiders and visitors. Economic regeneration and sustainability for the province has included a strong tourism component, as outlined in the government's own ten-year framework, *Uncommon Potential – A Vision for Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism*, in which Jonathan Swift's comment is prominently featured, 'Vision is the art of seeing what is invisible to others'. The economic underpinnings of heritage were explicitly announced in 2012 with 'The Cultural Economic Development Programme – Heritage' which established an advisory committee to preserve and present heritage resources, 'increase sustainability' and make non-profit heritage organisations more relevant in the province by promoting their 'increased social and economic contributions'.[13] In the case of preserving the culture of specific marginal communities far removed from the provincial capital and the heaviest concentration of population on the island, the question remains: what makes their heritage and culture worth conserving? This question can be addressed through case studies of two small abandoned communities in western Newfoundland – Woods Island and Crow Gulch – that disappeared from the seascape and landscape a half century ago.

The heritage, culture and identity of Woods Island and Crow Gulch illustrate how micro-history and macro-history can be linked in ways that affect personal and collective lives. Much of that history has yet to be written; it exists and remains in the form of oral history, memory fragments, archival documents and popular history.[14] Nevertheless, the heritage of these former communities remains essential because the past worlds they represent are historically significant to the cultural identities of many residents in the region. 'Stories' of their former existence can also be used to promote the region's heritage, regenerate interest in the region's history, as a whole, and contribute to the region's economic and cultural sustainability by relating that heritage to tourists in real and virtual forms. If this fading tangible and intangible heritage is to be conserved and preserved, however, it needs to be 'mapped', interpreted, reconstructed and disseminated not only through scholarly research but also by means of university and community engagement. Only then can heritage of such near-forgotten communities survive

and contribute to the cultural sustainability and heritage-regeneration, or 'the improvement of disadvantaged people or places through the delivery of a heritage focused project'.[15] In short, the case studies of Woods Island and Crow Gulch illustrate the connectedness of heritage, community and regeneration – how marginalised and abandoned communities can protect their vernacular culture and bring it to light.

Overview: Bay of Islands and Humber Arm

Woods Island was a former outport in the Bay of Islands on the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Crow Gulch was once a community of 'disadvantaged' inhabitants roughly fifteen miles eastward towards the interior along the large fjord called the Humber Arm. They reflect in different but important ways the heritage of the Humber River Basin region.[16] Their disappearance, as communities, can be attributed to the decline of the traditional cod and herring fisheries and the construction of a major pulp and paper operation which transformed the natural and human environment of the region. This same region is heavily dominated today by the city of Corner Brook – the regional hub for the province's lone pulp and paper mill, government activities and service industries. The Humber River, a few miles to the northeast of Corner Brook, flows roughly 150 km. from its source into Deer Lake and then the Humber Arm, within the boreal forest ecosystem. The heavily timbered valleys, a rich fishery of herring, mackerel, lobster, salmon and cod, numerous pockets of arable land suitable for grazing and subsistence farming, and highly regarded scenic landscape made the region appealing to early settlers.

The pre-history of the Humber River Basin region extends back several millennia. Traces of Aboriginal habitation began during the retreat of the last Ice Age with the arrival of the Maritime Archaic Indians at least three thousand years ago. Other groups like the Groswater Paleoeskimo, Beothuk, and Mi'kmaq later entered into the region. After 1500, this coastline was regularly visited by Bretons, Portuguese and Basques fishers – a French map called this 'the Basques coast'. Visitors included the explorer Jacques Cartier in 1534 who was blown during a gale into the Bay of Islands. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Newfoundland's western coast came to be dominated by French, British and American fishers and whalers in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, including the Humber River Basin region. They were lured by a rich abundance of fish: cod, mackerel and herring. French fur traders from Acadia also

brought Abenaki trappers to western Newfoundland who worked their way from Port au Basques northwards into Bay St. George, where a Mi'kmaw settlement is recorded in 1705, though oral history refers to a much earlier and pre-encounter presence.[17]

Competition for control of the island of Newfoundland and its waters contributed to major ongoing conflict and occasional wars between France and Britain. The first major agreement between the two powers over access to this coastline came with the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713, giving Britain governance over the entire island and establishing the first 'French Shore', giving France and its migratory fishery almost exclusive access to a substantial stretch of the island's coastline. Despite reoccurring wars, particularly during the 1740s and 1750s, Britain acquiesced to France's demands for continuing access to this fishery. Following the Seven Years War and the Treaty of Paris of 1763, Newfoundland's governor, Admiral Hugh Palliser, consolidated British control by carrying out the first systematic hydrographic charting of the island, including the Bay of Islands and Humber Arm, much of it by the Royal Naval officer James Cook, later well known for his Pacific exploits.[18] France's support for the American revolutionaries led to another interruption in this fishery, though the matter was resolved in 1783 when Britain acceded to France's demands and the new 'French Shore' was constituted along the west coast of Newfoundland northwards from Port au Basques, including the Bay of Islands/Humber Arm region, to the Northern Peninsula. French access was once more affected with the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars but reinstated under the Treaty of Paris of 1814–1815, and lasted under this arrangement until 1904. During the nineteenth century, the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon together with the French Shore remained the only remnants of France's once mighty North American empire.[19]

France's defeat in 1763 also opened up the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the first large-scale arrival of New England fishers. Despite the American Revolution and the War of 1812, Britain agreed under diplomatic pressure to make a similar arrangement by establishing under the Convention of 1818 an American Shore overlapping much of the French Shore, though subject to more restrictions.[20] These international events and diplomatic negotiations resulted in the relative isolation of the west coast with restrictions on settlement and limited provincial jurisdiction which left the Humber River Basin region underdeveloped and sparsely populated. However, fishing privileges along the western Newfoundland coastline, as negotiated by France and the United States, began to be challenged by the colonial legislature beginning in

the mid-nineteenth century, when Newfoundland acquired responsible government and began to extend its ambitions to include central and western parts of the island for purposes of economic diversification and development. With the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 and the Treaty of Washington of 1871, the United States was given greater access to the region, contributing to an influx of new residents from Newfoundland and parts of Atlantic Canada. While the cod fishery along this stretch of coastline was less important than those associated with the Bank fishery, nevertheless, this region, particularly the Bay of Islands, became a major centre for the herring bait fishery necessary to conduct the cod fishery and also the site of Newfoundland's first major lobster fishery, both of which attracted considerable attention from mainland Canada and New England.[21]

The rich timber resources of the Humber River Basin region also attracted others less attached to the fisheries. During the course of the century, the population of this region grew from a few hundred to several thousand. A subsequent impetus for economic growth came with the 1898 completion of a transinsular railway that went through Corner Brook and several adjacent communities and connected to the mainland railways of Canada by means of steamships. This new transportation spurred local logging and saw-mill operations with the export of lumber to the United States and pit-props to Britain.[22] The railway's arrival also changed the herring bait fishery, contributing to the growth of many local communities, including Woods Island, and fostering several short-lived mining and quarry operations, including several operations run by Welsh entrepreneurs.[23]

Another fundamental transformation to the region resulted during and after the building of a model company town in Corner Brook named Town Site together with a major pulp and paper mill constructed, owned and operated beginning in 1923 by a British consortium led by the aircraft manufacturer and hydro-engineering firm, W.G. Armstrong Whitworth Company, in the form of the Newfoundland Power and Paper Company. The building of this mill and the hydro corridor from nearby Deer Lake became Newfoundland's single largest construction project of its day that transformed the village of Corner Brook into an industrial and urban hub in western Newfoundland, attracting workers and their families from throughout the island and affecting traditional communities throughout the entire region.[24] Ownership then passed on to the American forest industry giant, International Pulp and Paper, which restructured its Canadian operations during the inter-war Depression years and then divested itself of its Corner Brook

holdings and finally, in 1936, Bowater's Company. After World War II, the Bowater mill was briefly touted as the world's largest integrated pulp and mill. The sheer impact of this mill is indicated by its leased and private landholdings consisting of over 25,000 square miles of forest.[25]

The planning and construction of Town Site is also noteworthy. Armstrong Whitworth hired Thomas Adams, a leading figure in Britain with the Garden City movement and responsible for the construction of Letchworth, a new town in England, to plan the company town. Adams conceived of constructing a company town divided into residential, commercial and industrial areas in order to avoid the social and health issues associated with slum and working-class housing and minimise potential labour strife. Town Site, like Temiscaming in Quebec, was only one of Adams' numerous projects in Canada, but nevertheless noteworthy. In turn, the chief architect contracted to carry out Adams' plans was the American-born Andrew Cobb with whom Adams had worked in Halifax, Nova Scotia, following the catastrophic Halifax explosion of 1917. Cobb was a noted proponent of the Arts and Crafts Movement of nineteenth-century Britain linked to its leading advocates, such as John Ruskin and William Morris.[26]

In short, the history of the Humber River Basin region suggests much that merits collecting, conserving and preserving. While no significant battles were fought in the area or monumental architecture constructed, its contextualised heritage provides numerous symbolic and historical reference points that not only contribute to a general understanding of the social, economic and cultural identity of those who have lived there but also represent possible points of interest to outsiders: Aboriginal-European contact and encounter, early European exploration and mercantile expansion, the Atlantic system, international relations, colonialism, and the social, transformation arising from the introduction of the wage economy and industrialisation, and leading-edge urban planning. These themes are reflected uniquely in the heritage and identity of the region.

Local examples in the Humber River Basin region of how this heritage has been applied to promote tourism include a monument site, Captain Cook's look-out, and a highway along the north shore of the Humber Arm called The Palliser Trail, where a few small local 'museums' can be found. There is also the Corner Brook Museum and Archives, a volunteer organisation supported by government grants with a few paid staff. Its mandate, as the name suggests, has primarily focused on preserving the heritage and natural environment of the city. Very little information on this region can be found in general studies of Atlantic

Canada, though somewhat more information and context is available in more recent histories of Newfoundland and Labrador.[27] In contrast, the importance of modern Corner Brook and its mill has generated a few published scholarly studies and even a critically acclaimed novel, *House of Hate*.[28] The same cannot be said of surrounding communities in the Bay of Islands and Humber Arm, each of which evinces a distinctive heritage that has only been superficially treated in local popular histories. The following case studies of 'nearby history' suggest how that gap can be filled by merging macro- with micro-history.[29]

Heritage regeneration of Woods Island and Crow Gulch

Woods Island and Crow Gulch represent 'places' that in tangible terms are barely recognisable today and remain largely invisible in the official historical record. Woods Island represents the traditional Newfoundland outport of the Bay of Islands and the largest settlement in the Humber Basin region at the turn of the twentieth century. Once inhabited by over five hundred residents, its disappearance reflects the impact of the end of the old salt cod and herring trade which accompanied the modernisation of the fishery and stock depletion. Currently, it is a place where some former island descendants keep their summer 'cabins' and tend to old cemeteries. Otherwise, Woods Island is uninhabited year-around, except for a single resident. The island's inhabitants were resettled under a government programme of the 1950s and 1960s in a strategy which affected roughly three hundred small coastal fishing communities. While not physically coerced, they either left voluntarily to seek a better life for their families and themselves, or left reluctantly under government and church pressure. Like Woods Island, Crow Gulch has also disappeared, though for different reasons. It was destroyed in the interests of urban renewal and calls for public housing.[30] The descendants of both communities are still scattered throughout the Humber Arm region and, in many instances, they remain well aware of their origins and identify with them as places and spaces. Their respective heritage, while still largely unrecognised, has a broad significance for local and regional history.

Woods Island

The heritage of Woods Island is significant to the region and beyond for several reasons, though its history remains practically invisible outside

and little known within the Humber Arm region. Woods Island was important during the early twentieth century when the Gorton-Pew company, the largest fish producer in the United States, and other companies 'owned' the Bay of Islands, for the region had then become a principal source of herring in the North Atlantic. Woods Island provided fishers, coopers, a customs officer, supplies and port facilities particularly for Gorton-Pew's and other New England fishing company operations.[31]

After the Convention of 1818, American fishers out of various New England ports plied the Gulf of St. Lawrence along the American Shore of western Newfoundland. The importance of cod and, until the 1870s, mackerel drew the industry into the region. Herring also became increasingly important serving as bait but also pickled herring, as a consumer product, grew in popularity as European immigration increased into Boston and New York. By the end of the 1870s, access to bait became an increasing issue because of overfishing and pollution. Traditional sources along Newfoundland's south coast became depleted and Bay St. George, Bay of Islands, and Bonne Bay herring fishery became increasingly important. With the turn of the twentieth century and the end of the French Shore, the Bay of Islands became western Newfoundland's major source of herring. Primarily, Gloucester, Massachusetts fish producers sent many dozens of vessels annually to the region, many making two trips between October and early February, or until ice in the Bay forced this fishery to close. Consequently, huge volumes of herring were caught, barrelled, salted and shipped in barrels or, as frozen herring, placed on scaffolds on deck, and returned to Gloucester to be turned into retail herring and fishcakes.

Under the terms of the 1818 Convention, American vessels were required to fish in uninhabited waters. In the Bay of Islands, they did so in nearby North Arm, Middle Arm, Penguin Arm and Goose Arm but also entered the Humber Arm. The only 'settlements' of note to the Americans when they entered the region were Birchy Cove (later Curling) and Woods Island, though other smaller communities also existed. The impact of this fishery was profound for a decade and more. New England schooners brought with them fishing gear, fishermen's outfits and various provisions, including alcohol, which they traded to local residents, sometimes with gold. These vessels also arrived with only skeleton crews, 'just enough to sail to Newfoundland and back', usually 8–10 persons, and then hired crew from within the Bay of Islands, often 25–35 additional crew per vessel who fished in their own small boats, or dories, and sold it to the Americans on a piece-work basis.

The French and American shores, established by a series of international treaties over which the colonial Newfoundland government had little control, became increasingly contentious during the course of the nineteenth century.[32] In promoting economic strategies that would help to diversify the provincial economy and reduce its dependence on the cod fishery, the colonial government focused increasingly on the rich maritime and land-based resources of the Humber River basin region whose population had begun to increase steadily during the boom (and bust) phases of the local herring, lobster and timber industries. At various times, the Newfoundland government had attempted to enact regulations governing fishing and even pursued its own free trade with the United States. Often, Britain supported the spirit and terms of its fishing treaties with France and the United States over colonial interests. In 1905, Newfoundland again attempted to seize control over its inshore fisheries trade and conserve its fish stocks by prohibiting the hiring of resident Newfoundlanders by foreign fishing vessels, almost exclusively American in origin, and also charging lighthouse duties and import duties on supplies brought from New England to carry out the fishery, leading not only to wide protests from Bay of Islands residents but also to a major diplomatic dispute between Britain and the United States.[33]

This dispute, much of it focused on the Bay of Islands and its herring fishery, resulted in the United States government claiming that the Convention of 1818 had been violated, with American vessels subject to unfair charges and discriminatory practices. In seeking a resolution to this dispute, the matter led to a General Arbitration Treaty in 1908 and 1909, and then in 1910, The Award of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague in the North Atlantic Coast, better known as the Hague Tribunal. While Newfoundland was accorded the right to regulate its inshore fisheries, this decision had international consequences. According to Payne, it 'opened the resources of the great oceans to an unfettered amount of extraction throughout most of the twentieth century'[34], a continuing issue of global interest and concern.

Woods Island, apart from its role within the context of this important historical development, is also symbolic of Newfoundland's controversial and iconic resettlement policies of a half-century later. The controversial topic of the resettlement programmes has received much scholarly attention, as well as figuring large in contemporary Newfoundland culture, as a source of song, literary works, and popular non-fiction.

By the mid-twentieth century, Wood's Island was in decline, like hundreds of other coastal communities reliant on the traditional

inshore fishery. After World War I, the herring industry went into decline and the American presence diminished. The region was also badly affected during the decline of traditional cod fishery from the mid-1920s and through the Great Depression years. World War II and post-war European reconstruction however led to a brief period of prosperity in the fishery. By the 1950s, this once abundant fishery in which Woods Island had played a central role, began to fade noticeably and now remains a distant memory. In large part, the traditional inshore fishery faced major structural issues including the need for major capital investment in larger and more modern vessels, as well as fish-freezing and processing plants that would allow the industry to compete effectively with its foreign counterparts.[35] Woods Island, even though its population was then at an historic high, faced many of the same challenges affecting hundreds of other Newfoundland coastal communities in a changing economy.

In 1954, the provincial Department of Welfare began to assist financially families from small, isolated and unsustainable outports to move to larger centres. Such centralisation, it was argued, would lead to a reduction in costs and better services and education.[36] This strategy came to affect 258 communities and an estimated 27,500 people over a twenty-year period, including Woods Island and its 526 inhabitants who decided in 1960 to relocate, many reluctantly, to Benoit's Cove and other nearby shore communities. This relocation meant a transformation of an older way of life which, in certain ways, remained preferable for some because it allowed for a greater degree of independence for individual fishers and their families, a strong sense of identity and community, and a closer connection with the natural environment. In many respects, this transformation parallels what Laslett aptly described in his celebrated study about the ways in which life changed in England from the early modern to the modern period, with its wage economy and industrial production – 'a world we have lost'.[37] While a full treatment of Woods Island history based on a range of sources, particularly through oral history, is not possible here, nevertheless, it remains much in the memory of those living within the region and those who have migrated elsewhere.

The history of Woods Island might not have survived and been recorded, except for local input. Its history is barely visible outside of the region. To illustrate, the Maritime History Archive of Memorial University provides an overview of resettlement history along with primary documents, interpretation, bibliographical references and individual community histories. Its archival offerings are substantial

with maps of relocated communities on the island including seven in the Humber River Basin. Yet, it does not provide either a community history or even a map reference to Woods Island – the largest one. This community also receives no mention in general histories of Newfoundland. Its relative invisibility poses obvious problems for reconstructing its heritage and the collective identity of former residents and their relocated families. Yet, apart from its ties to individuals whose families once lived there, the wider significance of Woods Island is also obvious in terms of its historic links to New England and The Hague Tribunal, its demographic and economic role within the region, and its fading cultural heritage as symbolic of another time and another space, when the world was less anthropocene and less defined by simulacra.

Crow Gulch

In 1956, four communities including Town Site amalgamated to form the city of Corner Brook, then the second largest urban centre in Newfoundland. Crow Gulch was part of this new city with its forty-five families wedged between former Curling and Corner Brook West, less than two miles from Town Site along the shore of the Humber Arm, situated on some of the roughest, steepest, and soil-less terrain west of Bowater's holding boom at the end of Pier Road alongside the railway tracks towards East Curling. Five years earlier geographer William Wonders had reported to the Department of Natural Resources, that Crow Gulch was a 'parasite community', a term used to describe a community dependent on others for its economic activity. The place consisted of 'little more than shacks, built of discarded material'. Its marginal nature was evidenced by a total lack of municipal services – no water or sewage facilities, and no streets and roadways. Everyone coming in or out had to make their way along footpaths which went up and down steep slopes, or follow the railway track to get into West Corner Brook, for work, shopping and school. Incoming deliveries were sent, for example, to 'the house at the fourth pole [telegraph and hydro pole] after Pier Road'.[38]

Crow Gulch had emerged as a shack town sometime during the early 1920s when the mill was constructed. Many workers during the hard times of the continuing post-war recession looked for seasonal work from the outports in western Newfoundland and other parts of the island. During the mill's construction phase, other housing for workers existed, notably in Shacktown (later the Smithville area) closer to the

mill and Corner Brook East, with inexpensive but substandard rental housing in Corner Brook West, and some boarding houses. However, Crow Gulch offered the cheapest, most affordable, individually owned housing for the working poor in temporary jobs, and no municipal regulation or taxes.

A socio-economic profile of Crow Gulch can be constructed from available survey information in the Urban Renewal Study which reported, 'The worst situation exists in Crow Gulch, on the northern slopes of Crow Hill, because here municipal services are totally absent and many of the houses are little more than shacks, built of discarded materials'. They were built in many cases 'only of a makeshift wood frame covered by tarpaulins and scrap plywood. Some dwellings have windows without glass which must be closed with cardboard or wood during cold weather. Many dwellings have no flooring over soil.'[39] In short, their general condition was 'appalling'. Only one house qualified as livable, though with a 'poor exterior', and none had indoor plumbing, ranging from dwellings designated 'atrocious' to 'very bad ones'. The houses were also divided from one another without clear property lines, scattered about the slopes, and inhabited by squatters because the land was technically under Bowater's company control and clear title was unlikely.

Crow Gulch's residents were described as 'very poor' and lived with no running water, relying instead on a single standpipe on Pier Road and some well water. They had no municipal garbage pick-up, leaving the place littered with refuse, and no schools, churches, shops or parks. Its population also had a reputation as 'socially unacceptable' with many 'broken families' and 'widows and separated and deserted wives', as well as of a crime-ridden area associated with bootlegging and prostitution, mostly offences related to vagrancy, assault and liquor violations. Beginning in 1965, the Corner Brook Housing authority, supported by provincial and federal government agencies, decided to address the city's slum housing conditions by closing down Crow Gulch, one of the worst 'shacktown' sites in Newfoundland. The destruction and relocation process was carried out in 1968 when Corner Brook briefly achieved, in sharp contrast to Crow Gulch, the highest per capita income in Atlantic Canada.

The heritage of Crow Gulch, however, extends far beyond its reputation as a slum community housing Corner Brook's underclass to encompass their ethnic origins, as 'jackatars'. In 1951, for example, Wonders characterised the majority of Crow Gulch residents, as such, 'a mixture of Micmac Indian and French'.[40] However, he also evinced the racial attitudes of the period, adding that, 'Though both groups include

citizens for the most part, this merger seems to have resulted in an inferior people'. A recent collection of stories about 'old' Corner Brook provides additional insight into such attitudes. Tom Finn writes,

> We were cruel as children, and I remember we used to pee into that spring pool and laugh about what the jackytars down the hill would be drinking in their tea for supper. A jackytar, if any of you aren't familiar with the term, was the lowest caste of person in Newfoundland at the time, which is saying something, let me tell you; a mix, as I understand of Micmac and French blood from the times when the French more or less owned, or at least had use of, the west coast of the Island. We used to be kept in line with threats of having the jackytars being put after us, or being sent down to live in Crow Gulch and no matter how badly off you might be, there was always the consolation of thinking: *At least I'm not a jackytar, thank God, and have to live in Crow Gulch!*[41]

In the past decade, the stigma of the 'jackatar' has taken on a different significance with the resurgence of the region's Mi'kmaw population. Although the jackatar represented a visible minority, even among the wider Mi'kmaw population, many of whom did not want to be identified as Aboriginal, this resurgence and interest in Crow Gulch now represents a coming-to-terms with Aboriginal identities, historically suppressed and distorted by colonialism and assimilation.[42] Non-willingness to recognise a Mi'kmaw heritage was commonplace among the non-Aboriginal population, and one that had seen a series of official denials. In 1949, when the terms of Confederation with Canada were drafted, the province of Newfoundland supported the false view that there were no 'true' Indians left on the island.[43] The last Aboriginal group, it was argued, had been the Beothuk peoples who had succumbed to cultural extermination in the 1820s when its remaining member, Shanawditith, died.

This position has been challenged only since the 1970s. The growing awareness and determination of Mi'kmaw descendants to assert their Aboriginal identity led in 1987 to legal status under the Indian Act of the Conne River reserve. The remaining Mi'kmaw communities organised the Federation of Newfoundland Indians and lobbied for change, leading to the formation and formal recognition of Qalipu First Nations band. Barely a decade ago, the federal government estimated that the number of Mi'kmaw descendants in western Newfoundland would be less than 10,000; this number has

now increased tenfold. Many applicants are well integrated as middle class inhabitants of Corner Brook, Stephenville, and the region,[44] often little aware of their Aboriginal background; many others having outmigrated. Who will eventually be given legal federal status as an 'Indian' in western Newfoundland remains up in the air, but many applicants are in the process of searching for and recovering their personal family background, seeking out a lost heritage and buried cultural identity.

This process has also transformed the stigma of Aboriginality in western Newfoundland and its racist elements, an identity hidden by shame, to one of growing pride in ancestors who had survived discrimination, exclusion and oppression. Within this emerging context, Crow Gulch has taken on a very different iconic form and its intangible culture an added significance. While the community no longer exists in a physical sense, the regeneration of memory associated with Crow Gulch and what it represented remains a significant feature of the regional heritage of the local Mi'kmaq and the Humber River Basin.

Conclusion

Heritage and community are highly complex human experiences, in the way that individuals and groups experience and express a 'sense of place', ranging from 'inchoate feeling to explicit conception'.[45] According to Morgan, they represent a collection of intangible values, including physical environment, human behaviours, and social/psychological processes. Such attachment conveys an 'emotional, cognitive, symbolic, or spiritual response to a particular physical surrounding or environment'.[46] But what is missing in this discussion and representation of community is the necessary role which historical interpretation plays in making sense of a place and how individuals are connected with their heritage. Understanding that sense of place is not fixed, even psychologically, but shaped through interpretation and reinterpretation. It is the product of a dialectical, reflexive and internal dialogue that takes place between the private and public spheres, an ongoing matrix of knowledge shaped by historical events, experience, memory, narrative, interpretation and shared meaning, in defining and redefining individual and collective memories; this represents the 'intersubjectivity' of the 'landscape', the social construction of heritage based on history and culture as they relate to the natural environment and personal experience.[47]

The mixed appeal of specific spaces and places common among the local descendants of Woods Island and Crow Gulch reflects what Cosgrove terms one of the most 'deep rooted' and 'powerful' myths that influence individuals and communities, namely, 'rootedness'. That is, 'ideas of home and belonging, of locality and identity, and of the social and environmental dangers of change and modernisation'.[48] A recent collection gives voice to the sense of loss, even mourning, which Newfoundlanders and Labradorians often experience upon leaving their communities and the island that sometimes is still associated with the loss of independence many residents felt when Newfoundland joined the Confederation, as well as language loss and loss of continuity that comes with outmigration.[49]

This is not however an argument in favour of reconstructing a heritage to romanticise the past. The lack of adequate local schooling, medical care, and the hardships of the fishery were reflected in the struggle to sustain Woods Island's economy and community; there were those who left reluctantly but unhesitatingly in order to provide their children with what they were convinced was a better future. Similarly, in the case of Crow Gulch, there were few who wanted to stay. So, the heritage and identity of both communities was never characterised as representing some ideal form but also marked a break away from 'tradition'. This is not to say that Woods Island and Crow Gulch are cultural icons of 'progress'. Rather, these case studies demonstrate how landscape and its heritage also needs to be understood as shaped by ideology, 'the struggle between conflicting interest groups'[50] of the past. In a broad sense, the benefits of understanding the socio-economic, political, and cultural context of what happened to Woods Island and Crow Gulch might then even provide insight into how communities have sustained themselves, or adapted, in the past to ever changing local and global environments.[51]

In closing, the conservation of the heritage of Woods Island and Crow Gulch remains important to the region on an individual and collective basis. Regenerating their respective tangible and intangible heritage requires a contextual understanding of the past that integrates local knowledge with other sources. To a degree, this process is already underway. In 2010, the Town of Humber Arm South established a Historic Sites and Heritage Committee instrumental in opening the Woods Island Resettlement House and Historic Centre at Benoit's Cove. Serving as a local museum, its contents were provided with the goodwill of surrounding residents and include photos, artifacts, transcripts of oral histories, maps, tools, and a three-dimensional map of Woods Island.

The community's tangible heritage also encompasses the house itself which was floated across the water from Woods Island to Benoit's Cove during resettlement. In addition, the town celebrated Come Home Year celebrations during the summer of 2013, engaging local residents with family members who had moved away and simply interested parties. These celebrations attended by many hundreds included the production of two plays written about former life on Woods Island and other related festivities.[52] The cultural heritage amassed and disseminated by the community and its committee on Woods Island has also benefited from the research and contributions of local scholars and students. In part, this has taken the form of carrying out oral history and an interactive website still under construction which will combine local knowledge with scholarly research and applications; this includes the application of GIS mapping and a 3-D digital reconstruction of life on Woods Island during the 1950s, using virtual architecture with family history and photos, as a way of regenerating and sustaining its heritage.[53]

Less advanced is the heritage of Crow Gulch which, however, is gaining personal and collective significance. Efforts afoot include linking local scholars working in Indigenous Studies with officials from the City of Corner Brook and members of the Qalipu First Nations band in order to establish a strategy of how to preserve and present regional Mi'kmaw identity, history and culture. This would constitute a way of reconstructing and preserving sites like Crow Gulch, as public memory, in the form of 'local acts of placing and remembering'.[54] What form that will ultimately take remains as yet undetermined.[55] One example already of preserving the memory of Crow Gulch has surfaced in the form of poetry by the award-winning Newfoundland poet Doug Gough, whose father grew up there. In light of available funding and growing attention to Aboriginal heritage by government, media and the public, this longstanding quest by the Newfoundland Mi'kmaq for broad cultural recognition augers well for preserving their heritage.

The prospects in western Newfoundland for conserving the tangible and intangible culture of marginalised communities have improved considerably over the past generation as global, national and local groups have come to appreciate the social and economic benefits of such heritage culture. As the UNESCO Convention of 1972 noted, 'they are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions which aggravate the situation'.[56] Woods Island and Crow Gulch are not likely to compete successfully for tourism

against L'Anse aux Meadows, Red Bay and Gros Morne – three UNESCO World Heritage sites within less than a day's drive of the Humber Arm. Yet they have their own appeal on one level, for anyone holding near or distant ties to them, particularly those interested in genealogy and contextualised regional history. On another level, they represent examples of 'small worlds' or micro-histories that shed light on global patterns and wider issues by revealing 'in fine-grained detail how larger processes operate, how the case serves as a useful hypothesis for exploring other cases'.[57]

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Travelling in Time to Cape Breton Island in the 1920s: Protest Songs, Murals and Island Identity

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Abstract

Islands are places that foster a unique sense of place-attachment and community identity among their populations. Scholarship focusing on the distinctive values, attitudes and perspectives of 'island people' from around the world reveals the layers of meaning that are attached to island life. Lowenthal writes: 'Islands are fantasized as antitheses of the all-engrossing gargantuan mainstream-small, quiet, untroubled, remote from the busy, crowded, turbulent everyday scene. In reality, most of them are nothing like that. …'[1] Islands, for many people, are 'imagined places' in our increasingly globalised world; the perceptions of island culture and reality often differ. Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, in eastern North America, a locale with a rich history of class struggle surrounding its former coal and steel industries, provides an excellent case study for the ways that local history, collective memory and cultural expression might combine to combat the 'untroubled fantasy' that Lowenthal describes.

History and methodology

Coal mining has been an essential part of Cape Breton Island's landscape since the early-eighteenth century. A steel mill was constructed in Sydney, the island's largest city, in 1899; this steel plant provided employment for many of the island's inhabitants throughout the twentieth century. Grid-patterned streets, dotted with company-owned homes, formed around the industrial workplaces in many Cape Breton

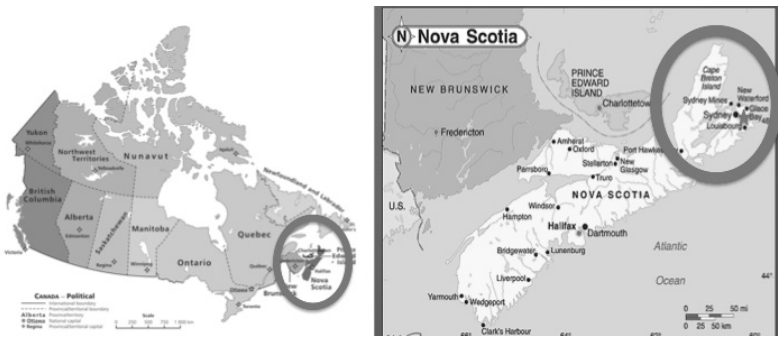

Figure 1. Map of Cape Breton Island

communities. It was in these communities, from the people employed in the coal mines and steel mill, that distinctive traditions of work and leisure began to emerge. The 1920s witnessed several conflicts erupt between industrial workers and the coal and steel companies in Cape Breton. The coal miners were able to force the company to recognise trade unionism after a bitter strike in 1925, while the steelworkers were unable to achieve such recognition of their union until the Nova Scotia Trade Union Act in 1937. Although ethnic and religious divisions existed, by the 1920s a close-knit working-class consciousness had taken root in Cape Breton's industrial communities. Music and song played a significant role in this process. Many protest songs and poems of local composition were sung and recited throughout the industrial communities; some were published in the *Maritime Labour Herald* throughout the 1920s.[2] These compositions focus on local events, personalities and places, tragedies such as mine accidents, the industrial conflicts of the 1920s, and the attitudes of workers toward management. These songs are often tinged with satire and witty analysis of working-class life. Some have entered oral tradition and others did not; however, they provide us with a snapshot of the attitudes and values of the Cape Breton workers during the early twentieth century.[3]

Cape Breton's industrial communities have developed distinctive local identities. The struggle for survival and the intensely-fought labour conflicts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have inextricably shaped identity formation in these communities. Although the coal mines and steel plant were shut down in the early-2000s, some aspects of these working-class identities remain visible. MacKinnon recently invited young Cape Breton songwriters, many of whom had relatives who had worked in the coal mines or steel mill, to take part in

the 'Protest Song Project' at Cape Breton University. This project includes a form of conscious cultural intervention; MacKinnon introduced Cape Breton songs from the 1920s to contemporary musicians. He worked collaboratively with local singer/songwriter Victor Tomiczek to select eighteen song texts from the 150-song corpus originally identified and asked local musicians to compose music for the lyrics. They brought the musicians to Cape Breton University's Rotary Music Performance Room to record their songs and released them on a CD with an accompanying web site providing more historical context.[4] Some of these Cape Breton musicians, many of whom tour nationally and internationally, now play these songs regularly in their own sets, bringing new audiences to these older songs of protest. The musicians learned much about Cape Breton's labour past through writing the music for these songs. In this essay we examine some of these protest and labour songs along with locally produced artistic murals in one post-coal mining community to try to understand identity formation in the Cape Breton Island post-industrial context.

Frisch argues that for an industrial heritage project to successfully re-attach the past to the present in post-industrial areas, it must recognise the ways in which the 'industrial character' of an area has been transformed into the realm of 'memory', as well as how this memory is mobilised to affect the present and future.[5] The Protest Song project accomplishes these goals by re-orienting young, local musicians towards the same themes of resistance and class-conflict that marked the 1920s, themes that remain relevant in a region marred by industrial flight, high unemployment and a shrinking population. This type of project links the modern 'post-industrial' experience of Cape Bretoners to pre-existing, communally-located narratives of working-class consciousness, and challenges members of the community to both internalise and reflect the memory of the industrial past through the creation of new narratives and modes of discourse.

A number of methodological approaches have been influential in this exploration of post-industrial 'island identity' in Cape Breton. The ethnographic approach, comprised of interviews and fieldwork, can be applied directly to the study of traditions. Extending the scope of research beyond the library or the archive allows for a more nuanced understanding of the ways that historical memory of the industrial past affects perceptions of the present in Cape Breton, as well as how those memories are reflected in the commemorative murals, songs, and workers' memorials that exist in the island's communities. Folklorist Henry Glassie, who has explored architecture, material culture, oral

tradition, and landscape in areas as diverse as Ireland, Afghanistan and Turkey, has influenced the scope of this research immensely. He has demonstrated that it is important to examine both tangible and intangible culture in order to understand the personality of distinctive places.[6] One of the few Atlantic Canadian studies to explore traditional culture in a similar way is Pocius's book, *A Place to Belong*. Pocius has recorded and analysed the buildings, spaces and traditions of a Newfoundland fishing outport prior to the demise of the East Coast fishery. The cultural landscape patterns, usage and structures that he records represent at least a 400-year-old history that has ceased to exist with the demise of the regional fishery. Unique vernacular building types distinctive to Newfoundland, such as fishing stages and flakes, that are no longer extant in the landscape and much local traditional environmental knowledge that has disappeared can be found in Pocius's book. However, he clearly points out that the people of this community live in two worlds, the modern world with satellite dishes and contemporary popular culture and in the world of the past that is continually being re-enacted through stories, songs and oral history of the community. When people are asked, 'where are you from?' they respond by saying, 'I belong to Calvert'. The book explores the myriad ways people belong to this place and provides a clear understanding of how people in rural communities develop a sense of place.[7]

Allied disciplines have also provided leadership in exploring the spatial landscape. Geographers such as Yi Fu Tuan, Donald Meinig, Edward Relph and J.B. Jackson, for example, have eloquently discussed how human beings transform spaces into meaningful places.[8] These explorations of cultural landscape include under their purview: nature, the forest and the various ways human beings transform land and waterscapes, the naming of landscape features and the spiritual nature of land and seascapes. The built environment, with its corresponding spatial relationships, is also a major component of their gaze. Massey has expanded upon the traditional definition of 'place identity', as constructions based upon the articulation of local and global social relations, by indicating that a key aspect of these identities is the sense of 'disruption' between the past, present, and possible future.[9] This sense of disruption has been keenly felt in Cape Breton, where massive deindustrialisation has displaced many existing forms of identity that were based upon landscapes that no longer exist, such as the coal mines and steel mill. Despite the disappearances of these physical landscapes, working-class experience has remained anchored in the collective memory of the island through other modes of tangible and intangible culture, such as

songs, stories and commemorations. In this way, keeping with Massey's argument that place-identity is constantly evolving, Cape Breton Island's collective memory has shifted from the experience of an industrial centre to an identity based around past experiences of workers, their families and struggles for working-class rights and social justice. Each of these methodological and theoretical approaches, along with a large corpus of protest songs from the 1920s and a group of murals in one former coal mining town, have informed our exploration of Cape Breton Island's post-industrial identity.

The dynamics of class-relations have also shaped the growth of communal identity in Cape Breton. E.P. Thompson articulates his definition of class in his seminal work, *The Making of the English Working Class*: 'I emphasise that it is a historical phenomenon. I do not see class as a "structure", nor even as a "category", but as something which in fact happens (and can be shown to have happened) in human relationships.'[10] In this sense, class is a historical relationship that develops over a wide period of time and it is inextricably tied to cultural identity. Thompson writes: 'class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared) feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs'[11] Thompson eloquently demonstrates that a class-consciousness developed in England as the eighteenth and nineteenth century Industrial Revolution irrevocably transformed the human relationships between workers and employers throughout British towns and villages. The English working class with its distinctive values, attitudes, traditions and behaviours resulted from this major industrial transformation.

As with the British Isles, Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia was heavily influenced by the Industrial Revolution that began here as early in the eighteenth century and continued throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[12] The first commercial coal mine in North America began production in Cape Breton Island at Baie de Mordienne-Port Morien as early as 1720. Known locally as 'the French Mine', this primitive drift mine supplied coal by boat to the burgeoning Fortress of Louisbourg along the coast. Geographer Stephen Hornsby notes, 'Between 1786 and 1827, the Colonial Government and local entrepreneurs alternated in operating a small coal mine at Sydney Mines on the north side of Sydney Harbour.'[13] Throughout the eighteenth century coal mining was in its infancy, mining technology was simple and the Sydney mines only employed 'about 50 seasonal workers' who produced no more than 13,000 tons of coal each year.[14]

As the nineteenth century unfolded, mines expanded throughout Nova Scotia and, as McKay notes, 'There was nothing unusual in Nova Scotia coal miners going on strike. Strikes in the coalfields were noted as early as 1830, and a massive coal strike had erupted in Cape Breton in 1876.'[15] Strikes, labour unrest and struggles for better pay and working conditions became common. Richard Brown, a nineteenth century Sydney Mines coal master, lived in an ornate mansion on the Sydney Mines waterfront while workers lived in poorly-constructed brick-and-wood row housing in close proximity to the coal mine. A class structure was clearly defined in the industrial landscape; this was true in the majority of Nova Scotia's coal communities during the nineteenth century. The Thompsonian conceptualisation of class, an ongoing process that develops over a historical period and remains connected to the ways in which humans relate to each other in mining towns, was well developed in Nova Scotia by the end of the nineteenth century.

Hornsby explains that at one of the Cape Breton Island General Mining Association pits, 'it took a sixteen-month strike in 1882–83 – the longest strike to that date in Canada – before the union was recognized . . . .'[16] A form of class-consciousness was well developed in many of Nova Scotia's industrial communities by the 1920s.[17] In Cape Breton Island, worker and union interactions with the foreign-owned mining company, BESCO (British Empire Steel Corporation), were hostile throughout the decade.[18] Historian Donald MacGillivray has argued that these conflicts composed a localised 'class war'.[19] Industrial strikes during this period were bitterly fought, and collusion between government and private industry sought to break workers' attempts at unionisation (see Figure 2). Canadian soldiers were brought into the region, a provincial police force established encampments at Cape Breton's coal mines and the steel mill, and machine-gun nests were erected at the gates of these industrial workplaces to support the company and intimidate striking workers.[20]

The antagonistic atmosphere of the labour wars in the 1920s, as well as the hard-fought battles for unionisation, has influenced the communities of Cape Breton Island to develop a seemingly community-based mistrust of authority. This sentiment was compounded by the experience of deindustrialisation in Sydney, which occurred in the second half of the twentieth century as the result of private and governmental mismanagement of the Sydney steel plant.[21] The operations of the mines, and later the steel mill, were usually outsiders, 'come-from-aways', as the term is used in local parlance. These figures had little interest in long-term benefits for the island and its people, instead

Figure 2. Soldiers at Steel Plant, 1923 (Source: Beaton Institute)

managing from a market-based perspective that favoured capital flight and accumulation in the larger metropolises. Many of these managerial authorities left for other opportunities after only a short time on the island. Henry Melville Whitney, a Boston-based financier, was instrumental in the creation of the Sydney steel plant in 1901 but withdrew from his Cape Breton interests by 1909. One reform-minded colliery doctor, A.S. Kendall summarised two other officers of the island's industries by saying: 'J.H. Plummer – an Englishman stubborn and cruel and out of place in Canada even at that date. James Ross was a rich Savage who arrived in Canada well equipped as an engineer but insensitive to needs of humanity.'[22]

Protest and labour songs

These themes of managerial mistrust are reflected in many of the protest and labour songs from the 1920s that have been compiled through the Protest Song Project. One song, 'They Cannot Stand the Gaff' from 1925, requires some explanation. A famous saying in Cape Breton, 'They Can't Stand the Gaff' was first uttered during the infamous strike of 1925 that is still remembered and memorialised in Cape Breton Island communities.[23] The strike began in March and shortly thereafter Andrew Merkel, a reporter with the Canadian Press interviewed J.E. McLurg, then Vice-President of the British Empire Steel and Coal Corporation. In describing the strike, McLurg boasted to Merkel, 'Poker game, nothing, we hold all the cards. Things are getting better every day

they stay out. Let them stay out two months or six months, it matters not, eventually they will have to come to us. They can't stand the gaff.'[24]

A 'gaff' is used in a number of contexts in Atlantic Canada. In the fishery, it is a large iron hook attached to a pole or handle and used to land large fish. It is also defined as a boat hook or a 'stout pole, 5–8 feet [1.5–2.4 metres] long with an iron hook and spike fastened to one end, used to assist a sealer on the ice and to kill seals'.[25] It can also refer to a sharp metal spur or spike fastened to the leg of a rooster for use in cockfighting matches.[26] It is also a tool used to capture floating logs during river drives in the lumber world of work. We will never know for certain what definition of gaff McLurg had in mind, but there is no doubt about the meaning behind his words. His company, BESCO, will figuratively stick the striking miners with a sharp object until the miners cannot stand the pressure. The company will break them, causing their strike to fold. Frank writes that this colloquial insult 'became one of the most memorable statements in Cape Breton labour history … McLurg's remark was regarded as an offensive slur on the character of the long-suffering people of the coalfields. The phrase "standing the gaff" became a rallying cry of the strike.'[27] According to former local politician Jeremy Akerman, '"Stand the gaff" was to become a household phrase in Cape Breton for generations to come, a challenge to the stubborn spirit of our people'.[28]

Even today, during strikes on Cape Breton Island, the phrase 'Stand the Gaff' can still be heard on picket lines as a rallying cry that allows striking workers to withstand whatever dirty tactics or pressure an employer may choose to use in a labour dispute. 'Stand the Gaff' has maintained its place as a linguistic anchor for the cultural identity of Cape Breton Island's industrial communities and it has been used in a number of work-actions throughout the twentieth century. Media reports of a recent long, bitter strike at the former Stora Enso pulp and paper mill in Port Hawkesbury used this phrase in headlines and in stories about the strikers in 2006.[29] The Faculty Association of Cape Breton University used the phrase 'Standing the Gaff' as their motto during a five week strike in the winter of 2001.

The song 'They Cannot Stand the Gaff' appeared in the *Maritime Labour Herald*[30] in April 1925 and is attributed to 'E.E.R.' – composers of protest and labour songs often used abbreviations or pseudonyms as a way to avoid being identified. The song is set in Hell and describes the Devil's workers (imps) taking pleasure in all of the hates and harms that they have committed against the people on Earth. The 'Prince of Darkness' is not pleased with what he hears from his minions, until

'from the land of ice and snow' he receives 'a good report' that outlines the work of the Canadian company BESCO. The song describes as the company cuts wages, treats workers like slaves and tries to starve, crush and break striking workers. Toward the end of the song, the chief official of BESCO utters the infamous phrase, 'They Cannot Stand the Gaff'. Without mentioning his name, there is no doubt that the satirical song is about J.E. McLurg, who uttered this phrase just a month before the song first appeared in print.

Cannot Stand the Gaff

Seated round the table in the Council room of Hell
Sat the secret service agents of the Pit.
'Twas the regular weekly meeting when they gathered there to tell
Of the things of Earth that with them made a "hit."
They told of wars and strife and hate in every land and clime,
Of pestilence and murder and despair,
They told of orgies gluttonous in palaces sublime,
And of slums where children lived on scanty fare.

They reported on the grafter and the gambler and the sneak,
Of birds of prey who feast on human kind.
They told of slimy hypocrites with countenance so meek,
And of moral perverts tainting children's minds
But the Prince of Darkness answered that their tales were small and boring,
There was nothing new in wickedness to hear;
And he showed his grave displeasure by their indolence deploring,
Till each imp began to shrink with timid fear.

Then spoke a lively demon from a land of ice and snow,
And said, "I think I have a good report,
For in Canada I've BESCO, Sir, to help me as you know,
And to them oft in sin I must resort.
Their work has been most excellent in many years gone by,
They've bee (sic) loyal to Your Majesty, I know;
They've made little children suffer and afflicted mother's cry,
And o'er the land have scattered pain and woe.

They've starved and crushed and broken the lives of many men,
They're as merciless as Hell could have them be;

And though their slaves are starving they cut their wage again,
And laughed aloud their agony to see."
Then spoke their chief official (who would grace our service here)
As he mocked the suffering children with a laugh;
"From these angry, cursing miners we have nothing now to fear,
For I'm positive they cannot stand the gaff."
Then Satan's brow grew gribhter (sic) and loud he laughed and long;
"That's a joke," he said, "at which all hell can laugh!
And my blessing rests eternal on the man so brave and strong,
Who mocks at pain and anguish with, "They cannot stand the gaff".
(*Maritime Labour Herald*, 14 April 1925, p. 4)

A satirical song, such as 'They Cannot Stand the Gaff' is one way that the Cape Breton working class was able to establish a resistance-oriented narrative from the bottom-up. BESCO was an international company, backed by provincial government officials, which had the power to send in soldiers to suppress any resistance to its demands. Songs were not the only form of resistance against the company, however; resistance occurred through work slowdowns, women's participation in strikes and various community-based commemorative efforts.[31] Songs from the 1920s reflect many of these same themes.

While resistance against the company is prevalent in many of the songs, another common theme is that of solidarity. Miners' families and fellow community members were encouraged to support each other at times of strife and strike. These songs of solidarity often included references to the importance of respecting picket lines, community attendance at workers' rallies, the necessity of workers' rights and the benefits of unionism. One song, 'Stand Up For Justice', derived from the well-known hymn, 'Stand Up for Jesus', was written by a local student after a major coal strike in 1925 and reveals many of these same themes. The borrowing of tunes from hymns or from other popular songs was a common practice in the protest song tradition.

Stand Up For Justice
Stand up, stand up for Justice!
Ye slaves of Besco, stand.
Put forth you every effort
And break the tyrant's hand.
Lift high the scarlet banner
It must not suffer loss.
Throw off your chains, oh workers.

Stamp out that cursed word, 'boss'.
Stand up, stand up for Justice!
This strike will not last long.
One day, the noise of battle
The next the victor's song.
The great emancipation
Of labour now is here.
The grand annihilation
Of capitalists now appear.
Stand up, stand up for Justice!
And break the prisoner's chain.
For in the coming future
O'er Besco we shall reign.
Crush all our great oppressors
Each coronet and crown
Let crash before its master
Till labour wins renown
(GO TO IT, BOYS!)

(*Maritime Labour Herald*, 24 April 1926, p. 2)

Denisoff refers to these as propaganda or persuasion songs, whose function is 'to create solidarity or a "we" feeling in a group or movement to which the song is verbally directed'.[32] 'Stand Up For Justice' calls for solidarity and rallies people to fight against the callous company for social justice during times of struggle. Strikes were common as workers struggled to form unions in the late nineteenth century mining towns and continued as steel workers unionised in the twentieth century.

MacDonald writes that the result of early twentieth-century struggles in Cape Breton industries 'has been a calloused, battle-hardened, yet dynamic industrial labour force: Sydney's steel makers often demonstrated a rank-and-file militancy that transcended international union bureaucracy; their union brass, made up of unpaid local workers, often offered support that went beyond the steel yard to embrace civic organizations'.[33] In other words, the sentiments of militancy and the necessity of solidarity at the work site became important for other members of these communities also. These themes have entered into the 'historical memory' of Cape Breton Island, informed collective consciousness and remain a cornerstone of local experience in many of Cape Breton's 'post-industrial' communities.

The song 'Stand Up for Justice' entreaties the listener to 'lift high the scarlet banner', an activity that was common during May Day

parades when the red flag was often paraded through the streets as a form of workers' solidarity. Frank writes, 'First celebrated as an international day of working class solidarity in 1890, May Day was the historic proof that the workers of the world were to unite in a common cause.'[34] The roots of the May Day event to celebrate labour lie in the many nineteenth-century parading traditions that existed in cities and towns throughout Canada. As Heron and Penfold note, 'in 1906 Montreal socialists became the first to take to the streets on May Day. Some three hundred members of local socialist organizations and the garment workers' union formed up behind a huge red flag and the city's most prominent socialist, Albert Saint-Martin, as marshal.'[35] It was not until the 1920s that the first May Day parades were held in the coal mining towns of Cape Breton Island. J.B. McLachlan, a well-known local labour leader during the early twentieth century, describes the first Cape Breton May Day Parade in 1923:

> May Day was held in Glace Bay this year for the first time. Four thousand workers, clear eyed and triumphant, marched with flag and banner in that parade. All day there was a steady downpour of icy rain but it was neither wet enough nor cold enough to dampen the fine spirit of these working men and women marchers … With song and speech, with comradely greetings these four thousand men and women spent one gloriously free eight hours away from the eye of the boss and his heart-breaking job which barely provides them and their children with bread. A glorious day which made one's blood run warmer and faster with the hopeful thrill of the new life when all of the days of the year shall belong to labour and when the accursed words 'master and boss' shall be banished from the earth along with the thing which these represent. On May Day we forgot the barriers of nationalism erected by the masters of bread and sent words of fraternal greetings to the struggling workers of every land. The workers of this land are our comrades and brothers, the capitalists of this land our robber enemies. The complete solidarity of the former is our hope, the complete extermination of the latter our aim. Long live May Day! Long live the solidarity of the World's workers.[36]

'The Grand and Glorious Day', another protest song from Cape Breton in the 1920s, refers to the importance of these May Day parades. The composer is only identified as 'G.C.C.' but the references to 'our dear beloved Jim' (J.B. McLachlan) and 'BESCO' indicate that the author was

most likely a local Cape Breton composer. The use of abbreviations and pseudonyms was common for some songs that appeared in the *Maritime Labour Herald*; fear of company reprisal prevented composers from revealing their full names. This song reveals themes of workers' solidarity, resistance and the importance of marching in these parades.

Grand and Glorious Day

In our humble home we sit,
Are we broken-hearted? NIT.
We are happy and cheerful as can be,
For we know that every Red
Will be up and out of bed,
On that Grand and Glorious Day
The First of May.
Tramp, tramp, tramp,
the boys are marching,
Cheer up, comrades, and be gay,
For you know we're out to fight,
To fight, with all our might.
On that Grand and Glorious Day
The First of May.
From dawn till dark at night,
We will carry on the fight,
The fight for our freedom and our cause,
Though it may be hard and long,
We will sing the same old song,
On the Grand and Glorious Day
The First of May.
Tramp, tramp, tramp, the boys are marching,
Cheer up, comrades, and be gay,
We are in this fight to win,
We will never sink but swim
On that Grand and Glorious Day
The First of May
Now that we have BESCO scared,
And the miners are prepared,
We will raise the Scarlet Banner to the sky
And we'll sing the same old hymn,
To our dear beloved Jim,
On that Grand and Glorious Day,

The First of May.
Tramp, tramp, tramp
the boys are marching,
Marching on to victory
We have BESCO up a tree
And forever there they'll be
On that Grand and Glorious Day
The First of May.
We had BESCO on the bank
But our district officers sank,
When one might (sic) push
would our Greatest victory win.
But their hearts were far too small.
When they heard BESCO call,
For God's sake come to work,
Or we will fail.
Tramp, tramp, tramp,
the boys are marching,
Cheer up, children, and be gay,
For soon will come the day,
When your dad will draw a pay,
On the Grand and Glorious Day
The First of May.[37]

In many of the songs, satire and wit are used against those in authority; thus, there is extensive use of derogatory nicknames in many of the songs. For example, Roy Wolvin, the President of BESCO, is referred to as 'Roy the Wolf' and a company policeman is known as 'Dirty Danny'. The song 'Dirty Danny' appeared in the *Maritime Labour Herald* on 13 December 1924, and was composed in a 'Come All Ye' ballad format. This form of broadside ballad developed after the advent of the printing press and circulated widely throughout the British Isles and North America. Some of its characteristics include a formulaic opening ('Come All You Honest Workers and Listen to Me'), a quatrain stanza format, rhyming couplets, a narrative told in the first person, repetition of phrases, dialogue and a closing formulae. The composer offers only an abbreviation for his/her name as 'P.E.P.' to help disguise his/her identity. P.E.P. is Phillip Penny from Sydney Street, Glace Bay. In correspondence, Penny's grandson mentioned that, 'Philip composed many songs at the time and would sell them at the pit head to miners finishing their shift, unfortunately the family did not save these songs'. The song

'Dirty Danny' tells of a miner who steals kindling on coal company property and gets arrested by 'Dirty Danny', a company policeman from East Bay. The judge in the song, who eventually sentences the miner, is referred to as 'A.B.' This refers to A.B. McGillivray, a colourful, local liberal magistrate in Glace Bay, a major coal town on Cape Breton Island. 'Dirty Danny' was Danny McGillivray from East Bay who, it is said, left Glace Bay after this song was composed, a testament to the power of folksong in the coal mining towns of the 1920s.

Dirty Danny

Come All You honest workers and listen to me,
When you hear my story with me you'll agree
Arrested for nothing, and glad to admit,
One evening last week when coming from the pit.
Now a Company policeman, a man I know well,
And for to expose him the truth I must tell,
Wherever you see him you hear people say:
'There goes Dirty Danny – belongs to East Bay.'
One evening of late, coming home from the mine,
As I walked along, some wood I did find,
It being my intention – the truth I must say,
To use it to kindle a fire the next day.
I had not gone far when I heard someone shout:
'You're taking great chances, you better look out.
I will have you arrested and a fine make you pay.'
Remarked Dirty Danny – belongs to East Bay.
Without hesitation I threw the wood down,
And quickly departing for home I was bound,
But two evenings later I'll have you to know,
McAuley came afrer [sic] me and I had to go.
Now when I did appear, His Honor did say:
'Now you're charged with stealing, what have you to say?'
I pleaded not guilty, but this was no good –
Dirty Danny, he swore I was caught with the wood.
I tried to explain, but I saw it was no use
His honor remarked, 'Sir I want no excuse,
You will pay C$7.50 or else put up bail,
Or the rest of this night you will spend in the jail.'
Now, times being hard and my dollars but few,
I had to consider just what I could do:

To pay C$7.50 was sure hard on me –
I will never forgive him, His Honor, A.B.
Now Dirty Danny, your friends are but few,
And what I hear men say if you only knew,
You'd be so ashamed you'd decide on a cruise
And go back to East Bay and hide in the spruce.
Now one thing I'll mention, I almost forgot,
I hope, Dirty Danny, hard luck is your lot,
And everyone slight you wherever you be
Just to remind you of what you did to me.
Now to conclude, and to finish my song;
The truth I have stated, you'll find it's not wrong
I hope to get even – if I live some day
With my 'friend' Dirty Danny belongs to East Bay.[38]

In Cape Breton, the 'Rise and Follies' comedy productions in the 1970s tapped into this satirical tradition by poking fun at regional authorities through sketches and songs. In 1986, the Cape Breton Summertime Revue continued this format of performance comedy. The Summertime Revue ran for fourteen years and in that time had several Canada-wide tours. In 2010 the Summertime Revue was revived and 11 shows were performed in Glace Bay that raised more than C$200,000 for the local Savoy Theatre.[39]

Murals in New Waterford

While expressions of identity can be found in the intangible culture of protest and labour songs, post-industrial community identity can also be found in a group of murals in the former coal mining community of New Waterford. In 1987, Enterprise Cape Breton Corporation, a Crown corporation, was established to broaden the base of the local economy outside of the mining sector. When the last coal mine closed in 2001, an adjustment fund was established by the federal crown corporation, Enterprise Cape Breton Corporation (ECBC) to try and help local communities make the transfer to a 'post-coal' economy. Part of the fund was allocated to improve the image and appearance of the downtown core and to instill a sense of pride in community. In New Waterford, C$157,000 was allocated to the community to place large murals depicting the town's mining culture throughout the downtown core. The objective was also to encourage citizens to use

their downtown and to patronise the local businesses that remained in the town after the demise of coal. The grid-patterned streets and the coal company housing indicate that this area was once a coal mining town, but there are few buildings or structures surrounding the former mine sites that remain. A painter and local resident, Terry MacDonald, was hired to do the work on the murals. MacDonald had previously studied with historical illustrator, Lewis Parker, and was excited about the idea of constructing murals devoted to his hometown's labour past. He used photographs and illustrations, which were available in the local historical society museum/archives, to find images of the former mine sites so that he would be able to accurately portray these locations. MacDonald's selection criteria for inclusion in the murals is interesting; he included images of each mine that was once located in the confines of the one-square-mile town. This indicates that no single mine, or their associated life-stories, was more important than another.

The Number 12 Colliery, a productive mine that operated from 1907 until 1973 when a fire forced its closure, was one of the first murals to be painted (see Figure 3). One man, Earl Leadbeater, was left in the mine after it was sealed to halt the progress of an underground fire (see Figure 4). Another miner, Joe Burke, describes the circumstances surrounding Leadbeater's death:

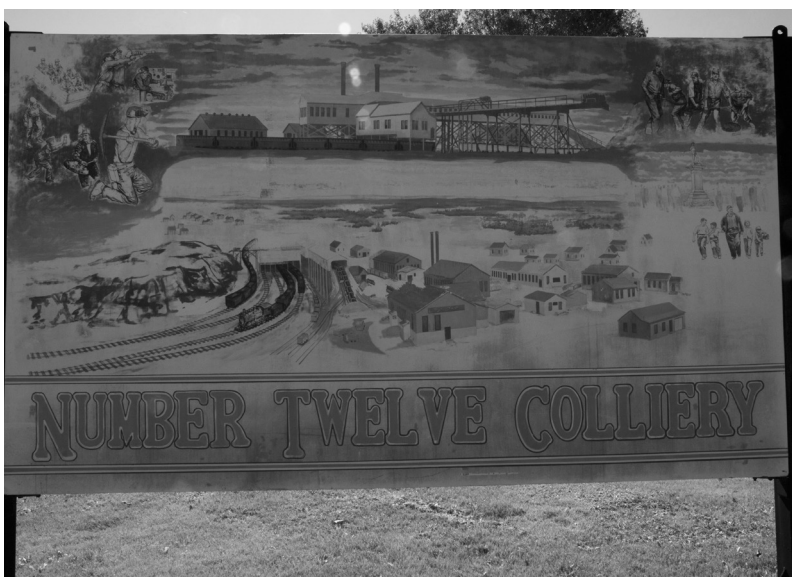

Figure 3. Number 12 colliery

Figure 4. Leadbeater gravestone

> He was right behind [the other miners], and they were getting kind of weak and overcome from the noxious gasses and stuff from the fire. They were coming up the Third Deep … they figured Earl had went out through the trench to get his coat. That would be the worst place ever to go, because the smoke would be coming in. I guess he got overcome by smoke, and God love him, he's still there.[40]

Another pit, the Number 14 colliery, was closed in 1932 but is still represented on the community murals (see Figure 5). The 'No. 14' even has a neighbourhood named after it, called '14 yard', which surrounds the former mine site. It was here in '14 yard' that the majority of New Waterford's immigrant community made their homes during the early twentieth century. The Number 15 Colliery, which was closed in the 1920s (see Figure 6), the Number 16 Colliery, an older room and pillar mine that closed in the 1960s (see Figure 7) and the Number 18 Colliery in the nearby area of New Victoria are also depicted in the murals. Likewise, the two modern mines, Lingan and Lingan Phalen, which were developed in the 1970s after the OPEC oil crises boosted coal production for a short period, are also included (see Figure 8).

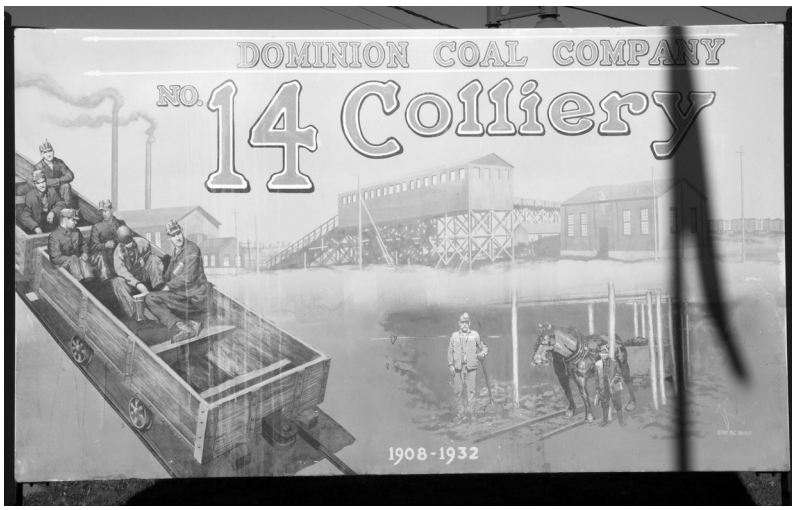

Figure 5. Number 14 colliery

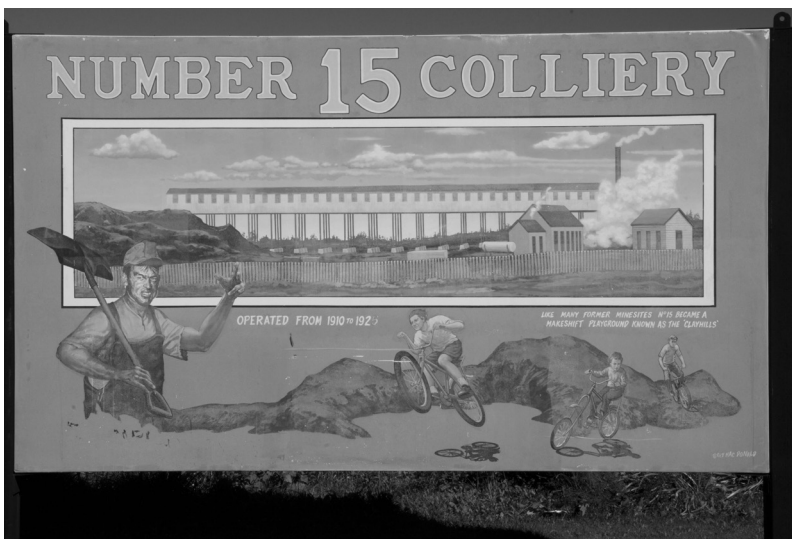

Figure 6. Number 15 colliery

One particularly striking example, the Mine Fatality Mural, is located in the middle of a local park (see Figure 9). The park, dedicated to community members who have lost their lives in the local collieries, was created in 1985 as part of community revitalisation efforts.

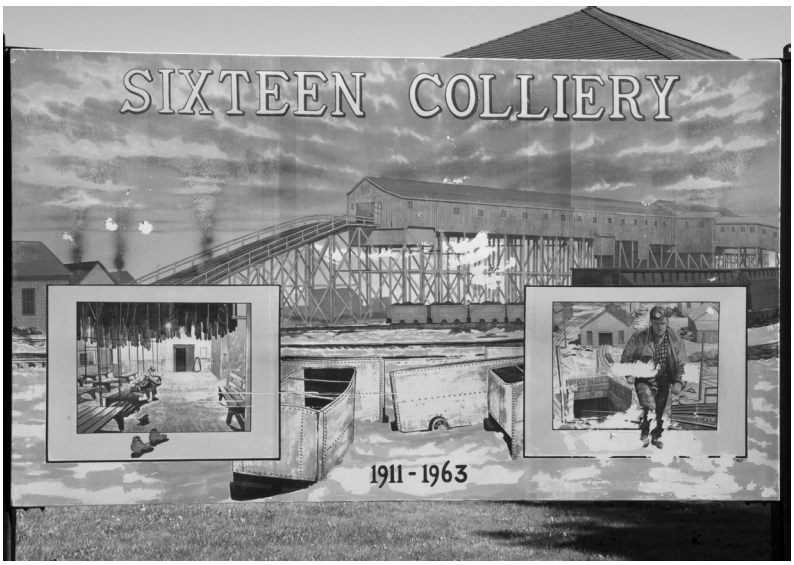

Figure 7. Number 16 colliery

Figure 8. Number 17 colliery

Figure 9. The Mine Fatality Mural

The mural stands centrally within the Miners Fatality Monument, which is a series of eight granite slabs bearing the names of local miners. The central image of the mural depicts a number of men 'riding the rake' into the underground at the Number 12 Colliery. This provides a focal point for each of the other images depicted on the mural, and symbolically represents the centrality of mining for the community of New Waterford. The boundaries of the mural depict a 'day in the life' of miners in the New Waterford collieries; on the bottom left, a man and his dog are depicted walking towards a group of men outside the Number 12 mine. The lighting, coloured with blue and orange, indicates the early morning, but smoke already belches from the smokestacks of the mine buildings in the background. This image reveals the beginning of the day for the New Waterford miner. As the viewer 'reads' the mural, examining the images placed clockwise from the bottom-left, a story unfolds; we see miners loading coal boxes – an ordinary day, this is followed by a collapse in the tunnel that pins a miner to the floor. Finally, in the bottom-right corner of the mural, the miners' wake is depicted; family and friends carry a casket to the front door of a company house. The bereaved family, including a toddler wearing a mining helmet, looks on in the foreground.

The symbolism of these images is clear; the importance of mining in the town, which provided the economic bedrock for the community, came at great cost to many working families. The sense of community is palpable; throughout the scenes depicted in the mural

'solidarity' among the miners is highlighted. In the first scene, the miner meets his friends at the entrance of the plant. The images of the rock fall show miners scrambling to free the injured worker. Even the funerary scene in the bottom-right of the mural illustrates community strength and solidarity in the face of tragedy. There is a tension in these images, one that is particularly palpable now that mining has disappeared from the community. The tension exists between the necessity of work in the modern economy, work that provides the basis for community and local identities, and the ecological and bodily consequences of industrial work in New Waterford. The boy wearing his father's mining helmet in the bottom-right speaks to a reality that no longer exists; while many sons followed their fathers into the mines in the early twentieth century, by 1985, when the mural was created, local industry was already in crisis. Today, these images prompt questions for New Waterford's future: what happens to a 'mining town' when the mines no longer exist? How will the experiences of industry and post-industry be framed? Most importantly, what comes next for a community that has been economically de-centred by the end of the coal industry?

Other themes in the murals placed around the town include references to a major disaster in the Number 12 mine, when 65 men and boys were killed in an explosion in 1917, the 'pit ponies' that were commonly used to move coal-boxes within the mines, early cars of the town, sports figures and the post-industrial reality of abandoned mine sites. Each of these representations offer a bottom-up narrative that presents the meanings of the industrial past as it exists for the citizens of New Waterford. These murals, as well as the protest songs mentioned above, reveal the linkages between past and present that currently exist in an island that has lost much of its industrial base. It is from these examples of material and intangible cultural heritage that we might better understand the ways in which community identity has shifted from a direct experiential relationship with local industry to a historical memory of those experiences that, nonetheless, provides a resistance-oriented anchor for modern community identity. Although the 'places of memory' embedded in the local coal mines and the Sydney steel mill have disappeared, the stories, song, language and rituals associated with these worksites are still evident in the community. These practices continue to play an important role for the people who remain in these communities. This is clearly observed by viewing the murals and commemorations, as well as listening to the songs, in these post-industrial towns. Each provides a unique insight into the ways in which working people conceived of their social

reality in the past, as well as the ways that those social realities are perceived in the present.

This discussion also raises issues of connectivity between place and meaning. These murals are a simulacrum; they are, in a sense, removed from the everyday experiences of miners and their families. It is only with the knowledge of the accompanying intangible heritage does one begin to understand the 'meaning' and the 'voice' of these artifacts. A visitor, upon viewing the mural of the No. 12 colliery, would not have the same experiential ties to the memories that are presented in the imagery. This is similar to the local protest songs, although they would at least resonate within the broader spectrum of working-class tradition. To the viewer who is not included in the collective memory of New Waterford, the distance from lived experience would lessen the meanings of these songs and murals. They would not remember family members working in the local industries, nor hold the collective sense of trauma that occurs after the many accidents or disasters that mark the experience of industrial towns. The murals can, then, be multi-vocal; they can be shallow or deep in meaning, depending on the viewer's understanding of the intangible cultural heritage and historical memory of the area.

An interesting observation of the murals is that there is an absence of the female voice in the visual presentation of culture. This supports Lowenthal's contention that 'heritage is traditionally a man's world, inheritance largely a matter of fathers and sons'.[41] Yet, in the intangible heritage, we know that women were the financiers of mining towns; they kept the bills paid and enacted domestic economic strategies to maintain family solvency during hard times.[42] During strikes, women also played significant roles on and off the picket lines. Cape Breton folklorist Marie MacSween has completed a Masters thesis on the role of women in the mining communities during the late 1990s when the mines were being closed down.[43] MacSween notes that women played significant roles in the organisation of protest efforts against the mine closures, as well as in planning a future for themselves and their families in a post-industrial community.

Conclusion

We have shown in this essay that in Cape Breton Island's post-industrial communities, the industrial past remains linked to notions of collective and historical memory. The articulations of class-relations

that are present in the protest songs of the 1920s have continued to find purchase with modern audiences through the efforts of local musicians and the Protest Song Project at Cape Breton University. Just as these songs and verses once helped to promote solidarity amongst miners and their families in their struggle against mine managers and companies during the various strikes and work stoppages of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, now they provide new audiences with a future-oriented sense of resistance against economic decline by tapping into the pre-existing culture of working-class consciousness and solidarity. Even though coal mining and steel making no longer exist in Cape Breton Island, some of the attitudes of class-consciousness, developed over a long period, are still evident in the physical geography of local communities. Communities and individuals are proud of the industrial past and express this in a multitude of ways including singing songs of protest and erecting murals.

The acrimonious relationship between industrial workers and company officials that has existed in Cape Breton has inextricably shaped the identity of the island's former industrial communities. As Robertson argues in his study of American mining towns: 'In the popular imagination mining landscapes – mineral extraction and processing areas and the adjacent settlements for mine workers – have become icons for dereliction and decay. For those who live in these places, however, these landscapes may function as meaningful communities and homes.'[44] Robertson closely examines three American post-coal mining communities and tries to understand how residents remain attached to these places. He concludes that even though the mines are now closed in each community, the rich mining past and traditions remain central to the maintenance of a local sense of place.[45] Robertson argues that the attitudes developed in mining towns continue long after the physical work of mining disappears. For example, he says that when older residents die, direct connections to the mining past are lost; however, 'residents remain aware that they follow in the footsteps of those who endured the ordeals of a mining existence. They are conscious that generations before them overcame considerable hardship to build their communities and to create meaningful lives in these places.'[46] Our study of songs of protest and murals on Cape Breton Island has drawn similar conclusions to those that Robertson has found in Appalachia. Part of identity formation is, as Wick argues, 'to create a sense of group membership in which belongingness can be established, and to which value can be attached.'[47] Through artistic murals, residents of former mining towns express their identity and

community spirit by highlighting the turbulent past and the difficulties and challenges faced by forebears who helped develop the towns. Further, the public art depicts the former mine sites that no longer exist complete with buildings, rakes, coal cars and workers. Contemporary younger musicians still find resonance in the songs composed by their forefathers and mothers even though they have never had to work underground or to fight for the right to form unions. Nevertheless, these cultural items still have relevance in the globalised, conservative post-colonial, post-industrial world we now live in by allowing younger people to connect to their forebears who did work the mines and mills and struggled for union formation and recognition in the early years of the twentieth century.

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Regenerating Cultural Identity through Industrial Heritage Tourism: Visitor Attitudes, Entertainment and the Search for Authenticity at Mills, Mines and Museums of Maritime Canada

Robert Summerby-Murray

Abstract

This essay analyses visitor attitudes to industrial heritage at a variety of former industrial sites, ranging from former coal mines, shipbuilding yards and steam-powered mills to a reconstructed waterfront. In addition, a comprehensive industrial museum provided a venue for further critique of the means by which the industrial past contributes to a regeneration of cultural identity in Maritime Canada. The range of former industrial sites reflects the multiple narratives of deindustrialisation affecting the Canadian provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island for much of the twentieth century while visitor responses to a detailed survey indicate that a focus on industrial heritage is a highly-valued component of respondents' understanding of the region's cultural identity. The essay notes, however, that this representation of cultural identity is highly problematic and replete with contradictions, most notably between respondents' desires for authenticity and the necessarily sanitised landscapes required for cultural tourism. Similarly, designers and managers of industrial heritage may be motivated to construct heritage landscapes which prioritise entertainment and spectacle and down play significant environmental, social and political elements of the former industry. From these examples in Maritime Canada, it is clear that visitors encounter significant complexity in their experience of the industrial past. This complexity

provides both opportunity and challenge in the use of the industrial past as a means of cultural regeneration in the region.

Introduction

The approach taken in this essay towards cultural regeneration and the shaping of the cultural landscape is influenced heavily by the 'new' cultural geographies of the 1980s and 1990s, particularly those focusing on the impress of power and motive in the landscape. Based within developments in social theory in the 1980s, these approaches in cultural geography argued that our environments are culturally-contingent arrangements, rather than simply material objects, reflecting the relative power of dominant narratives at a variety of scales, from the effects of interpersonal relations, to the historical relationships between capital and labour, to the tensions between the modern and the post-modern. Of the latter, it is David Harvey's work that is of most significance to this study, especially his arguments that frame post-modernity as a reaction to the homogenisation of modernist, largely capitalist impulses in the social, cultural and economic landscape.[1] Importantly for this study, Harvey argues that the search for authentic landscapes and interpersonal relations in the flux of a post-modern world functions as an antidote to the dislocations and disruptions of an increasingly globalised modernity.[2] This theme of social recovery and regeneration from economic dislocation is developed also in Massey's contention that heritage landscapes reflect a sanitised recovery of the past and in Barthel's pointed argument that the nostalgia of heritage landscape construction is utopian, 'perform[ing] community in a society where organic communities are a thing of the past, if indeed they ever existed'.[3] Usefully also, Mitchell's work sets these themes into a Schumpeterian analysis which argues for the continued processes of capitalist construction and creative destruction, an additional lens that frames the examples developed in this essay.[4]

These social and cultural themes resonate across deindustrialised landscapes in many international contexts and the literature reviewed in this essay draws from examples in Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, mainland Europe and New Zealand, all of which grapple with the issues of cultural regeneration after significant periods of deindustrialisation. In Atlantic Canada specifically, McKay has raised similar conceptual arguments informing this essay, particularly in his 1994 book *The Quest of the Folk*, situating the regenerative agenda

of a resurgent folk culture against competing processes of cultural dislocation.[5] The engagement of state agency in cultural regeneration is a further theme which emerges from his earlier studies of the construction of a folk fisher tradition and the management of a tourist gaze in Nova Scotia and applicable in many other parts of Maritime Canada.[6]

These social and cultural themes – and their encapsulated tensions between modernity and post-modernity – play out in the built landscape, in the lived experiences of people, in the power structures of change and in various forms of cultural representation that construct people's sense of identity. Numerous scholars have tackled the cultural dimensions of these themes, applying them to urban growth,[7] heritage and memorialisation[8] and the formation of community resistance and cultural expression,[9] while Waterton and Watson have recently explored the intersections of visuality and heritage within the tourist gaze.[10]

For the purposes of this essay, a further literature in cultural geography is also significant, a literature that argues that cultural landscapes can be commodified and consumed, that landscape can exist as a spectacle capable of bringing entertainment value to the observer and participant.[11] Examples range from festival markets to retailing as theme parks, as authors such as Boyer and Hopkins have demonstrated.[12] In the examples that follow in this essay, the construction, reconstruction and commodification of deindustrialised landscapes with spectacle value is of considerable importance, as are the responses of those who visit them and consume them as forms of cultural regeneration and identity formation. As other authors have demonstrated,[13] tension between the authentic and the constructed is enormously important in the development of a sense of cultural identity. I argue here that the examples of deindustrialised but commodified landscapes in Maritime Canada demonstrate this tension – and the difficulties of cultural regeneration. In the examples which follow it is clear that cultural identity is being constructed through deliberate and political decisions, reflecting particular power relationships, motives and agendas. The intersections and visibilities of these agendas to the visiting public (as consumers) are of considerable interest – and as the survey data below indicate, are frequently unconscious or at worst, deliberately hidden. The resulting geographies are uneven, risking becoming 'fragmented, highly selected and idiosyncratic ruins of a past revolution'.[14] Simply, we make choices regarding the histories and landscapes which we wish to project into the future as 'heritage', especially when this heritage is being used as a form of cultural regeneration and an agent of (re)constructed social identity.

Deindustrialised landscapes: physical and cultural consequences

For deindustrialised landscapes – and their reconfiguration as part of a positive cultural regeneration – we face the difficulties of managing dangerous and problematic environmental legacies as well as resistance to the presentation of past social relationships. While Johnson notes that heritage landscapes need not always be 'bogus, sanitized and hypnotic renderings of an invented past', Barthel confirms the strong tendency to erase the evidence of the 'negative by-products of industrialisation, from air pollution to class conflict'.[15] Francaviglia goes even further in describing the former industrial site of the Du Pont chemical works in Delaware as serene.[16] Similar arguments are well rehearsed in work on the Ironbridge Gorge in England[17] and Mah's various case studies of urban and industrial decline in Canada, England and Russia.[18] Other scholars have focused on post-industrial urban transformations and cultural consequences in 'rustbelt' cities of the United States[19] while still others have explored the tensions between community narrative and heritage tourism.[20]

Scholarly work on environmental legacies of deindustrialised landscapes in Maritime Canada has engaged similar arguments regarding attempts to ignore and sanitise environmental legacies and has frequently harnessed concepts of collective memory to address these. Greenwood noted the manner in which environmental health concerns (particularly high levels of silicosis among former foundry workers in Sackville, New Brunswick) were constructed as negative perceptions of past industry and acted against the construction of heritage memorialisation,[21] despite the presence of epidemiological evidence.[22] Mohammed found significant misperceptions of the impacts of industrial waste on the population of Sydney, Nova Scotia, a point affirmed by MacDonald in his conclusion that cultural elements (of Cape Breton musical heritage) were chosen deliberately to replace the negative environmental history of steel making in Sydney.[23] Wray and Stephenson note the continuity of capital-labour conflict even within deindustrialised communities in Cape Breton while Summerby-Murray explores these themes in post-industrial Sackville, New Brunswick, in terms of the replacement of collective memories of environmental damage from industry with a 'green', environmentally-positive marketing campaign that produces numerous contradictions between environmental realities and popular perception, reinforcing Tunbridge and Ashworth's concept of heritage dissonance.[24] Most recently, Holmes and Hollander have applied the

concept of corporate social responsibility to environmentally-damaged deindustrialised landscapes in Maritime Canada (with case studies of the Sydney tar ponds and the redevelopment of abandoned rail lands in Moncton, New Brunswick), drawing similar conclusions on the challenges for environmental histories and cultural regeneration.[25] Many deindustrialised landscapes remain ignored in Maritime Canada, however, as a result of the failure of collective memory. For example, while not commodified as a spectacle, the abandoned slag heaps of a former steel mill in Londonderry, Nova Scotia, now in a reforested location, are eroded continually by an adjacent river (see Figure 1), leaching heavy metal contaminants into the environment and transporting these into the Bay of Fundy.[26] With the former worker population now deceased and the significance of this industrial past no longer part of local collective memory, there is little pressure for remediation, let alone a basis for local cultural regeneration.

The cultural consequences of the failure or selectivity of collective memory are equally problematic, particularly in terms of a politics of regeneration. In many cases, cultural identity (in the forms of work, community and cultural expression) related to industrialised landscapes and locations is built on negative experiences that past workers, former residents, contemporary visitors and municipal governments

Figure 1. Slag heap, Londonderry, Nova Scotia (Author)

and tourism authorities have no wish to remember – or, more problematically, choose to remember in ways that ignore or subvert social processes involving gender relations and capital-labour relationships, including the valorising of labour (see Figure 2) or the dominance of capital.[27] Regenerating cultural identity in a post-industrial society is thus fraught with challenges. Whose history are we remembering? Whose landscapes are we recreating? How do we deal with the difficult environmental and social issues of the past and create relevance for

Figure 2. Ironworker monument, Trenton, Nova Scotia (Author)

a contemporary sense of cultural identity? How do we intersect the difficulties of the industrial past with the desires for authenticity on the part of a visiting public? And what happens when the search for authenticity is overwhelmed by the desire for entertainment and spectacle in the landscape? Alternatively, what are our ethical responsibilities as researchers when communities are no longer interested (and indeed reject) the memory of the industrial past, preferring instead to convert a former thriving community to a poorly-managed assemblage of artifacts (see Figure 3). Regenerating cultural identity in Maritime Canada's post-industrial communities must contend with all of these issues.

Specifically for the visitor experiences of the sites analysed in the remainder of this essay, industrial heritage is necessarily presented as clean and visitor-friendly due to the impracticality of reproducing the often dirty and dangerous conditions that characterised the former industry as well as the need to conform to contemporary health and safety standards. As Barthel notes, industrialisation was a 'dirty, smelly, dangerous affair'.[28] This leaves managers of industrial heritage sites caught between the necessities of working with a deindustrialised landscape and visitors' desire for authenticity. In some cases, this is resolved by constructing fictitious landscapes that may or may not deliver a heritage experience but hint at it and commodify it; in other

Figure 3. Memorial Park, Londonderry, Nova Scotia (Author)

settings, original artifacts, equipment and physical structures, despite their decayed reality and origin in the industrial past, contribute to visitor disappointment. This tension is well-rehearsed in the literature on heritage landscapes, particularly in those regions of North America and Western Europe that witnessed rapid deindustrialisation in the 1960s through to the 1980s, as well as in the museum studies literature which also informs the case studies which follow. Little of this analysis has been applied to industrial heritage sites in Maritime Canada where a long period of deindustrialisation took place and where knowledge of the industrial past is shifting from lived experience to collective memory (and is being erased completely in some cases).

The industrial Maritimes

The industrialisation of Maritime Canada through the nineteenth century was built on the back of primary product processing, drawing on the previous four centuries of European resource harvesting (notably in the coastal fishery, timber harvesting, and the fur trade) and the imprint of systematic and state-supported settler capitalism. With these concentrations on resource extraction (coal, iron ore, gypsum) and the prosecution of the fishery and timber resources, industry was necessarily dispersed by the late nineteenth century, retaining a strongly localised and even rural presence. The mutually-reinforcing patterns of urban-industrial growth that occurred in many parts of northwest Europe and North America failed to gain sustaining traction in Maritime Canada, resulting in a truncated urban pattern. Halifax, Saint John and Moncton, to some extent, emerged as urban-industrial centres but primarily as trans-shipment points; the Trenton-Stellarton industrial complex was highly dependent on availability of local ore resources, as was industrial Sydney. McCann has noted the difficulties of urban places making the transition to sustaining urban-industrial growth while Wynn points to the considerable capital flight from Maritime Canada in the late nineteenth century despite early investment.[29] The decamping of the major regional banks to Montreal and Toronto in the two decades prior to World War I severely limited the availability of local venture capital. Coupled with a strong sense of individualism within the region's corporate entities (an individualism that remains today in the dominance of key families in the food processing industries, timber industry, fishery, telecommunications and petrochemical industries) and a lack of investment in new technologies, there was a long denial

of the impacts of deindustrialisation on regional economies.[30] As McCann notes, there are very few examples where industry moved from processing of primary materials to secondary manufacture (Sydney, the Trenton-Stellarton complex, for example) and in most cases industrial success in the Maritimes involved small manufacturers in small to medium sized towns, heavily exposed to international markets, under-capitalised, conservative in the adoption of new technologies and heavily embedded in local communities in terms of ownership and attitude. While there were certainly many success stories,[31] for much of the twentieth century Maritime Canada suffered through a long slow industrial decline.[32] It has been argued elsewhere that this process continues to the present day in personalised landscapes and memory.[33]

The essay turns now to an analysis of visitor attitudes at several industrial heritage sites in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, ranging from shipbuilding sites, coal mines, grist mills, sawmills and industrial museums. The essay notes that visitor motivations are complex and reflect both the consumption of spectacle and the search for authentic experience, forcing managers of heritage landscapes into difficult and sometimes contradictory interpretive practices.

Representing industry as a form of cultural regeneration: 'But where's the steam?'

Sites for this study were selected for the variety of industries as well as the diversity of contemporary approaches being taken to display the industrial past and manage the post-industrial present and future. For example, several sites were original locations with machinery operating at varying levels. Others were museums on original sites which displayed artifacts and provided interpretation but made no pretence of having any operating industrial processes. One museum carried a vast array of industrial histories and had several working pieces of machinery but was not an original or authentic site itself – although it celebrated several surrounding industries. A further site made very little attempt to develop authenticity of former industrial processes but created a post-modernist landscape with referential elements, spectacle and a high level of public 'consumption'. Table 1 categorises the particular sites. The origins and histories of each site explain important components of their intended contributions to industrial heritage, establishing their goals for the visitor experience and processes of cultural regeneration.

Table 1. Selected sites in the research study

Site name	Location	Former industry	Type	Respondents (*n*)
Nova Scotia Museum of Industry	Stellarton, NS	Various but focus on coalmining and steel	Museum – not an original industrial site	20
Ritchie Wharf development	Miramichi, NB	Timber-processing and shipping	Waterfront development on original site but low authenticity	30
Green Park Shipbuilding Museum	Port Hill, PEI	Shipbuilding	Museum on original site. No active industry but authentic artifacts	11
Barrington Woollen Mill	Barrington, NS	Wool processing	Museum/factory on original site; some authentic operation	20*
Sutherland Steam Mill	Denmark, NS	Timber mill; slab wood & specialty lines in furniture, decorative moulding production etc	Museum/factory on original site; some authentic operation	20*
Balmoral Grist Mill	Balmoral Mills, NS	Grain milling	Museum/factory on original site; some authentic operation	20*
Springhill Miners Museum	Springhill, NS	Coal mine	Museum/factory on original site; some authentic operation	24
Campbell Carriage Factory	Sackville, NB	Carriage, sleigh manufacture; caskets	Museum/factory on original site; some authentic operation	n/a

*Figure is combined for smaller Nova Scotia mills

In nearly every case, unstructured interviews with site managers, directors and the originators of the industrial heritage site were carried out (in 2007–2009), seeking their views on the history of each development, the objectives of the site and the difficulties they faced in representing (and re-presenting) industrial heritage as a form of cultural identity. These discussions noted the significance of local and provincial political involvement, the use of industrial heritage as an economic redevelopment tool, the problems of engaging with local communities and the significant problems in attempting to provide a sense of authentic history in these landscapes. On this latter point, in some cases this involved being abandoned altogether, the site turning instead to the construction of landscapes as spectacle entertainment. This was reinforced in much of our visitor survey data, an analysis of which follows a brief description of each site.

Nova Scotia Museum of Industry

Although it opened in 1995, the Nova Scotia Museum of Industry originated from discussions in 1975 between the Sobey family and the Nova Scotia Museum system. Owners of one of Canada's largest grocery chains, the Sobey family has a history of significant philanthropy and interest in community building, as well as in the management of their diversified operations through the Empire Group of companies, headquartered in the small town of Stellarton (and still the home of the original Sobey's 'No. 1' grocery store). The vision of the new museum was to extend beyond the then existing miners' museum in Stellarton to celebrate the industrial and transport history of the province as a whole.[34] Although initially named the 'Museum of Transport and Industry', the transportation focus was eventually dropped so as to avoid confusion for visitors who were looking for more automobile history than the museum intended to provide. That said, the museum today contains not only a focus on industrial processes but also the contextualisation of these within the Nova Scotia economy, including significant displays on post-World War II technologies such as large-scale electrical generation and tyre manufacture.

The Canadian federal government under Prime Minister Brian Mulroney committed the bulk of the funding for the museum's construction (as part of a strategy for regional economic development and job creation as well as the political gains such a strategy implies) and the museum today plays an important role in commemorating the industrial heritage of coal mining and manufacturing in the immediate

local region as well as for the province as a whole. It is clearly one of the flagship museums in the Nova Scotian system but the relationship can be one of considerable tension: many of the other museums in the system are small and under-funded, for example, and the museum director, Debra McNabb, notes that building connections with the local community is a continuing challenge and mandate – particularly when some members of the local community would rather have seen federal funds directed to a new hockey arena or a museum that focused solely on the industrial heritage of Pictou County. In building its credibility and contributing to cultural regeneration, the museum contends with both the long histories of coal mining and steel making in the region as well as the continuity of industry (pulp mills and a tyre manufacturing plant, for example) that demonstrates that industry is not only about heritage but also about existing employment and economies. The Nova Scotia Museum of Industry is at once a traditional museum, a local educational resource, an arts centre and a gathering place for the community. Debra McNabb notes that the facilities rental operation of the museum started after the local community wanted to use the museum space to hold the public inquiry into the Westray mine disaster of 1992 in Stellarton rather than in the larger but more distant city of Halifax.[35]

Ritchie Wharf

Located on an original site of timber processing and shipment on the Miramichi River in northeastern New Brunswick, the Ritchie Wharf development nonetheless represents one of the most extreme examples in Maritime Canada of the post-industrial heritage landscape being constructed for consumption as a spectacle. Now part of the eleven site Miramichi Open River Ecomuseum (MORE), the history of the Ritchie Wharf development reflects the intersections of several levels of government and municipal management, all part of attempts to reinvigorate the Miramichi economy, an economy that had seen the progressive decline of shipbuilding, timber processing and other industry, as well as closure of the local Canadian armed forces base (see Figure 4).

In 1985, local politician Paul Dawson, a provincial cabinet minister, committed C$5million to develop a shipbuilding museum. Although this grant was reduced to C$3million, the mayor of Newcastle (one of the three municipalities, along with Chatham and Douglastown, that would eventually combine into the City of Miramichi), approached the president of the local historical society, Derek Burchill, to lead a committee comprised of representatives from the town, local business

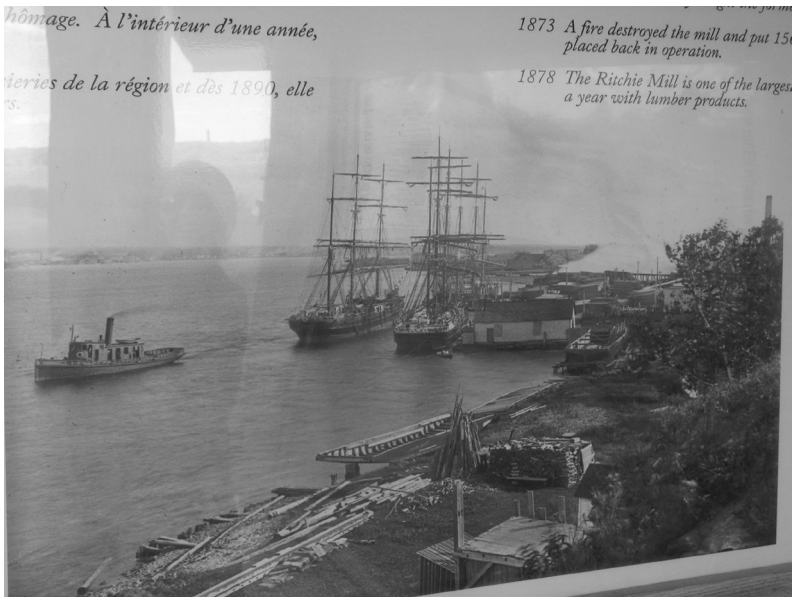

Figure 4. Historic waterfront display, Ritchie Wharf, Miramichi, New Brunswick (Author)

interests and the provincial government to plan the construction of the shipbuilding museum.[36] Following a design by Daniel Glen and reflecting the committee's objective of avoiding a static museum piece, the development took the form of a waterfront boardwalk, comprising retail outlets, as well as a whimsical three-quarter scale sculpture of a ship's masts that mimics the earlier mooring of vessels at this waterfront during the heyday of the timber trade. The masts themselves were built in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, the location of a continued shipbuilding industry. Coupled with a children's playground and replica buildings that house small photographic displays and a new forge (that cannot be operated because it does not meet provincial health and safety standards), the 'post-industrial' site was completed by the mid-1990s and is the only site in the MORE that celebrates past industry on the Miramichi River. A further phase (with a C$7million price-tag), will see the construction of an interpretive centre, funded in part by the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, a wing of the Canadian federal government. This site benefits from an objective to represent the wide range of eco-tourist sites on this part of the Miramichi River, linked by boat tour operators and including military heritage sites (such as adjacent Beaubears Island) as well as industrial heritage. Plans for the

Ritchie Wharf site note the need to move beyond static representation of timber processing and shipbuilding and into experiential displays that will attract tourists to the site and region (see Figure 5).[37]

Green Park Shipbuilding Museum

Built on an authentic site, the Green Park Shipbuilding Museum is part of a larger representation of shipbuilding in Prince Edward Island and a celebration of a leading industrial family, the Yeos. The Yeo family home was purchased by the Prince Edward Island museum system in the 1950s and remains essentially unaltered. With various artifacts and buildings displaying shipbuilding processes, this museum has considerable potential to develop an authentic visitor experience and reinforce local (and Island) cultural identity. The modern museum display building houses artifacts and records reflecting the history of shipbuilding on Prince Edward Island as well as the key role of the Yeo family operating out of their Green Park site. Operating for only seventeen weeks each year and at some distance from the main tourist destinations, the museum faces continued difficulty in connecting with the local community and – as in the case of other examples in Maritime Canada – is supported by government as much because of its ability

Figure 5. Ritchie Wharf, Miramichi, New Brunswick (Author)

Figure 6. Green Park Shipbuilding Museum, Prince Edward Island (Author)

to provide local employment as because of its educational and historic value (see Figure 6).[38]

Barrington Woollen Mill

This small museum on Nova Scotia's South Shore displays a high level of authenticity and prides itself on the detail of its processes. Part of the wider Nova Scotia museums system, the mill continues to spin, weave and dye wool as it did in the late nineteenth century. Staff members are dressed in mid-late nineteenth-century period costume and have numerous connections to local families as well as being knowledgeable of process technologies, a key component of presenting an authentic experience to visitors. As with many other museums in the region, retail sales are important: this mill sells its own woollen yarns as well as being a distributor for other local producers.

Balmoral Grist Mill and the Sutherland Steam Mill

Essentially managed together (these sites share the same site manager and are only a few kilometres apart), both mills are examples of authentic industrial heritage that have been repurposed in the Nova

Scotia museum system to promote small-scale, largely rural industry, as is the case with the Barrington Woollen Mill. At the Balmoral and Sutherland sites, the key focus is on process technologies rather than entertainment value. Educating the public about dominant technologies of the past (the use of water power, steam power, and other mill technologies) is the broad objective of both sites but this quickly runs into significant management difficulties.[39] As recently as 2000 (for the Sutherland Steam Mill) and 2006 (for the Balmoral Grist Mill), these sites were fully operational and provided visitors with an authentic experience of water wheel technology, steam boiler power and sawmill technologies. With these technologies no longer meeting public safety standards, both mills struggle to maintain their presentation of authentic experiences to visitors, increasingly serving a clientele with antiquarian interests. While this speaks to a purity of focus rather than the consumption of spectacle found at other sites, the financial viability of these sites is increasingly difficult due to low visitor numbers and the rapid removal of awareness of these process technologies from local and regional collective memory.

Springhill Miners Museum

The significance of coal mining to Nova Scotia and many other parts of Maritime Canada is summed up in the Springhill Miners Museum. As with other sites in this survey, the miners museum is located on an authentic site; indeed, until relatively recently, the tour involved a walk into a mine shaft, guided by a retired miner, and the opportunity to swing a pick axe at the coal face. This museum presents the approximately 120 years of active mining in Springhill, a town that is built on top of a series of mine shafts – and which has a history of mining disasters, notably the Springhill 'bump' of 1958. Similar to other Nova Scotia coal mining towns such as Stellarton, Trenton and New Glasgow and the more local small mining communities of River Hebert, Joggins and Maccan, as well as coal mining locations such as Minto, New Brunswick, Springhill also resembles coal mining towns in other regions of Canada, the United States and Europe with the historical dominance of the mining economy and the significance of capital-labour relations.[40]

The museum itself includes a wide range of artifacts and documents, all of which emphasise process technologies as well as mining disasters. Importantly, the museum benefits from representing authentic local experience: visitors walk through a reconstructed wash house, don rubber boots and miners' helmets, see original miners'

lamps and hear real stories. But this authentic experience for visitors faces challenges: there are few retired miners left to provide the original narrative and the journey down the mine has been discontinued because of rising water flooding the lower reaches of the former underground tour. As with other examples discussed in this essay, site managers face the dilemma of preserving authentic artifacts and experience versus creating a new set of interpretive displays that allow the visitor to consume a representation of past industry. This is particularly challenging for a town that has long promoted coal mining (in its marketing and municipal symbols) but which now seeks other uses and directions. The location of a federal prison in the town in the early 1960s, to provide local employment in specific response to the decline of coal mining, has been matched more recently with the promotion of the arts (through the Anne Murray Centre) and the development of former mines as a source of geothermal heating for other industries and businesses.

The Campbell Carriage Factory

This site dates back to the late 1840s and operated continuously for a century before being shuttered soon after World War II. Producing carriages, various forms of sleigh and sled, as well as caskets and other cabinetry, this factory catered primarily to a rural market but also produced high-end carriage bodies that in other large manufacturing settings would have been paired up with the growing automobile industry of the early twentieth century. Following the truncated industrial pattern found in other parts of Maritime Canada, this transition did not occur for the Campbell Carriage Factory. The closing of its doors in the late 1940s literally involved the downing of tools at the end of the work day – leaving *in situ* the daily evidence of process technologies that now gives this museum site a high degree of technological authenticity.

In the 1990s, the significance of this site for the technologies of carriage making was recognised in a community-based restoration project led by the Tantramar Heritage Trust. With painstaking, archaeological methods, the Campbell Carriage Factory has been restored as a centre for the exploration of woodworking technologies, the use of machine patterns and the restoration of tools and equipment that tell of bygone rural industry. Operated seasonally as a museum and as a site for community engagement in industrial heritage of Sackville, New Brunswick, a town with shipbuilding, foundry and manufacturing

history, the Campbell Carriage Factory has been a significant source of local cultural regeneration as well as a site celebrating technological change.

Our surveys in 2008 and 2009 asked 106 visitors from these sites to respond to a set of questions that assessed their motivation for visiting the industrial site and sought their opinions on what they found. The survey was developed after discussion with museum managers in the Nova Scotia Museum system including the system director Stephanie Smith and also reflected a review of the museum studies literature, particularly the work of John Falk and Beverley Sheppard on typologies of visitor motivation.[41] Drawing on Falk and Dierking's earlier work on visitor identity, Falk and Sheppard highlighted five identities and associated motivations for visitors: The Explorer, The Facilitator, The Professional/Hobbyist, The Experience Seeker, and The Spiritual Pilgrim.[42] While our survey responses from these sites in Maritime Canada are not a complete fit with these projected identities, the results which follow in the rest of this essay suggest a general conformity. Interestingly, the museum studies literature frequently embraces this discussion from the other direction: how to manage (and perhaps even manipulate?) visitors (as 'clients, guests, strangers') or how to be responsive to perceptions of visitor experience.[43] Our approach was to gauge visitor response and get their reactions.

At the outset, respondents were told that the survey sought their attitudes as visitors to heritage sites 'based on past industries'. Respondents were advised that we wanted to find out why they were visiting and what they hoped to gain from the experience; in addition, we wanted to better understand the significance of industrial heritage for tourism and related economic and community development. Visitors were asked to respond on a standard five-level Likert Scale indicating a range of agreement or disagreement with statements. These statements addressed their expectations of the industrial heritage site in six areas, with additional questions on their age range and place of residence. There was also ample opportunity to provide additional commentary at the end of the survey. The phrase 'But where's the steam?' that heads this section of the essay actually comes from a survey respondent expressing disappointment at the lack of operation of the Sutherland Steam Mill.

The first set of statements asked respondents to rate the post-industrial site on its ability to provide education, entertainment and family fun. We were particularly interested in whether respondents would identify these as motivations, given Falk and Sheppard's 2006

typology. For all sites, in aggregate, visitors overwhelmingly identified entertainment as a key motivation for their visit, with 91 percent either agreeing or strongly agreeing; 95 percent of respondents saw their visit as educational with 79 percent identifying providing family fun as a motivator. We suspect that this lower figure was influenced in part by parents dragging children along to the 'museum' – and on several occasions we elected either to not approach some families who were clearly not in the mood to be surveyed or who were obviously more intent on finding ice cream for cranky kids on a hot summer's day than completing a survey. But the variability between sites was also an influence here: lower agreement with 'family fun' as a motivator was found at the more specialised sites (such as the mills, carriage factory and mine museum) which projected an image of seriousness of purpose and a focus on past industrial technologies and generated responses in the 55 to 75 percent range. These responses were lower than the more family-oriented sites – e.g. 80 percent at the Nova Scotia Museum of Industry and 94 percent at the Ritchie Wharf site – although a respondent at the Ritchie Wharf site insisted that 'the teenagers won't enjoy it as much: they need an internet café with CD burners and a skate park' (see Figure 7).

Figure 7. Nova Scotia Museum of Industry, Stellarton, Nova Scotia. Note the 'Hands on Fun' banner at left (Author)

Our next set of questions asked visitors about their attitudes towards historical accuracy, their sense of the authenticity of the industrial site and whether it provided them with a sense of the various social, economic and political issues that they were expecting to find. One question in particular asked whether the site represented any of the labour, gender, or environmental issues associated with the industry. Exploring these latter issues was a much lower motivation for visitors although 90 percent in aggregate either agreed or strongly agreed that the site provided an 'authentic and accurate representation of history'. When broken out into specific sites, however, there was much more variation. For the clearly original sites such as the mill and shipbuilding museums and the Springhill Miners' Museum, between 90 and 100 percent of respondents supported the statement about authenticity and accuracy and the majority of respondents 'strongly agreed'. For the Museum of Industry, the majority of respondents 'agreed' with the statement. For the Ritchie Wharf development, only 50 percent agreed with the statement; 23 percent strongly agreed, but 17 percent actually disagreed that the site provided any authenticity and were cognisant that the site was largely a fabrication. A similar pattern emerged for responses on the capacity of the site to showcase 'how people had lived and worked'. The obviously original mill and mine sites and the Museum of Industry saw general agreement with the statement but the Ritchie Wharf site drew responses where 43 percent disagreed.

A site's ability to address labour, gender and environmental issues within past industry strengthened this division: 53 percent of respondents from the Ritchie Wharf site were either neutral or disagreed that the site provided any information on these issues; 73 percent of respondents at Green Park were either neutral or disagreed; and, surprisingly given its strong focus on the social politics of the mine disaster of 1958, the Springhill Miners' Museum saw 38 percent of respondents who were either neutral or disagreed that the site addressed any of the labour, gender or environmental issues of the industry. One respondent felt that the commemorative display in Springhill did not go very far in addressing the ways in which women and families supported the mining operation and mining accidents. Other comments from survey respondents tempered these data somewhat with some respondents commenting specifically on the authenticity of the site and noting its role in addressing labour and gender issues. For example, visitors to the Barrington Woollen Mill commented on the gender divisions within the wool industry, noting that the mill displayed work for women only (and ignored the male domination of sheep raising in the area); a female

respondent at the Museum of Industry suggested that a stronger focus on gender issues would attract more visitors.

We also surveyed respondents on their specific reason for visiting the site. Earlier discussions with site managers had led us to believe that strong family connections to past industries (or specific sites) as well as antiquarian interests in past industrial technologies and machineries were key motivators for visitors – reinforcing the expectations of Falk's professional/hobbyist identity. Our respondents confirmed these expectations: visitors to the mill, mine and carriage museums overwhelmingly (95 percent) identified a fascination with past industrial technologies: 'I felt a strong link between past and current technologies', said one respondent; 'It's very important to preserve past technologies and original industrial sites', said another.

This 'hobbyist' motivation was reinforced by strong family connections. Just over 40 percent of aggregate responses for all sites reported a family connection to the site, its location or its subject matter. This varied widely, depending on the home locations of visitors and the length of time since the closure of the industry. For example, only 22 percent of visitors to the Campbell Carriage Factory reported family connections while over 40 percent of visitors to the Museum of Industry and the smaller mills reported family connections. We had expected the miners' museum to generate strong family associations but these were not borne out in the quantitative data. However, the survey recorded comments from all locations (including the miners' museum) that supported the importance of family connections for visitors, part of a process of defining connection and cultural identity. These comments ranged from specific examples ('My grandfather did the wheel at the Barrington Woollen Mill'; 'My grandfather passed in the bump of "58"'; 'My husband worked in the steam sawmilling industry'; 'I worked in the steel mill myself"; and 'My brother was in the Westray mine just before it exploded') to more general comments about the need to educate children about the work of their relatives in former industries: 'We have a family connection in the area' and 'We need to show more of the past to future generations'. These many comments noting family members who had worked in the mines, here or elsewhere, about the need to educate present generations about the work and life of former family members, and the references to family tragedies were key elements of the way in which these sites functioned to create and reinforce cultural identity, for local populations and more distant visitors alike. And occasionally there were surprises: one family discovered a picture of a grandmother and realised there was a family association with coal mining in Stellarton:

'We didn't know about this connection until we arrived and our niece saw a photograph of her grandmother on the wall'.

Central to our discussion of authenticity were visitor attitudes to the former operations of these sites and the extent to which visitors reflect the 'experience seeker' and 'spiritual pilgrim' categories of Falk and Sheppard's typology. It is here that we encountered examples of 'visitor disappointment'. Our survey statements about the importance of past industrial technologies, the search for authenticity (as expressed through symbols, images and artifacts), and a general statement about the relationship between spectacle and historic preservation generated a number of responses that were critical of a site's ability to be authentic and provide an appropriate experience, even if it was clear that the site was original. Overall, respondents provided 85 to 90 percent agreement that the site was authentic in terms of its broad history; only 62 percent overall perceived these sites to be representing social, labour, environmental and gender issues accurately. The desire for authentic experience was reinforced in people's responses to the statements but also in highly critical comments about specific sites. These included dissatisfaction that there was no actual shipbuilding happening at the Green Park site ('I wanted to see some boat building'), that the Balmoral Grist Mill was advertised as being in operation but never seemed to be ('Had just been to Balmoral yesterday; very disappointed that it wasn't running'), to questions as to why the Sutherland Steam Mill was not fired up with an operating saw mill ('But where's the steam?'), to more positive comments (in the case of the Museum of Industry) that it was good to see 'stuff working'. (The irony that the 'stuff working' was actually an artificial construction was generally lost on respondents although this is clearly identified in the displays and was a topic of our discussions with museum managers both locally and at the provincial level.)

The Ritchie Wharf site provided something of an exception to these responses. There was little evidence of visitor disappointment, largely because the representation of past industry had never set out (at least in the present early stage of the development) to depict any accurate sense of the past industrial landscape. One respondent suggested that this site was more about a 'whimsical view of history' and never suspected that there was actually a reality that literally underpinned the site. 'Perhaps tourists might expect more history but community use is not for history', said a further respondent. This disconnection between heritage managers, site developers and the public could become increasingly problematic in this case; presently, the site is seen to be a

community meeting place, a site for tourism and retail, dressed up in post-modernist ship's masts and a playground. One respondent noted that it was 'the best mistake the city ever made' in that the mistaken effort to promote industrial heritage had actually turned into a vibrant community space, a meeting place for seniors and 'a place to enjoy the view and the water'. Without the expectation of sawmilling, ship-building, timber shipping, industrial smoke, difficult labour relations and an environmental legacy being built into the landscape, perhaps there is nothing to get disappointed about.

Conclusions: smoke, steam and heritage management

The analysis presented in this essay raises interesting questions about the nature of authenticity in the landscapes depicting industrial heritage and the manner in which site visitors are engaging in forms of cultural regeneration. Smoke and steam are clearly identified with the heyday of past industries and function as a proxy for visitors' expectations of site authenticity. This reflects visitors' expectations of the past, founded on images and real examples that are in their collective consciousness. Dirt, noise, environmental pollution are also in this expectation but it is clear that site managers have worked hard to downplay these negative environmental issues or to contain them in ways that are appropriate for contemporary standards of health and safety. Visiting an industrial heritage site is not intended to be an extreme sport where one is exposed to health risk. And yet, visitors question the lack of industrial operation and seek to consume this as part of their experience; they are seeking a consumptive spectacle from the landscape (as well as the more obvious educational and professional/hobbyist results identified by Falk and Sheppard).

In terms of the value of industrial heritage as a form of cultural regeneration in Maritime Canada, our results are mixed. There is no doubt of the importance of the search for authentic experience and the need for visitors to believe that they are reinforcing their cultural identity in their visits. The large number of references in the survey data to family connections demonstrate this as well as the search for real technologies and the desire to see these in operation however problematic this may be. On the other hand, it is very clear from these examples that industrial heritage has significant capacity to be manipulated and constructed as a form of heritage for public consumption. The desire for entertainment is particularly

high, whether or not this has an authentic basis in the industrial site itself. There are no simple solutions for managers here; to get visitors in the door they must provide an accessible experience and work with their market – and yet, there is considerable danger of duplicity, of the creation of a spectacle that simply plays to an audience's need to be entertained. We need to be cautious; therefore, as we consider the role industrial heritage is playing in the construction of cultural identity in the de-industrialised landscapes of Maritime Canada. The key questions of whose history is being presented in the heritage landscape of these sites remains highly problematic, especially as collective memories of real experiences of labour, gender and environmental legacy are replaced by a landscape of consumption and spectacle.

The examples analysed here reinforce many of the findings in the literature on deindustrialised landscapes outlined at the beginning of this essay, including the tensions between modern and post-modern landscapes, the sanitisation of the past and the politics of using heritage (in any form) as a means of cultural regeneration. By linking these themes to approaches in the museum studies literature, this essay demonstrates the complexity and opportunity inherent in the use of industrial heritage to regenerate cultural identity in local communities, situating Maritime Canada within a wider field of scholarly study and policy application.

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Come Hell or High Water: Identity and Resilience in a Mining Town

Janelle Skeard

Abstract

Mining communities, particularly those entirely dependent on mineral resources, are especially vulnerable to economic downturn due to the non-renewable nature of the industry and reliance on external market factors. For residents who live in mining towns and have strong ties to the industry, the loss of major employment deals a particularly devastating blow. Research has shown that mining creates a particular sense of identity and community, which persists long after the resource is exhausted. Although much research has been conducted on how communities adapt to and cope with closure, little is known about the role that identity and sense of community play in this process. Around the world, mining developments bring significant prosperity to communities, regions, and countries with several actors depending on the industry for economic stability. Without an understanding of the many ways mining communities adapt to closure, we are unable to use this knowledge to help resource-dependent regions persevere through eras of economic bust and resource-based turbulence.

Introduction

On 31 August 1984, the American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO) ceased all mining-related operations at Buchans. Although the closure process had begun five years earlier in 1979, key staff remained until the 1980s. While such a closure process seems mundane to the average reader, those familiar with the community are aware

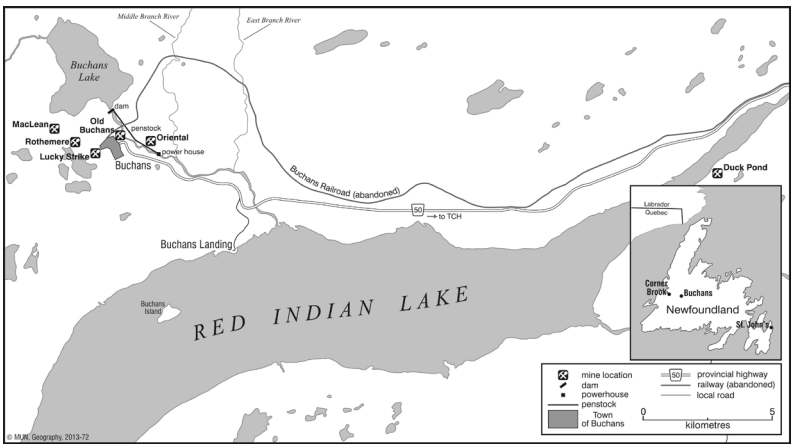

Figure 1. Locations of community and mine sites and inset showing town of Buchans in relation to NL cities. Map courtesy of Charlie Conway, MUN.

of the profound impacts deindustrialisation posed. Buchans, a small, isolated town located in insular Newfoundland, was built in the 1920s in a concerted effort to extract mineral resources efficiently. ASARCO, in partnership with the Anglo Newfoundland Development Company, built Buchans and sourced the necessary labour for mining activity. Buchans then became and remained a company town in all aspects, with all amenities, services, facilities and livelihood provided by ASARCO. The atmosphere of complete company control was felt by residents, who were bound by a strict set of rules that allowed them to live and work in the community.

Accordingly, the impacts of closure were more devastating than they would have been had the town not been completely built and supported by the mining industry. Mining activity itself ended in 1982, after 55 years of mineral production and the extraction of over 17 million tons of a complex, multi-metallic, high-grade ore.[1] The Buchans operation was generational and several families depended on the mine for their livelihood.

Mining communities, particularly those entirely dependent on mineral resources, are especially vulnerable to economic downturn due to the non-renewable nature of the industry and reliance on external market factors. For residents who live in mining towns and have strong ties to the industry, the loss of major employment deals a devastating blow. Research has shown that mining creates a strong sense of identity and community,[2] one which persists long after the

resource is exhausted. Although much research has been conducted on how communities adapt to and cope with closure, little is known about the role that identity and sense of community play in this process. Around the world, mining developments bring significant prosperity to communities, regions and countries with several actors depending on the industry for economic stability. Without an understanding of the many ways mining communities adapt to closure, we are unable to use this knowledge to help resource-dependent regions persevere through eras of economic bust and resource-based turbulence.

It is no secret that in many single-industry, resource-dependent towns, mine closure and subsequent economic declines threaten the very viability of the community. The literature surrounding mining communities and other single-industry towns suggests that there are numerous ways to cope with crisis and closure. Of course, not all initiatives and measures work, and some communities, due to a suite of factors and circumstances, become ghost towns – forgotten relics of eras of discovery and boom. Mining communities face a particular set of factors that influence their capacity to adapt to closure. The fact that mining industries are sensitive to external factors such as market prices increases their vulnerability to boom and bust cycles.[3] The reality that many mining communities are located in rural and remote regions, often with few other industries to fall back on, further exacerbates this vulnerability. In the event of closure, several key players have the responsibility to react to, and cope with, the situation. These include the company, the state, local employees and the community and region.[4] However, these actors do not operate each in their own vacuum. Their roles are interconnected and interdependent. In this sense, collectivity and collaboration are keys to successfully mitigating and adapting to the numerous impacts associated with mine closure.

Despite facing tremendous challenges, Buchans, the very existence of which as a community came from the mine, survived closure. This feat has been accomplished in large part due to the strong sense of identity and community that residents have. The sense of community prevalent in the town fuelled the efforts to ensure the perseverance and survival of Buchans. The impact that identity and sense of community has had on these community development efforts and subsequent resilience is investigated in this paper. The already strong sense of identity in Buchans, the product of the shared experiences of living in a mining town, contributed to community survival and cultural regeneration, as seen through the actions taken by residents in response to the crisis of closure and the strong leadership emerging

from the ASARCO era. However, to understand and appreciate these efforts fully, one needs to recognise the tenacious sense of identity and community that the residents – known collectively as Buchaneers – value and share.

An important component of this research, and of the methodology itself, is an oral history of the Buchans region during and after the ASARCO era. Both contemporary and historical accounts are important in understanding changing social dynamics and landscapes, or as Perales attests, in reconstructing historical narratives.[5] As Richie observes, oral histories are valuable because they embrace unexpected narratives and add 'an ever wider range of voices to the story', thus making the narrative more complex and more interesting.[6] Although carrying out oral history interviews can be a complicated and challenging process, Richie suggests that conducting them can be 'enormously satisfying and rewarding'.[7] Oral histories ensure that aspects of the past which may have been neglected are preserved and chronicled for future research and knowledge.[8]

Forging a sense of identity and community

Paternalism is at the heart of identity formation and sense of community in Buchans, both directly and indirectly. Paternalism is a style of management that is based on controlling a populace or limiting their freedom and responsibilities in their supposed best interest. Company paternalism dominated most, if not all, aspects of everyday life for the residents of Buchans, including work, leisure, and living accommodations. However, the provision of goods and services is beneficial to both employer and employees, as according to a former ASARCO mine manager, 'any company knows it's better to have people as happy as they can be'.[9] Although the control exerted over residents of Buchans was domineering, the relationship between company and community was mutually beneficial in that residents enjoyed a standard of living much higher than that in other similar-sized resource-dependent communities in the province. While profits were undoubtedly ASARCO's top priority, the company believed that fostering an environment that yielded a contented workforce was in its best commercial interests. Mining companies often created company towns and other paternalistic environments with the goal of fostering higher productivity and preserving labour peace.[10] In Buchans, paternalistic policies formed the basis for community development (both socially and economically), leading

Figure 2. Lucky Strike headframe (deckhead) illuminated atop Main Street. Photo courtesy of Pauline Dean

residents to identify strongly with each other and with the landscape. Subsequently, the common experience of persecution by the company brought individuals together and helped form the basis of group identity. The identities expressed by residents are due to a combination of factors, each of which played a role in the sense of identity and community that Buchaneers hold. Nevertheless, it is the *interconnectedness* of these factors that is accountable for identity. Residents in Buchans reaffirmed their connections to each other and the community through the provision of amenities, goods and services, labour disputes and the nature of mining work. Additionally, isolation and the community's closed-town origins are somehow representative of, or influenced by, paternalism.

Mining produces a unique sense of identity due to several factors, including its dangers, a peculiar work environment and the relationships formed underground. As Mary Murphy attests, 'the dangers of mining cemented bonds of male friendship' in a workplace where men were required to trust each other and look out for any potential hazard.[11] Metheny contends, in her study of an American coal-mining community, that 'to understand the heart of this community – the common bond that unified Helvetica's residents and gave this community social cohesion … – one must have an appreciation for the experiences of the coal miner who labored deep within the earth.[12] Mining towns have a distinct identity and sense of community[13] and because of its status as a company town, many residents and interviewees indicated that these feelings were multiplied in Buchans. When one participant was asked if he thinks there is such thing as a 'mining identity' he responded

poignantly, stating 'Well I'll tell you, if that's true for most mining towns, then it's a thousand times truer for Buchans'.[14]

For many, the relationships that were forged beneath the surface of the earth translated into social relations in the community. Many interview respondents believed that this bond came both from the nature of underground work and from the particular socio-economic class to which the miners belonged. Some referenced the danger of working underground and the fact that miners often looked out for one another below the earth's surface, which led to a sense of fellowship or camaraderie. As Memorial University economist (and former Buchans miner) Wade Locke noted, belonging to the same social echelon resulted in cohesion, and that this is essentially 'what defined Buchans'.[15] Another remarked on this environment as contributing to the sense of camaraderie underground, because 'you knew how you were doing, you knew what your workplace was like and that kind of looking after each other, without competition'.[16]

This combination of risk and socio-economic uniformity contributed to how residents in Buchans related to one another and identified as a community. One participant noted the effect that working closely in the mines had on people in Buchans, suggesting that by being both co-workers and neighbours, the relationships were stronger than they may have been in other communities where work and home were less connected. He remarked, 'I would say it had a deep impact on people here. People that worked here worked side by side and now they're neighbours.'[17] Former union leader and miner John Budden describes the bond as a fellowship:

> The fellowship . . . That's the only word I would use for it. Everybody watched everybody's back, everybody cared for everybody. And being a mining town, what miners normally do is work and drink beer . . . and probably fight, but the next day everybody would look after everybody else's back.[18]

The fellowship that was forged underground outlived mine life and continues to contribute to the post-mining identity. A frequent comment amongst participants was that if given the opportunity, many would return to the mines. As one participant stated, 'I more or less loved everything about it … If I could do it I'd go back down and go at it again',[19] while another declared that 'I don't think you'll find any miner that says that they didn't enjoy being underground'.[20] Former miner Kevin Head was quick to point out his enjoyment of the

type of work of hardrock miners, describing it as 'the best job of my life'. However, he was quickly interrupted by his wife Ruth, who recounted to Kevin that 'you turned your boys off, they never wanted to go near the mine'. Kevin then thought for a moment and responded, 'I didn't want them to go in the mines either. It was something I loved doing, but … it's a dangerous job.'[21]

The resounding sense of identity and community that exists post-closure has been documented by several scholars,[22] and is further illustrated in the case of Buchans. Residents continue to feel attachment to the community and mining landscape in the town despite the closure of the mine. David Robertson's observation of residents' views of the mining landscape, being inherently different than those of non-residents, is crucial in understanding the attachment to the mining community despite the impermanence of industry. He noted that while the landscapes under discussion are the same, the meanings they take on for different individuals are momentous. This sentiment is echoed by residents in Buchans, whose response to the idea that they should have been aware that mining camps close and prepared to move, has been one of emotion and determination. It is clear that community cohesion and sense of place forged in Buchans during the ASARCO era aided the community's ability to endure the crisis of closure.

Economic development and cultural regeneration

In Buchans's post-ASARCO landscape, many actors were involved in economic adjustment and adaptation, with much of the momentum for community survival generated from local residents. Social cohesion and community support have been instrumental in the fight for survival, which some have suggested motivates individuals to work together out of common interest and strengthens the potential for positive results.[23] The strong sense of identity and social cohesion present in Buchans fostered these efforts, ultimately resulting in the perseverance and resilience of the town through its most challenging period, immediately following closure.

In the wake of ASARCO's departure, several organisations took the reins of community development, contributing to the community's resilience. Local development associations and groups were created in an effort to harness local resources and mitigate the effects of closure. In the process of deindustrialisation, several pieces of infrastructure were turned over to these groups and used in new endeavours. However, the

most crucial resource was social capital, and here as elsewhere a key component of community resilience is the engagement of community members, particularly in adaptation to change and unpredictability.[24] Because of their identity as Buchaneers, residents banded together to ensure community survival.

The period of the 1970s was a time of flux and volatility for Buchans, particularly due to the dwindling mine life, with two strikes occurring in 1971 and 1973 as the result of rising tensions between ASARCO and its workers. The uncertainty of living in a company town facing imminent closure inspired residents to become involved in community and regional development. A series of initiatives in the 1970s, including the seminal report of the Buchans Task Force, reflected a number of factors that led to community development and resiliency, including union leadership and the creation of a number of community development groups. In 1975 the provincial government established the Buchans Task Force to evaluate the socio-economic implications of the anticipated mine closure. The Task Force undoubtedly laid the foundation for groups considering new economic pathways for Buchans post-ASARCO. Members of the Task Force included representatives from provincial government departments, ASARCO, residents from the Town (ASARCO's initial settlement) and Townsite (the area adjacent to the town comprised of resettled workers who built houses outside the town's parameters), a local development association and United Steelworkers Local 5457. They held meetings and consultations and drew from local knowledge to ultimately complete their report, which was published in 1976.[25] Since the purpose of the Task Force was solely to undertake a study of the impending mine closure and compose a report, it disbanded after meeting these objectives.

The Task Force report included several recommendations to mitigate the detrimental effects of the impending mine closure. Two of the most substantial recommendations were the incorporation of the community (which took effect in 1979), and the divestment of assets from ASARCO (which took place over the course of several years). The divestment of assets by ASARCO provided the community with infrastructure that could increase the chances of economic investment. Many of these structures were taken over by the Buchans Development Corporation (BDC), a local development group. Mine assets such as the rock shop and what is now the Red Ochre Inn hotel, which was formerly a staff house, were controlled by the BDC.

Buchaneers themselves led a series of initiatives to mitigate the impacts of the mine's closure on the town. In 1984, on the same

day of mine closure, Sean Power was elected as mayor of Buchans. Power, whose family had mined in the community for generations and who was the coordinator of the local development association, was a driving force behind the Buchans Joint Committee. Frustrated with the disparate and uncoordinated efforts of the several groups operating in the community, Power formed the Joint Committee.[26] This committee had two members from each of the development groups and local special interest groups, including the Town Council, Red Indian Lake Development Association (RILDA), Buchans Action Committee, the union and the hospital committee. The committee was essentially led by the Town Council, which was accountable to the residents of Buchans. Once formed, the Joint Committee's objective was to develop and orchestrate a coordinated strategy for adjustment and adaptation to the mine's closure. This committee spearheaded projects such as obtaining worker-transition funding, bidding for a federal penitentiary, pushing for the establishment of the development corporation, and the community-based television project in collaboration with Memorial University's Extension Services which will be discussed below.[27]

Without financial resources, the community's efforts would have been in vain. Federal programme funding was a key component that contributed to the community's development initiatives, and one that has assisted many mining communities in the wake of closure.[28] When the mines closed local leaders soon realised that the federal Modified Industry and Labour Adjustment Program (MILAP) could be instrumental in financially supporting residents and workers who wished to remain in the community. MILAP was a federal programme that aimed to help workers in Canada who worked in industries that were hit hard by a sudden change causing layoffs. The programme preceded the Community Futures Program, which was initiated as part of the Canadian Jobs Strategy. MILAP had two stages. The first stage provided workers with relocation and retraining funding as well as money for the community to use to develop and execute a strategy for the recovery of the local economy. The second stage (Level 2) would give every worker aged 55 and over and any worker whose years of service at the mine plus his or her age, equaled 80, the equivalent of top Unemployment Insurance (UI) benefits until they reached the age of 65. In Buchans, this transition to retirement applied to 140 families whose members had devoted their lives to the mines. For these individuals, finding employment elsewhere would have been difficult due to their age and potential lack of education or training in other fields. While these residents were too young to qualify for pension

benefits, MILAP bridged their income between their working lives and retirement.[29] The funding was crucial in allowing these families to stay in the community while being able to sustain themselves. Phase 1 of MILAP was obtained relatively easily when the Member of Parliament for the area secured approximately $500,000 in federal funding for retraining, mobility funds for workers, hiring a consultant and staff, and a small travel budget. However, securing Phase 2, which would give direct benefits to workers, was significantly more difficult due to recent federal cuts to the programne. Despite all odds, on December 23, 1985, federal cabinet minister John Crosbie announced MILAP Level 2 for Buchans.[30]

Two of the most crucial attempts to plan for the future of Buchans occurred in 1985, a year after closure: the transmitter programme (also known as the television project) and a three-day seminar on single-industry communities. Memorial University's Division of Extension Services (also known as MUN Extension) was involved in both of these events, helping disseminate and mobilise knowledge about the community and the initiatives being undertaken. MUN Extension became involved in the community once the university became aware of Buchans's plight through the media. Extension Services was a university group founded to promote community and rural development, using field workers and interactive media to achieve these goals, and it is credited with promoting the establishment of several non-governmental organisations in the province and influencing development policies.[31] The field worker from MUN Extension who visited Buchans recognised that the leaders were challenged to find ways to disseminate all the details of the town's survival strategy to its residents. It was an intricate strategy for those who were not involved with it daily, and local leaders feared that some initiatives might not have been well understood by residents.[32] MUN offered its assistance by undertaking a television project that would involve broadcasting a discussion on the town's future to the community in an attempt to better inform the residents of their options and their leaders' plans. Local leaders felt that if the residents clearly understood the strategy and their options, they could better decide their future.[33]

This initiative was overwhelmingly well-received by Buchans residents. On the first night of programming 100% of the televisions in the community were tuned into the event, and on the second night this figure dropped only slightly, to 98%. According to Sean Power, who was mayor at the time, the broadcast brought people together and reinforced pride and solidarity.[34] An important guest was the mayor

of Springhill, Nova Scotia, who joined the programme by telephone. Springhill, a once-booming mining town, now had a penitentiary as its primary employer. This was an important comparison as Buchans was currently campaigning to have a federal penitentiary built in the community.[35]

Later that year, Buchans hosted a three-day seminar on single-industry communities. The purpose of the conference was to discuss the issues facing single-industry towns around the country and to find potential solutions. It encompassed industry representatives, government representatives, local leaders and experts on single-industry communities. To organise the seminar, and to guide discussion, the community established the Buchans Planning Committee, comprising town leaders, industry and union representatives. The seminar was planned and sponsored by RILDA, while Memorial University of Newfoundland's Extension Services assisted with the planning and recording of the proceedings. The seminar not only brought together individuals from similar communities to share their knowledge and experiences, it also brought the plight of Buchans to the attention of the country through media involvement and a report on the seminar.[36]

Attachment to place became a focal point of the seminar and many pointed out the strong relationship residents had with the community. At the time of the seminar, Buchans was 57 years old, which many residents emphasised was a substantial amount of time for families to become attached to the town. Many speakers emphasised the fact that while the mine had died, the community had not, with local leader Sandy Ivany likening the closure of the mine to the diagnosis of a terminally ill patient marked by stages of denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance.[37] The speeches illuminated the devotion Buchaneers felt to the community and their dedication to survival. Both the seminar and video initiative brought Buchaneers together and reinforced resilience and community regeneration through strongly felt identity. Not only did the initiatives give residents a better understanding of their options, it enabled and empowered them to remain steadfast in the quest for a future for their community. This ensured that the spirited sense of place that had developed could be harnessed for community development and resilience by encouraging residents to remain hopeful about the future of their town. As one participant in the seminar suggested, 'we've made in our communities the major investment of our lives'.[38] However, the activities of the 1985 seminar also show that a reinforced sense of identity can emerge from community development and economic adaptation and thus not only serve as an impetus to them.

One interview participant commented on a new sense of identity that labelled Buchaneers as 'survivors':

> We were looked upon by government and outside as survivors, so there was a community identity after the mine closed that we were survivors.[39]

The reciprocal relationship between resilience and identity evident in these examples and narratives emphasises the interconnectedness between the two concepts. Furthermore, the strong sense of community within Buchans contributed to the motivation to become involved in community development in the wake of mine closure.

In 1986, a year after MUN Extension Services assisted with the seminar, MUN's Division of Educational Technology produced a short film on the community, entitled *Buchans: A Community not a Mining Camp*.[40] The film focuses on the town's struggle to survive after the 1984 closure of the mines and the strong sense of community felt by residents. Additionally, in documenting for a larger audience the community's resilience, the film no doubt reinforced that very sense of resilience and identity. Drawing heavily on the 1985 seminar, the film documents life in the town, in a way normalising the post-mining community; cars drive up the road, women push strollers and teenagers congregate outside the local convenience store – all images one would expect from any town across the province or country. The film ends with local leader Sandy Ivany reciting a poem written by a young child in a concentration camp during World War II, in which the speaker ponders a world of destruction juxtaposed with the beauty of the sun and blooming flowers. Carrying a powerful message of resilience for those facing uncertainty and adversity, the poem concludes, 'If in barbed wire, things can bloom/ Why couldn't I? I will not die'.

In the wake of mine closure, numerous economic initiatives were implemented in Buchans, helping to sustain the community with both optimism and economic benefits. When community leaders began planning for the town's future, there were three primary economic development objectives: the establishment of a development corporation, the acquisition of MILAP benefits and successfully lobbying for the federal penitentiary to be built in Buchans. During this period, a full-fledged campaign was launched in pursuit of the penitentiary. When the federal government announced plans for a new penitentiary in the province, local leaders immediately began campaigning for the location to be in Buchans. Arguing that the penitentiary would mitigate

the impact from the jobs lost from mine closure, leaders continued to build support from the province. The effort was well orchestrated and passionately fought. As former mayor Sean Power recalls:

> We lobbied very hard for the penitentiary, we visited pretty much every community including St. John's in the province to try and get their support and by lobbying publicly and with full page newspaper ads and so on to try to win the sympathy of the province and we were successful [in gaining support].[41]

According to Power, leaders recognised that without the prison, the town would be unable to provide the number of jobs needed to sustain its economic base. Community leaders had obtained MILAP and successfully established the BDC and in addition negotiated the assets from ASARCO, which the BDC would oversee. However, without the penitentiary, leaders feared the strategy for economic revitalisation could not be achieved.[42] In spite of these efforts, it was later announced in 1988 that the penitentiary would be built in Harbour Grace, much to the dismay of Buchaneers.[43]

Despite the efforts of local leaders in the immediate post-closure era, local development initiatives lost momentum in the 1990s. According to Sean Power, there were three primary reasons why this happened. The first was that, because of the difficult decisions Buchaneers were faced with, many families lost interest in local development. During this period, many individuals and families were forced to leave the community and seek employment elsewhere. The second reason was that media interest in the town began to fade. According to Power, a key to Buchans's success was the support garnered from the province and country. If citizens in Newfoundland and Canada were continually discussing Buchans, political support would follow. While Buchans managed to hold the headlines for quite some time, it eventually faded from media coverage. Finally, although leadership was instrumental in bringing Buchans through the immediate post-closure period, leaders eventually tire. After such a long struggle and after the devastation of losing the bid for the federal penitentiary, leaders were willing to step back and let others have a chance at community development.[44]

Although there has been little significant development activity from local groups over the last 20 years, some development groups still exist in the community. The continuation of groups such as RILDA and the BDC speaks to the dedication of residents to fight for a future for

their community. Despite losing its core funding in the 1990s, RILDA is one of the few regional development associations in Newfoundland and Labrador that are still operational. Currently, the focus of these Buchans groups is on heritage, highlighting the importance of the community's history and the strong connection between the past and the future. Another key agency is the municipal council. The council frequently communicates with mining and exploration companies operating in the area, such as Teck and Buchans Minerals, to discuss upcoming development. It also maintains an up-to-date website with community history, events, information on local businesses, and minutes from each council meeting.

Resilient communities develop material, sociopolitical, sociocultural, and psychological resources to face and overcome adversity.[45] Additionally, interacting as a collective unit and utilising strong leadership capacity are crucial components of community resilience.[46] In the wake of mine closure at Buchans, the establishment of numerous development groups and the undertaking of development initiatives highlighted the level of community engagement and involvement in Buchans. Material resources, such as the acquisition of ASARCO assets, have been crucial in ensuring long-term economic income for the community. The community was effective in mobilising resources from federal and provincial funding agencies, including the Community Futures committee and MILAP benefits (federal) and the RILDA (provincial). Community engagement, combined with the right material and financial resources, added some degree of economic stability to the community. Based on my observations of the past and current situations, it appears that psychological resources in Buchans are not always obvious, but have indeed been important to community resilience. The emotional distress caused by losing the primary employer in a single-industry community was enormous. However, in the immediate post-closure period, residents rallied together in an effort to secure a future for Buchans. Working collectively toward community resilience showed residents that they were not alone in their struggle and that there was a supportive social environment for development. The 1985 seminar and the associated video productions were important psychologically in emphasising and reinforcing community identity, highlighting the identity-based resilience efforts in the community. While Buchans has had significant social capital, many scholars suggest that community resilience is not only about the *capacity* to act, but is reflected in the actions that have been taken.[47] The strong sense of identity and community in Buchans is what inspired residents to become involved in

more than three decades of actions to save the community in anticipation of, and in response to mine closure.

Leadership and legacy

The survival of Buchans can be largely attributed to the leadership that saw the community through closure. The various initiatives discussed above depended, at least in part, on the role of community leaders to effectively harness resources and mobilise community action. Wilson-Forsber highlights the importance of leadership in community resilience. To be effective, leaders must be recognized as such both by community members and by political agencies responsible for the community's fate.[48] Because leadership was so well respected in the community, it became easier for leaders to establish themselves in the eyes of external agencies and pool resources for community development. In addition, community leaders were involved in the local union, emphasising the extent of union solidarity within the town and reflecting their important roles during a tumultuous era in the town's history. Another prominent pool of leaders could be traced to generations of family connections who worked for the company. These second, third and fourth generation Buchaneers were immersed in company and community.

With so many development groups operating in the community and local area, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, it was crucial to have effective leadership to ensure that limited resources were harvested and pooled successfully.[49] It was typically residents who took on the leadership roles that made these organisations and activities possible. In this respect, residents become involved because they have a vested interest in the community and a deep-rooted devotion to the town. Many of these roles tend to be unpaid and rely heavily on volunteerism to carry out the mandates of the organisations described above.

Motivation to become involved in community affairs is often cited as coming directly from the mining experience. When asked why he became involved with the local council, current mayor Derm Corbett was quick to point to other community leaders and residents as inspirational. Their connection to the community was instrumental, he notes, in encouraging his involvement in municipal government:

> I was very impressed by the spirit of people, the determination to make a life even after their lives fell apart, their loyalty to each other and their loyalty to the piece of ground that they lived on …

> what most people couldn't understand was that it's not a house—it's a home, and they had their blood, sweat and tears sunk into this place.[50]

Similarly, former mayor Sean Power suggested that he felt obligated to play a role in community development and that he owed it to the numerous men and women who had built the town through mineral extraction. In fact, some participants attributed the successful procurement of MILAP funding and, in part, the subsequent economic stability of the community to him.[51] Other participants involved in development initiatives post-closure noted that individuals owe it to their communities and neighbours to contribute what they can to local initiatives and projects.

Many interview respondents maintained that because of potential mining operations, the future of Buchans is indeed promising. As previously discussed, Buchans hosts a spirited sense of place, fostered primarily through the mining industry. Residents look back on the heyday of Buchans with nostalgia, and look forward to the future of the town with a sense of hope. It has long been said in the town that despite the vast quantities and high grade of ore extracted, the mother lode was never found. This gives a tremendous sense of optimism to local residents. Speculation in the community has even gone as far as placing the potential location of this theoretical ore body under Red Indian Lake. As one participant noted, 'If you're looking for new mines, always

Figure 3. Former Buchans Mayor Sean Power during the 1985 Buchans Transmitter Program. Screenshot from Memorial University of Newfoundland, Digital Archives Initiative.

look in the site of an old one'.[52] In 2007, mining in fact did return to Buchans. Exploration efforts led to the development of the Duck Pond copper-zinc mine, located approximately 20 kilometres from Buchans. After seven years of production, Teck Resources, the proprietor of Duck Pond, announced in January 2014 that mine life was down to just over a year, and by Spring 2015 the mine would be closed. Although exploration activities in the region have been consistently carried out since the 1980s, news of the impending Duck Pond closure has reinvigorated local interest in a new discovery. Anecdotal information suggests that residents remain optimistic about the future of mining in the region and welcome all exploration activities with open arms.

Given the town's prosperous history, residents are highly receptive to new mining, with many suggesting that the future of Buchans depends on the mining industry. As several participants remarked and one individual asserted, 'Mining is key to the survival of Buchans. That reality only grows stronger by the day.'[53] Others remarked on the excitement that exploration activities bring to the region and how welcome new mining activity would be. As one interviewee told me, 'I love to hear the hum of a drill. I never look at it as a noise, I always look at a drill as being something where there might be another mine.'[54] Many expressed excitement at the prospect of a new reserve discovery and cited the ongoing exploration as indicative of that possibility. Given the relative location of Buchans and surrounding communities, several individuals are certain that some inclusion of mining is required for the town's survival, with one suggesting that optimism is also crucial. As Buchans mayor Derm Corbett stated:

> [T]he future of this town without a play in mining is an extremely difficult future because geographically we're situated in an isolated area … you cannot be involved in a mining town, whether it's as a mayor or a councillor or a resident, without being an optimist.[55]

In a region that is rich in mineral resources, with a heritage built by the mining industry, there is an abundance of optimism that mining will bring renewed economic prosperity and stability to the area. It is important to note, however, that there is a continual search for diversification in the town, with many residents owning small enterprises such as photography services, hunting and tourism businesses, stores, restaurants, parcel delivery to and from the service centre of Grand Falls-Windsor, and butchering and meat processing. However, all businesses are still largely dependent on the existence of a main employer in the

area (the mining sector) to provide the incomes residents use to support local business ventures. As one participant who owns and operates a local hardware store noted, the income brought into the community, primarily by the Duck Pond mine, is crucial for local businesses like his.[56] It also allows local businesses to create more jobs, an indirect impact of the mining industry. However, as he suggests, the relationship between operator and consumer is reciprocal, and in a business such as a store, when residents have less money they spend less money, and '[when] it's hard for one, it's hard for everybody, that's what it seems like'.[57]

In the wake of the mine closure, community resilience in Buchans emerged in large part due to the sense of community and place-based identity that was cultivated by mining activity and the paternalistic atmosphere that defined the town for more than half a century. The willingness to become involved, take on leadership and volunteer roles, and fight for the community was born out of a sense of place and devotion to Buchans. This social cohesion which was formed through decades of shared history and struggle as a form of social capital has been immensely valuable in Buchans's struggle for survival. Social cohesion can come from a variety of factors, including common or shared goals. For local residents, working together to ensure Buchans's survival was a crucial component of the community's social cohesion. Resilience, particularly community resilience, is a product of social cohesion and capital. When residents work together toward a common goal, and are brought together through shared experiences, their dedication proves much deeper than in instances where these factors are not present. Thus, in a sense, social cohesion can be mobilised and fostered to contribute to resilience. It is important to note that during data collection for this study, each participant was asked what they felt had made the community so resilient. The overwhelming majority of those interviewed stated that 'the people' were the driving force of community resilience, a sentiment that echoes the literature. Residents form the basis of communities and in the immediate post-closure period community support was instrumental for the survival of Buchans.

Conclusion

Resource-dependent and single-industry communities hold potential for survival and cultural regeneration through periods of resource depletion and economic downturn, despite the uncertainty and instability upon

which their towns may be founded. My hope for this research is that by telling the story of this community, particularly through its members' own words, relevant lessons from the town can be applied elsewhere. As one participant succinctly pointed out:

> If anything, because we have so much left to learn from an era in Buchans slipping from living memory, that importance and significance of the mine isn't fading, it's growing.[58]

Not only is understanding the complex relationships among residents, company and landscape crucial in determining how Buchans survived closure, but it is also pivotal in its potential application to other resource-dependent communities. Additionally, it is clear from the Buchans experience that technology can be an important component of community resilience, as demonstrated through the television project and the involvement of MUN Extension Services. Senior levels of government are also key actors as they often provide financial resources and support that contribute to community development and resilience. Clearly, there are several distinct factors that led to Buchans residents' having a unique sense of cohesion and community. They included isolation, control, labour disputes and the nature of mining work – and all were inherently influenced by paternalistic policies. However, devotion to the community and to the struggle for resilience is not necessarily unique to Buchans. Individuals can form connections to their workplace, industry and community even without a paternalistic approach to management. What needs to be clear, though, is that this same sense of community and perseverance, fuelled by hope and optimism, can be harnessed in an effort to mitigate the effects of a devastating loss of industry. This is the story of Buchans.

There are currently several mining-dependent communities in Newfoundland and beyond that are operating under the lingering knowledge of eventual closure. The same phrase was constantly repeated during interviews, that 'the day a mine opens is the day it starts to die', echoing the knowledge of impermanence and uncertainty. And while closure is undoubtedly devastating and sometimes occurs with relatively short notice, the reaction and adaptation to closure does not need to be unprepared or uncertain. The history of company towns and the legacy of resulting ghost towns requires that we approach inevitable and unavoidable closure proactively. Having a plan founded in local knowledge as well as sound research can be a tremendously useful resource for communities whose primary employer has been

lost. In Buchans, this was achieved through the establishment of several development groups and initiatives spearheaded by local leaders.

Despite the knowledge that all mines are eventually exhausted, there is a spirited sense of place and identity that can emerge from living and working in a mining town. This forms the basis for cultural regeneration. For residents, the bonds that form both with each other and with the place they live in are difficult to break and often transcend mine life. While for some communities the end of the resource signals the inevitable end of the settlement, others continue to fight for perseverance and resilience in the face of adversity. In the 1985 seminar on single industry communities, local leader Sandy Ivany alluded to the mine closure announcement as similar to a diagnosis of a terminal illness. What is paramount, he asserts, is hope – without which, communities fail to survive hardship. As Ivany so eloquently concluded, hope springs eternal; and where there is hope, there is life.

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51 Interview with Den Fowlow, August 2013; interview with Liam O'Brien, September 2013.

52 Interview with Steve Mulrooney, August 2013.

53 Interview with Liam O'Brien, September 2013.

54 Interview with Mark Hiscock, June 2013.

55 Interview with Derm Corbett, June 2013.

56 Interview with Den Fowlow, August 2013.

57 Ibid.

58 Interview with Liam O'Brien, September 2013.