University of Calgary

PRISM: University of Calgary's Digital Repository

University of Calgary Press | University of Calgary Press Open Access Books

2015-11

Mining and communities in Northern Canada : history, politics, and memory

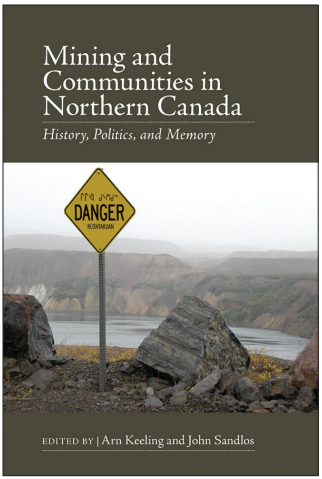
Keeling, Arn; Sandlos, John

University of Calgary Press

Keeling, A., & Sandlos, J. (Eds.). (2015). Mining and Communities in Northern Canada: History, Politics, and Memory. Canada: University of Calgary Press.
http://hdl.handle.net/1880/51021
book

http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/
Attribution Non-Commercial No Derivatives 4.0 International
Downloaded from PRISM: https://prism.ucalgary.ca

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press



MINING AND COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN CANADA: HISTORY, POLITICS, AND MEMORY

Edited by Arn Keeling and John Sandlos

ISBN 978-1-55238-805-1

THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK. It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at ucpress@ucalgary.ca

Cover Art: The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE: This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence. This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY**:

- read and store this document free of charge;
- distribute it for personal use free of charge;
- print sections of the work for personal use;
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY NOT**:

- gain financially from the work in any way;
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
- reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press
press.ucalgary.ca

Acknowledgement: *We acknowledge the wording around open access used by Australian publisher,* **re.press**, *and thank them for giving us permission to adapt their wording to our policy* http://www.re-press.org

Mining and Communities in Northern Canada

History, Politics, and Memory

EDITED BY | Arn Keeling and John Sandlos

Mining and Communities in Northern Canada

Canadian History and Environment Series

Alan MacEachern, Series Editor

ISSN 1925-3702 (Print) ISSN 1925-3710 (Online)

The Canadian History & Environment series of edited collections brings together scholars from across the academy and beyond to explore the relationships between people and nature in Canada's past. Published simultaneously in print and open-access form, the series then communicates that scholarship to the world.

Alan MacEachern, Founding Director
NiCHE: Network in Canadian History & Environment
Nouvelle initiative canadienne en histoire de l'environnement
http://niche-canada.org

No. 1 · **A Century of Parks Canada, 1911–2011**
Edited by Claire Elizabeth Campbell

No. 2 · **Historical GIS Research in Canada**
Edited by Jennifer Bonnell and Marcel Fortin

No. 3 · **Mining and Communities in Northern Canada: History, Politics, and Memory**
Edited by Arn Keeling and John Sandlos

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press

Mining and Communities in Northern Canada

History, Politics, and Memory

EDITED BY | Arn Keeling and John Sandlos

Canadian History and Environment Series
ISSN 1925-3702 (Print) ISSN 1925-3710 (Online)

© 2015 Arn Keeling and John Sandlos

University of Calgary Press
2500 University Drive NW
Calgary, Alberta
Canada T2N 1N4
www.uofcpress.com

This book is available as an ebook which is licensed under a Creative Commons license. The publisher should be contacted for any commercial use which falls outside the terms of that license.

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Mining and communities in Northern Canada : history, politics, and memory / edited by Arn Keeling and John Sandlos.

(Canadian history and environment series, ISSN 1925-3702 ; no. 3)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
Issued in print and electronic formats.
ISBN 978-1-55238-804-4 (paperback).—ISBN 978-1-55238-806-8 (pdf).—
ISBN 978-1-55238-807-5 (epub).—ISBN 978-1-55238-808-2 (mobi)

1. Mineral industries—Canada, Northern—History. 2. Mineral industries—Political aspects—Canada, Northern. 3. Mineral industries—Social aspects—Canada, Northern. 4. Mineral industries—Environmental aspects—Canada, Northern. 5. Mineral industries—Economic aspects—Canada, Northern. 6. Native peoples—Canada, Northern—History. 7. Oral history—Canada, Northern. 8. Collective memory—Canada, Northern. I. Keeling, Arn, author, editor II. Sandlos, John, 1970-, author, editor III. Series: Canadian history and environment series ; 3

HD9506.C32M55 2015 338.20971 C2015-905147-9
C2015-905148-7

The University of Calgary Press acknowledges the support of the Government of Alberta through the Alberta Media Fund for our publications. We acknowledge the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Canada Book Fund for our publishing activities. We acknowledge the financial support of the Canada Council for the Arts for our publishing program.

This book has been published with the help of a grant from the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences, through the Awards to Scholarly Publications Program, using funds provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Alberta Government
Canada
Canada Council for the Arts
Conseil des Arts du Canada
ArcticNet

Cover design, page design, and typesetting by Melina Cusano

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments *ix*

Glossary of Key Mining Terms *xi*

A Note on Terminology *xiii*

Summary of Key Locations and Characteristics of Case Study Mine Sites *xiv*

Introduction (Arn Keeling and John Sandlos) *1*
The Complex Legacy of Mining in Northern Canada

Section 1: Mining and Memory *33*

1| **Arn Keeling and Patricia Boulter** *35*
From Igloo to Mine Shaft: Inuit Labour and Memory at the Rankin Inlet Nickel Mine

2| **Sarah M. Gordon** *59*
Narratives Unearthed, or, How an Abandoned Mine Doesn't Really Abandon You

3| **Alexandra Winton and Joella Hogan** *87*
"It's Just Natural": First Nation Family History and the Keno Hill Silver Mine

4| **Jane Hammond** *117*
Gender, Labour, and Community in a Remote Mining Town

5| **John Sandlos** *137*
"A Mix of the Good and the Bad": Community Memory and the Pine Point Mine

Section 2: History, Politics, and Mining Policy *167*

6| **Jean-Sébastien Boutet** *169*
The Revival of Québec's Iron Ore Industry: Perspectives on Mining, Development, and History

7| **Hereward Longley** *207*
Indigenous Battles for Environmental Protection and Economic Benefits during the Commercialization of the Alberta Oil Sands, 1967–1986

8| **Andrea Procter** *233*
Uranium, Inuit Rights, and Emergent Neoliberalism in Labrador, 1956–2012

9| **Tyler Levitan and Emilie Cameron** *259*
Privatizing Consent? Impact and Benefit Agreements and the Neoliberalization of Mineral Development in the Canadian North

Section 3: Navigating Mine Closure *291*

10| Scott Midgley *293*
Contesting Closure: Science, Politics, and Community Responses to Closing the Nanisivik Mine, Nunavut

11| Heather Green *315*
"There Is No Memory of It Here": Closure and Memory of the Polaris Mine in Resolute Bay, 1973–2012

12| Kevin O'Reilly *341*
Liability, Legacy, and Perpetual Care: Government Ownership and Management of the Giant Mine, 1999–2015

Conclusion *377*

Notes on Contributors *383*

Bibliography *387*

Index *425*

Acknowledgments

A project of this magnitude would not have been remotely possible without the generous support of many people and organizations. The editors want to express their thanks to our funders: the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, ArcticNet, and the Social Economy Research Network. Research grants from these organizations allowed the editors and their students to engage in very expensive but important travel to remote northern communities to speak with the people whose lives have been so deeply affected, for good or ill, by mining. Our funding also enabled our team to present our results at various academic meetings and, in many cases, to the communities themselves. The Faculty of Arts at Memorial University supported this work through teaching releases for the two editors; the School of Graduate Studies provided matching fellowship support for students at Memorial. The Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society provided John Sandlos with a generous one-year writing fellowship and residency that supported the bulk of his editorial and writing work on this project. Many thanks to office staff Fran Warren and Pam Murphy who processed the endless travel claims from the mining history group. Research assistant Emma LeClerc provided fantastic support work as we brought the different strands of the book together. Thanks also to Charlie Conway for cartographic support, and to the editorial team at University of Calgary Press for their efforts throughout the publication process. Funding support for open access publication of this volume was generously provided by the Network in Canadian History and Environment (NiCHE).

While many authors have included acknowledgments for their individual chapters, the editors would like to thank all the communities and individuals who supported this work by sharing their thoughts in interviews, or helping us with research and local logistics. We hope this volume will help preserve your stories and provide a way to share them with others.

Glossary of Key Mining Terms

Abandoned Mine: A site where advanced exploration (diggings, pits, trenches), or mineral extraction has ceased, without effective remediation or reclamation. This term is often used to refer to orphaned mines (see below).

Acid Mine Drainage: A pollution issue where mine wastes (tailings, waste rock, etc.) from sulphide rock formations react with air and water to produce sulphuric acid. The resulting acidic water has the potential to oxidize heavy metals (lead, cadmium, copper, etc.), exacerbating the water pollution problem.

Base Metals: Metals that are not considered precious (iron, copper, lead, etc.).

Cyanide: A chemical used to dissolve gold or silver in order to facilitate separation from ore.

Open Pit (or Open Cast) Mining: A mining method that removes ore deposits through the mechanized digging of large holes directly from the surface (usually after the removal of overburden such as vegetation and soils).

Ore Body: The entire body of rock and other material that is extracted to process and produce one or more valuable minerals.

Ore Concentrates: Produced through a milling process (often crushing and chemical separation) that results in a fine powder with a high percentage of the target metal. Ore concentrates are not a finished product, but are often produced in situ for more efficient transport to a smelter.

Ore Reserves: An assessment of the total amount of ore that can be extracted to produce minerals, usually categorized as possible, probable, or proven.

Orphaned Mine: An abandoned mine for which no private owner can be identified in order to establish liability. Such sites typically revert to public ownership and responsibility.

Placer Mining: Recovery of surface or stream-bed deposits of a target mineral (often gold), typically by washing, dredging, or hydraulic mining.

Prospecting: The earliest stage of the development process involving the active search for possible mineral claims.

Reclamation: A process of converting abandoned (or soon to be abandoned) mining lands to a usable state, as opposed to allowing them to become derelict.

Rehabilitation: In mining landscapes where full restoration (see below) is impossible, a partial repair of the structure and function of the previous ecosystem.

Remediation: Environmental cleanup at operating or abandoned mines, usually focused on lands and waters contaminated with heavy metals, radiation, and other toxic substances.

Restoration: An attempt to address the ecological impacts of mining through a return (as nearly as possible) to the ecological conditions that existed prior to mining.

Strip Mining: Mining near the surface through the removal of overburden and scraping of the ore over large areas. Strip mining is common with coal and sometimes bitumen deposits.

Tailings: Waste material (often a fine dust or slurry) emitted from an ore-processing mill after separating valuable minerals from the surrounding ore.

Tailings Pond: An artificially constructed body of water meant to confine tailings and prevent associated toxic material from spreading to local bodies of water or escaping as airborne dust. Leakage from tailings ponds has historically proved a major problem at mining operations.

Underground Mining: Removal of valuable minerals through the digging of mining shafts, tunnels, and chambers.

Waste Rock: Larger chunks of rock (and sometimes coarse gravel) produced through the mining process but containing no valuable minerals. Waste rock is often left in large piles at abandoned mines, but can also be used as construction material for roads or as fill during reclamation activities.

A Note on Terminology

Throughout this volume, we generally use the terms *indigenous* to connote first peoples in a global context, *Aboriginal* and *Native* to indicate first peoples in a Canadian context, and *First Nations* or *Inuit* to describe distinct cultural/linguistic groups or legally recognized bands in Canada.

TABLE 1: Summary of key locations and characteristics of case study mine sites

Mine	Relevant Chapter	Operational Period	Mineral Type	Extraction Methods	Province or Territory	Nearby Towns	Aboriginal Groups
Rankin Inlet Nickel Mine	1	1957-62	Nickel	Underground	Nunavut	Rankin Inlet (Kangiqiniq)	Inuit
Port Radium	2	1933-40; 1942-60; 1975-82	Radium-uranium-silver	Underground	Northwest Territories	Cameron Bay, Déline	Sahtúot'ı̨nę (Sahtu Dene) of Déline
Keno Hill	3	1913-17 1919-89	Silver-lead-zinc	Underground	Yukon	Keno City, Elsa, Mayo	Na-cho Nyäk Dun
Carol Lake Mine	4	1962-present	Iron	Open pit	Newfoundland and Labrador	Labrador City, Wabush	Innu
Pine Point	5	1964-1989	Lead-zinc	Open pit and underground	Northwest Territories	Pine Point, Fort Resolution, Hay River	Deninu Kue (Dene) First Nation, K'at'odeeche (Dene) First Nation
Schefferville Mining District	6	1954-1982	Iron ore	Open pit	Northern Quebec	Schefferville	Naskapi Nation of Kawawachichamak; Innu Nation of Matimekush-Lac John
Athabasca oil sands (several projects)	7	1967-present	Bitumen	Surface mining	Northern Alberta	Fort McMurray, Fort McKay	First Nations of Athabasca Tribal Council (Cree, Dene)
Nanisivik	10	1974-2002	Lead-zinc	Underground	Nunavut	Arctic Bay (Ikpiarjuk)	Inuit
Polaris	11	1982-2002	Lead-zinc	Underground	Nunavut	Resolute (Qausuittuq)	Inuit
Giant Mine	12	1948-2004	Gold	Underground and open pit	Northwest Territories	Yellowknife	Yellowknives Dene First Nation

Introduction: The Complex Legacy of Mining in Northern Canada

Arn Keeling and John Sandlos

In the midst of his annual northern tour in August 2011, Prime Minister Stephen Harper visited the Meadowbank Gold Mine, one hundred kilometres or so north of Baker Lake, Nunavut. Speaking in front of assembled workers and massive ore-hauling trucks, Harper hailed the mine—Nunavut's only producing site at the time—as a beacon of future prosperity for the people of the Arctic, and promised his government would help industry "unlock development possibilities in the North."[1] The PM reiterated these grand pronouncements to party supporters in Yukon the following year, when, echoing former Conservative Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, he declared that "the North's time has come" and that mineral development would help fulfill a "great national dream."[2]

Fast-forward to early 2013: as gold prices continued their long slide in the wake of the global recession, Agnico-Eagle, the company that owns Meadowbank, announced that it would close the mine three years earlier than planned (in 2017) and shift operations to another northern site. Mineral exploration funds began drying up, and new development proposals were scaled back across the North. Most dramatically, the massive Baffinland Mary River iron mine project in Nunavut radically curtailed its investment and development plans, cancelling a proposed railway and port development on Baffin Island and scaling back its project investment to $740 million from an initial projection of $4 billion.[3]

These events illustrated, in a very short time frame, the extreme volatility of the mining sector and the uncertainties that stalk mining-dependent communities and regions. Since the early 2000s, this industry has seen strong growth, as global demand and concerns over mineral scarcity began driving a "commodity supercycle" that spurred strong investment.[4] High mineral prices meant companies began to seek opportunities in regions previously considered too remote or expensive to operate profitably, including Northern Canada. Exploration and development expenditures skyrocketed, attracting renewed interest in historic mining areas—whether former mines or previously explored but unexploited deposits—that had been idled by the industry's prolonged slump in the 1980s and 1990s. After the "bust" that closed mines and destroyed communities in the 1980s, mining seemed ready to "boom" again in the heady days of the pre-recession 2000s. Most observers remain cautiously optimistic about the medium to long-term trends in commodity prices, and the prospects for northern development, but there's little doubt recent bumps in the road to northern riches have caused some to reflect on the industry's risks, as well as benefits.[5]

As a historian and a historical geographer, our perspective on these developments is informed by the long view of mining's place in Canada's northern and national history. Hardrock mining was the most important activity that brought industrial development to Northern Canada in the twentieth century. Large-scale industrial mining projects in the Canadian North began to appear even as placer gold mining in the Klondike began to decline in the early part of the century. Before 1945, industrial mining was concentrated at three main sites across the North: the Keno Hill silver camp near Mayo in the Yukon, the radium/uranium mines around Port Radium, NWT, and the gold mines at Yellowknife, NWT (Map 1). Surging postwar demand for industrial and strategic minerals, fuelled by both Cold War military needs and an expanding consumer society in North America, stimulated widespread exploration and development in the Canadian North. The postwar boom saw several major new developments, including the lead-zinc deposits at Pine Point, NWT, lead deposits at Faro in the Yukon (the Cyprus-Anvil Mine), and nickel at Rankin Inlet, NWT (now Nunavut), as well as the expansion of gold mining in the Yellowknife district.

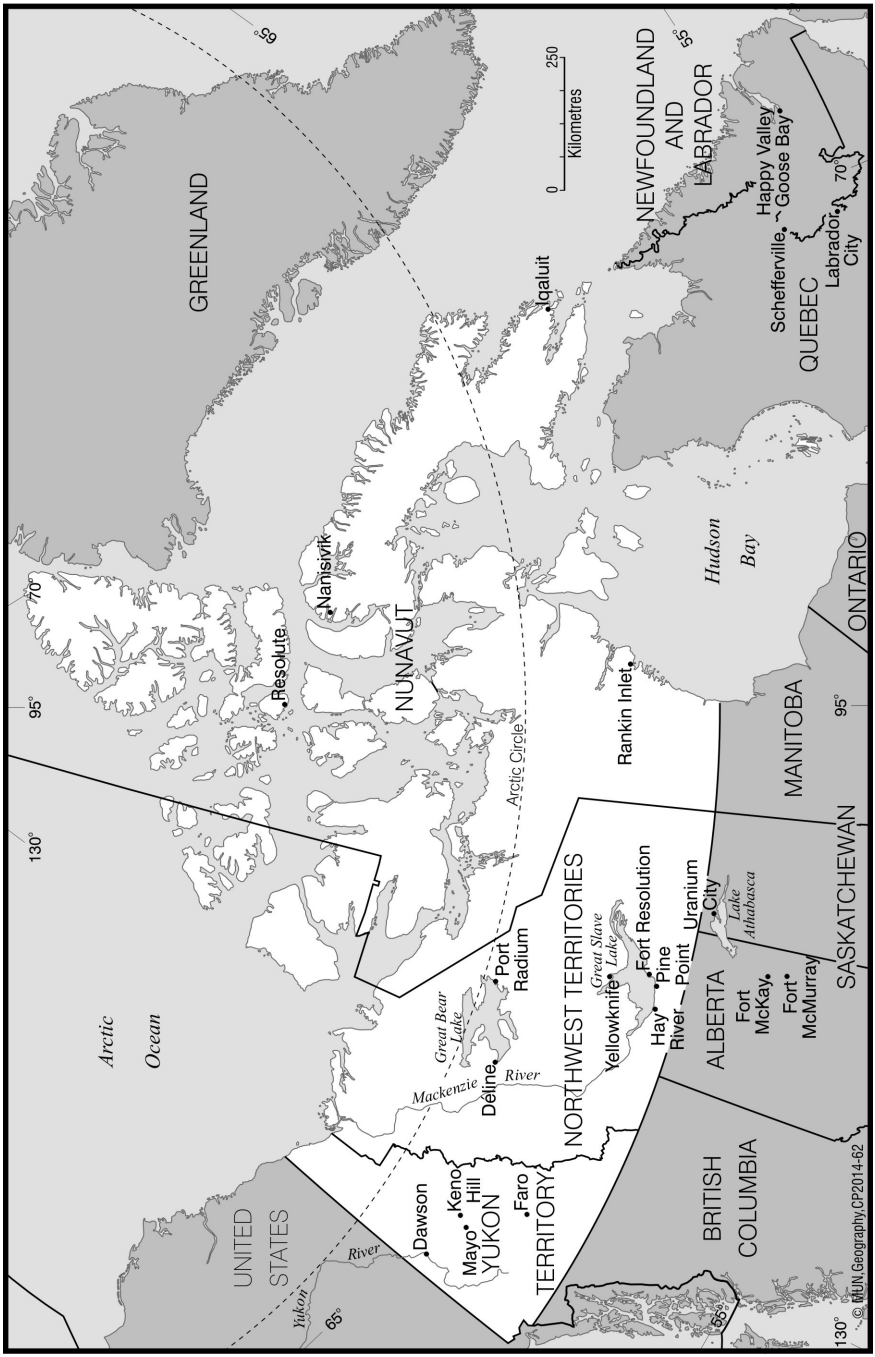


FIGURE 1: Locations of case study mines and communities in Northern Canada. Map by Charlie Conway.

Despite the relatively small number and wide geographic dispersal of these mines, industrial mining had a transformative impact on the North. By the 1950s, metal mining and fuel production (the latter almost entirely for local consumption in industrial developments and settlements) accounted for over 80 per cent of territorial economic output.[6] Mining in the provincial norths also expanded, including major iron mines in Quebec and Labrador (Schefferville, Labrador City), uranium developments in Saskatchewan and Ontario, and several base metal mines in northern Manitoba. Mineral development in this period stimulated non-Native exploration and settlement, investment in infrastructure from roads to railways to power developments, and the increasing integration of these once-remote territories into the national economy. Yet the costs of such development have become increasingly evident in recent decades. Former mine sites have left in their wake not only a toxic legacy of tailings ponds and waste rock dumps, but also a history of social and economic dislocation that continues to disproportionately impact northern Native communities. The promise of development and prosperity for northern regions—the "northern dream" of prime ministers since John Diefenbaker—has frequently delivered only ephemeral benefits, while leaving behind lingering social and environmental problems.

Mining and Communities in Northern Canada traces the history and legacies of the region's encounter with industrial mining in the twentieth century. With chapters spanning Canada's territorial north (and two provincial norths), this book aims to place the contemporary mineral boom (and accompanying hyperbolic rhetoric) into a critical historical context, as well as documenting the tremendous environmental, economic, and socio-cultural changes wrought by this transformative industry. Certainly the northern mining industry imported many significant historical tensions and contradictions worthy of their own book-length analyses, not least the ongoing conflict between capital and a labour force composed largely of outsiders. However, the studies in this volume focus largely on the often-neglected historical experiences of northern Native communities and their encounters with mineral development. Addressing the paucity of detailed historical studies on mining in the region, this volume represents an important collective contribution to our understanding of northern history, industrial development, and

environmental change in the North, even as the region stands on the brink of another transformative period.

Most of the chapters emerged from a research project based at Memorial University called "Abandoned Mines in Northern Canada," which sought to illuminate the complex historical geography of mineral development, as well as its impacts on local communities and environments in the North. Generous funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, ArcticNet, the Northern Scientific Training Program and other sources enabled the recruitment of talented students who, along with the project leaders and other collaborators, undertook extensive archival and field-based research in northern communities. Using a series of abandoned mines—sites of mineral exploration, development, and production that had ceased operation—as case studies, project researchers explored the impacts of industrial modernization on northern communities and environments, as well as the contemporary problems related to closure, abandonment, and remediation of these sites. In addition to producing a series of fine theses related to their case studies, many of the students involved in the project contributed chapters to this book. In addition, project partners from the communities themselves feature not only as informants or research partners in the field, but also in some instances as chapter authors.[7] The result (summarized at the end of this introduction) is a unique collaborative volume documenting the complex and contentious historical engagement with mining in the twentieth-century North.

FRAMING CANADA'S NORTHERN MINING HISTORY

If our encounters with northern mining people and landscapes provided the most immediate and powerful influence on the chapters contained herein, our collective attempts to contend with the vast and complex historical literature on Canadian and international mining have also shaped our work in profound ways. From the outset of the project, Harold Innis's foundational work on the rise and fall of hinterland staples economies provided a key pathway into our study. Although certainly not a new

perspective, Innis's analysis of economic vulnerability among communities dependent on single resources provided a template for understanding the patterns of boom and bust in northern mining developments whose fate was often determined by distant economic forces. Ironically, Innis's most important work on mining, *Settlement and the Mining Frontier*, was quite positive about the economic impact of the Klondike gold rush and optimistic about the potential for mining to spread modern energy and transportation infrastructure throughout Northern Canada.[8]

Innis's boosterism reflected a broader optimism about northern development in the 1920s, but his staples thesis nevertheless influenced a newer generation of scholars who analyzed more critically the cyclical nature of northern mining development. In a series of articles, geographer John Bradbury examined the massive post–World War II development of the Quebec–Labrador iron ore range, highlighting the rise and near-collapse of communities such as Schefferville.[9] In a more theoretical vein, Trevor Barnes and others have elaborated on Innis's concept of cyclonics, the idea the hinterland resource developments proceed in storm-like fashion, with a sudden flood of capital, labour, materials, and knowledge into remote areas that dissipates just as suddenly when conditions change.[10] Even the few American environmental historians who have turned their gaze northward to Alaska or the Yukon emphasize the deep connection of mining to distant metropolitan centres where materials, animals, people, and capital are mobilized for the single-minded exploitation of a single resource, and where overdependence on these "paths out of town" can lead to economic shock and collapse in mining's instant towns.[11] Mining is a risky business in remote regions such as the Canadian North: high transportation and operating costs combined with vulnerability to volatile markets have often made community breakdown and economic collapse the inevitable endgame for northern mining towns.

But what of the Native communities that predate the development of mining in the Canadian North? Too often the staples-inflected literature has focused only on the rise and fall of largely non-Native mining towns, stories that ignored First Nations and Inuit communities who experienced sudden and rapid social, economic, and environmental change due to mining, and who persisted in spite of the abandonment of adjacent

mining activities. As we began our research, we found surprisingly little scholarly work on this theme, particularly from a longer-term historical perspective. Much of what has been done stems from the work of NGOs such as MiningWatch and the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, or emanates from the formal assessment processes and reporting requirements of mines with significant environmental liabilities.[12] Aware of the burgeoning literature on mining and indigenous conflicts in the US Southwest, Australia, Africa, and Latin America, we immediately sought to frame mining in Northern Canada within the global literature on environment and justice.[13] We ultimately adopted historical political ecology as a major theoretical frame for our work, a geographical subdiscipline that highlights the unequal distribution of environmental harms and benefits due to colonial environmental management and resource production schemes in Third World regions. We argued that the territorial north in the twentieth century, much like these other resource extraction zones in the developing world, was a thinly populated but still largely indigenous space where the long reach of mining severely impacted pre-existing subsistence economies, provided few local employment or investment opportunities, and often left severe environmental problems with which Aboriginal communities have to contend.[14]

The historical political ecology framework thus helps connect mineral development's local impacts and conflicts to larger questions surrounding the links between political economy, state-led or promoted development projects, and the settler colonial dispossession of indigenous people.[15] In Canada, past northern development visions and policies have been strongly linked to the exploitation of the region's natural resources; particularly after the Second World War, politicians and bureaucrats promoted resource development, especially mining, as the key to assimilating northern people and territories into the national economy.[16] Throughout much of Arctic and Subarctic Canada, this agenda advocated the transition of Aboriginal economies away from land-based subsistence and trade economies, and toward wage economies and settlement life—often with dire consequences for Aboriginal people themselves.[17] Our research has found, similar to cases in the developing world, that the southern Canadian perception of the North as both an underdeveloped territory and as a potentially rich resource frontier underwrote

industry-friendly government policies and subsidies for industrial infrastructure, including dams, townsites, roads, and railways, all of which further affected Native communities and territories.

These impacts were most stark at major mines where Native communities faced acute toxic threats or other environmental clean-up issues over the long term: sites such as the Port Radium mine, the Cyprus-Anvil lead-zinc mine, the Pine Point Mine, or the Giant Mine. Indeed, many chapters in this volume reveal that Native people maintain strong feelings of historical injustice about the social and environmental legacies of mining in their regions. Some regard mining as a key agent of colonialism in their region, bringing sudden influxes of outside workers, instant communities, state agencies, and environmental degradation, all of which combined to compromise subsistence economies based on hunting and trapping.[18] For instance, particularly in early to midcentury developments, mines drove significant local deforestation through their voracious demand for wood for fuel and construction.[19] Many large northern mineral developments were accompanied by hydroelectric dams (including at Faro, Pine Point, Yellowknife, Uranium City, Lynn Lake, and Schefferville) in order to power towns and industrial facilities, dams that altered local rivers and displaced land users.[20] In places such as Port Radium or Yellowknife, Native people were exposed to acute and low-level toxic contaminants (radiation at the former site, arsenic at the latter) that caused death and illness in some cases. The precise health and ecological impacts of past mine pollution is difficult to assess due to the inherent limits of historical epidemiology (and poor contemporary monitoring practices), but the persistence of pollutants long after the closure of these mines has contributed to a sense that the land is sick and dangerous rather than a source of sustenance.[21]

Very often the impacts of mining and its related developments occurred alongside the other profound environmental, social, and health challenges that northern Native people faced throughout the twentieth century. New diseases, acute hunger, poor nutrition associated with store-bought food, declining fur trade economies, community relocations, military activities, and poor housing often coincided with mining development or arose as a direct result of conditions within mining communities, as many of the case studies make clear.[22] In spite of these

wide-ranging changes, for northern Native communities on the front lines of toxic or radiological exposure due to mining, the use of their traditional lands as repositories for pollution and waste is often remembered as the most significant of the changes that outsiders brought with them.

As with other historical works highlighting the dire ecological impacts of mining, it was difficult to conclude that the environmental issues associated with northern mining could lead anywhere but to stories of decline and dislocation.[23] However, a major challenge to this negative perspective has come from what might loosely be described as the "resilience school" of mining history. Inspired by the pioneering work of geographer Richard Francaviglia (and perhaps influenced by the general revolt against "declensionist" narratives among environmental historians and historical geographers), several scholars and popular writers have argued against a "mining imaginary" in which the death of mining communities and environmental catastrophe inevitably follow the closure of a mine. Mining communities, these writers suggest, often survive after the end of mining, through any combination of economic diversification, mining-related tourism, redevelopment (as sites of mineral production or as brownfield redevelopments for other industries), or large-scale ecological restoration projects. Central to these studies is the idea that mining communities identify very strongly with their own history; meaningful commemoration of mine work, community life, and mining landscapes remains a key concern in many mining towns facing closure and remediation.[24]

In Northern Canada, factors such as distance and limited infrastructure present very real challenges to the survival of mining communities, but we did find ample evidence of resilience and a strong mining identity among former mining communities in the region. Since the final closure of the Giant and Con gold mines adjacent to Yellowknife in the early 2000s, the city has thrived as a government town (it is the territorial capital) and as a supply and labour centre for the major diamond mines that commenced operation on the tundra to the northeast in the late 1990s. The city still retains a strong identification with its origins as a mining town: local history societies have published several oral histories of life in the early gold mining years, while the NWT Mining Heritage

Society hopes to develop a museum preserving some of the industrial heritage (including at least one headframe) at the Giant Mine site.[25] Former Inuit miners in Rankin Inlet also maintain a strong identification with the community's mining history, while the community has survived as a relatively large (by northern standards) government and service centre, and regional transportation hub.[26] Other sites such as Port Radium, the Keno Hill silver mines, and the Quebec-Labrador iron region have received almost hagiographic treatment in popular histories produced by former mine officials or in histories commissioned by mining companies.[27] Some of our other case study towns, such as Schefferville, Quebec; Uranium City, Saskatchewan; and Keno City, Yukon, clung to life despite being depopulated when the mines closed due to plunging mineral prices in the 1980s, and now anticipate a rebirth if commodity prices remain high and redevelopment of abandoned mineral deposits moves forward. Even in cases where the physical community did not survive, former town residents keep the memory of their community alive. One example is Pine Point's very active web-based memorial, a grassroots commemoration that was recently highlighted in a brilliant online interactive documentary by the National Film Board.[28] Mining towns in Northern Canada sometimes *do* survive the collapse of their main raison d'etre, whether they are sustained by new economic activity or kept alive in the memories and virtual worlds of former residents.

How to reconcile the theme of resilience with the historical political ecology framework we had adopted became a key question for our collective work on abandoned mines. Ultimately we found that many Native communities exhibited their own forms of resilience both during and after mining boom periods, taking advantage of wage labour opportunities when presented but also returning to hunting and trapping activities when prices were favourable. From very early in our research, we realized it was too simple to suggest that Native northerners were simply the passive victims of mining. Native people took advantage of opportunities in the mining industry when they could, adapting to mineral development through strategies that ranged from engaging in ad hoc labour to eventually applying political pressure for the establishment of Inuit and Dene mineral rights and/or royalty regimes through impact and benefit agreements and the comprehensive land claims process.[29]

And yet, abandoned mines in Northern Canada remain places that are too deeply contested to fit neatly within the resilience framework. Indeed, the resilience school too often ignores the multiple ways in which mines impact communities, particularly in light of the colonial and political ecology context that we highlight above. For many researchers on this project, one of the most remarkable findings was the extent to which many Native northerners embraced the complexity of their mining histories, critiquing the colonialism and environmental degradation that were invariably tied to mining on the one hand, but minutes later expressing the same pride in their work and nostalgia for the good old mining days as their non-Native former co-workers. As so many of the people we spoke with stated in many different ways, mining often brought with it a complicated and mixed legacy.

Nowhere are these deep contradictions surrounding mining history more acute than the contemporary debates surrounding the remediation and redevelopment of many of our case study mines. Again, contrary to the arguments of the resilience school, the "afterlife" of mines can have extremely negative implications for northern Native communities. Many northern mines live on as sources of local controversy because of severe long-term environmental degradation, where legacies including massive landscape changes, waste rock piles, abandoned industrial facilities, and toxic contaminants such as heavy metals, acid mine drainage, or radioactivity have forced the federal government to establish expensive remediation programs. In addition, prompted by recent spikes in mineral prices, many abandoned northern mines are being resurrected through redevelopment of remaining ore deposits—in some cases simultaneously with remediation of the original mining development. We have come to think of these examples as "zombie" mines, because in their afterlife they continue to haunt communities with many of the same issues—environmental risks, unequal wealth distribution, decision making by outsiders—that emerged with the original development.[30]

Even where projects are undergoing only remediation—often assumed to be a form of healing the land—the mobilization and containment of toxic material and the perpetual care and monitoring required at some sites raise profoundly complex issues associated with community risks and intergenerational equity. In 2002 a federal Auditor General's

Figure 2: Yellowknife, NWT's abandoned Giant Mine in 2008, before remediation activities began. Remediation costs at Giant are expected to exceed $1 billion. Photo by Arn Keeling.

report prioritized thirty abandoned mines in the territorial north as requiring remediation, with an estimated cost of $555 million (a very low figure given the fact that remediation for the Giant Mine alone is forecasted to cost over $1 billion).[31] As of this writing, Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada is conducting remediation activity, planning, and/or monitoring programs at seventeen of these sites, with four simultaneously undergoing redevelopment.[32] During the course of our research, we have been able to document community memories and contemporary reactions to six mines in the territorial or provincial norths that exhibit zombie-like characteristics—Giant, Keno Hill, Pine Point, Nanisivik, Rankin Inlet, and Port Radium—as well as the proposed redevelopment of iron deposits near Schefferville. These examples represent only a small fraction of abandoned mines in the Canadian North or the thousands of sites globally, but they reveal the complex and multifaceted ways that the fractious histories and community memories of cyclonic development projects in Northern Canada have profoundly shaped local responses to contemporary mine remediation efforts.

UNDERSTANDING MINES THROUGH ORAL HISTORY

Local memories of abandoned mines have persisted in much the same way as the after-effects of the sites themselves. In most of our case study communities, we found that undertaking oral history research was essential to capture the varied local memories of mining and to document the complex and layered community stories that rarely emerged in archival documents or government reports. A lively scholarly and popular literature on mining and communities makes extensive use of oral history in order to document the experiences of workers and families in these uniquely hardscrabble settings.[33] Oral histories have also explored the environmental degradation associated with mining, while highlighting the various ways these "wasted" landscapes are perceived by area residents themselves, who may identify positively with industrial ruins or mine waste sites.[34] In this way, oral history permits researchers to explore the multiple meanings and experiences of mining places.[35] Ranging from collections of edited transcripts to the use of oral interviews in conjunction with ethnographic, archaeological, and archival sources, oral history is regarded as a potent source for the documentation of otherwise "hidden voices" of mining history.

Typically absent from this body of oral history work is the experience of Native people in many mining regions. Few studies in Canada have used oral history to capture indigenous people's parallel historical development of mining identities and their experience of mine closure, either as workers or as broader participants in local economic and settlement life.[36] As people with lifeways and knowledge systems intimately tied to local environments, northern Native communities often have borne the brunt of the environmental changes associated with mining, whether deforestation, local resource depletion caused by habitat change and harvesting by newcomers, or pollution and toxicity stemming from mining and mineral processing wastes. Indigenous oral histories can also provide important insight into these processes and experiences of mining-driven environmental change.

Our initial motivation, then, for using oral history was one common to many practitioners: to address the gaps in the archival record and to

explore the hidden histories and untold experiences of industrial development in the North. Most of the chapters in this volume include detailed archival research in federal and territorial archives, which document government policy and, to a lesser extent, corporate and individual mining-related activities in the North.[37] But Native voices are conspicuously absent from the vast government archival record on northern mining, despite the fact that responsibility for Aboriginal affairs and northern development rested within a single federal department—the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, in its various incarnations—after the Second World War. Where Native people are present, they appear as objects of state policies around employment, settlement, or interactions with non-Native newcomers; rarely, before the 1970s at least, were Native people's opinions, reactions, or experiences of development recorded or sought. Our interest in "recovering" Native experiences with industrial development resonates with one of the core motivations of oral historians: to record (literally and figuratively) these ignored stories and thereby to challenge dominant historical narratives.[38]

In the process of engaging with communities and individuals over the course of this project, however, some of the paradoxes of this approach became apparent, prompting a deeper reflection on questions of positionality and knowledge of the sort urged by advocates of indigenous methodologies.[39] Although the communities and individuals we worked with expressed enthusiasm for documenting their stories, the notion of "restoring hidden voices" to the public transcript in many ways reflected our own outsider status and interests (as southern, non-Native academics and students).[40] It quickly became apparent that stories of industrial development and environmental damage are far from "hidden" in the communities themselves; rather, they continually circulate and are mobilized from time to time in communities' ongoing engagements with land-use planning, land claims, and new development proposals. This question also arose when we returned to communities to report on the results of the oral history studies, which sometimes placed us in the awkward position of repeating to community members their own stories. It has become important for us to recognize that the absences in the archival record and ignorance of southern Canadians (including scholars)

regarding Native experiences do not necessarily extend to the communities themselves.

Similar questions arose surrounding cross-cultural communication, translation, and representation in this project. As outsider researchers, we typically worked with community researchers, who participated in the research process by connecting us with informants, asking questions themselves, or translating interviews with elders who preferred to speak their language. These community researchers represented a vital bridge between ourselves as non-Native visitors (and, to informants, unknown quantities) and these knowledge-holders. Nevertheless, questions of translation—both linguistic and epistemological—remain. With respect to language, the two-way communication of an interview became mediated through a third party and the back-and-forth translation of ideas and terms, raising ample potential for misunderstanding and miscommunication. Where possible, we have sought full translations of interviews after the fact, but the potential gulf in meaning and understanding remains, however tentatively bridged by our able translators. As outsiders and non-Native people, we do not expect to share or completely understand Native knowledge and experience; we also recognize that, because they were speaking to outsiders, interviewees may have chosen to share certain versions of stories with us, based on the questions we asked. In that sense, we follow Linda Shopes and others in regarding oral histories as products of this interaction, rather than as objectively collected "knowledge."[41]

In this dynamic of the co-production of knowledge, the outcomes of oral history research are best regarded in terms of shared authority and negotiated meanings. Shopes suggests this shared authority is a check on all participants in the oral history process: "Scholars do not get to exercise critical judgment quite so forcefully or conform to current historiographic thinking quite so deftly; laypeople do not get to romanticize the past quite so easily."[42] Nevertheless, our ongoing interpretation and re-presentation of these interviews becomes a further layer of mediation between the informant and various audiences (including the readers of this volume). As we began to undertake transcription (itself a problematic textual rendering of oral expression) and analysis of our interviews, we confronted questions of respectful yet critical representation of this

knowledge in both public and scholarly contexts. Concerns about reliability and validity stalk oral history: in analyzing stories about industrial development and environmental change, we remain alert for the effects of nostalgia or "social memory" in shaping individual recollections of particular events and issues.[43] Nevertheless, we have approached the oral history component of the project not with the desire to document concrete events or specific environmental impacts (i.e., to answer questions of causality or proof), but rather with the goal of capturing personal and collective experiences and perceptions of mining-induced social and environmental change. As archaeologist Karen Metheny asserts, "Oral history, then, is as much an exercise in verification as it is learning how people create their own versions of the past and determining the meaning of those constructions."[44] Thus, we regard oral stories not as hard "evidence" about environmental and social change (although respondents have often suggested environmental impacts and problems not well documented in the archival record), but rather as personal insights enriching and deepening narratives of industrial development with grounded, individual experiences and observations.

In seeking these stories, it was critical to acknowledge community motivations (collectively represented by First Nation, Métis, and Inuit governments or other organizations) and the interests of individual participants themselves in sharing their experiences, and to undertake the research through processes and agreements approved by them. Each of the case study communities brought varying motivations and levels of participation and oversight to the research. In some cases, our proposals to study the mining past were greeted with more or less instant enthusiasm. In other cases, relationship building took repeated visits and discussions over years. In all cases, the communities' engagement with the research (quite properly) reflected their interest in documenting the past, whether for the purposes of land claims, resource management, and regulatory processes, or simply recording for posterity elders' experiences with mining and the coming of non-Native settlement. Rather than limiting or biasing the research, these interests validated our presence in the community and the goals of our study, while allowing us more or less free rein to conduct the interviews as we saw fit. Guided by the Tri-Council Policy on Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans

(TCPS2),[45] project researchers also followed the relevant community, territorial, and institutional protocols for gaining informed consent from participants. While particular individuals and organizations are acknowledged in each of the chapters, it is appropriate here to acknowledge and thank the many northerners who worked with us to help make this research possible.

Rather than undertaking "life history" or traditional knowledge studies, we employed a semi-structured, "directed interview" technique that sought to highlight individual experiences and knowledge of mining and the local environment. Because we aimed to document lived experience of events that were (mostly) within living memory of the subjects, we did not seek folkloric or other stories of a "traditional" nature (though ironically, most of the research agreements we established with First Nations are governed by traditional knowledge protocols). This approach had benefits and costs. While it enabled a focused and purposeful interview (allowing respondents to direct the discussion as they saw fit), it perhaps divorced the topic somewhat from the wider contexts of interviewees' lives: family, community, land, and culture.[46] Whether or not interviewees worked there or had strong opinions about it, the mine was likely not the central feature of their lives—except perhaps during the hour or so spent in conversation with researchers. These contexts nevertheless occasionally forced their way into the transcript, through references to family origins, histories of movement, or important personal milestones, and provided important glimpses of interviewees' lives.

The result is a rich tapestry of personal and community memories and stories from small mining towns ranging from the High Arctic to the provincial northlands; from Nunatsiavut, Labrador, in the East to Mayo, Yukon, in the West. The vastness of the subject matter and the geographic territory, not to mention the usual constraints of time and budgets, prevented us from covering all major mining developments in Northern Canada. Indeed, some major historical mines such as Con Mine near Yellowknife, the Cyprus-Anvil Mine in the Yukon, and the uranium mines of northern Saskatchewan receive only brief mention in this book. Innumerable smaller mineral developments are ignored. We chose our existing case studies in part because of their size, longevity, and severity of local impacts, but also based on the extent to which individual mines

represented the leading edge of mineral-led colonialism in particular regions of Northern Canada. Keno Hill silver mine, for instance, was the first industrial mine in the territorial north; other sites were the first to push mining into remote regions such as the Eastern Arctic (Rankin Inlet), the Arctic Islands (Polaris and Nanisivik), isolated areas along the Quebec–Labrador border (Schefferville and Labrador City), and the south side of Great Slave Lake (Pine Point). Certainly we wanted a collection that represented diverse regions of Northern Canada (including examples from the provincial norths) and a variety of time periods, but individual research interests and life experiences (some authors live close to their case studies) also shaped the choices of cases and subject matter in this book.

The first section of the book focuses most intensely on our oral history research projects and the complex community memories of mining in Northern Canada. Arn Keeling and Patricia Boulter's chapter highlights Inuit memories of the North Rankin Nickel Mine, the first large-scale Arctic mining project, opened in 1957, and the first to employ Inuit labour as a deliberate social and economic development strategy. The chapter traces the challenges faced by the Inuit, but also their strategic adaptation, during the rapid transition "from igloo to mine shaft," arguing that Inuit developed a strong identity as miners even as they critiqued shortcomings of the project such as poor housing and the short five-year life of the mine. In the second chapter, Sarah Gordon analyzes one of Northern Canada's most controversial mining sites, the Port Radium mines that produced radium and then uranium from the eastern shores of Sahtú (Great Bear Lake) from 1931 to 1960 (and intermittently produced silver until 1982). The mine is notorious, not only for its contribution of uranium to the Manhattan Project, but also due to the controversy surrounding radiological exposure among Dene workers from Délı̨nę. Gordon highlights how community memory surrounding the discovery of pitchblende (which they contend was passed on by elder Old Beyonnie rather than "discovered" by legendary prospector Gilbert Labine) intersects with more recent attempts to reconcile the colonial past of the mine with community healing in the present. In Chapter 3, Alexandra Winton and Joella Hogan trace the long history of interaction between the United Keno Hill Mine and the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun First

Nation in the central Yukon. Through a close reading of the experience of one elder, Henry Melancon, the authors argue (similar to Keeling and Boulter) that the mines brought a mixed legacy of opportunities and negative impacts, historical experiences that inform contemporary reactions to Alexco Resource Corporation's ongoing simultaneous remediation and redevelopment of the old mining area. Jane Hammond's work in Chapter 4 moves away from northern Native communities, instead providing an oral history that accounts for gender relations in the iron-mining town of Labrador City. Hammond's work reveals that, despite women's advances in the workforce elsewhere in Canada in the 1970s, social pressure, company policies, and masculine workplace culture meant that women entered mine work only very slowly in Labrador City, often finding themselves caught uneasily between the twin pressures of the domestic and wage labour realms. John Sandlos's final chapter in this section surveys the intensive oral history research conducted in Fort Resolution, NWT, near the massive Pine Point lead-zinc mining complex that operated on the south shores of Great Slave Lake between 1964 and 1988. The many collected memories of individuals suggest a mixed historical legacy for mining in the region, with interviewees recalling their great fondness for mine work and town life, while at the same time lamenting the negative social, economic, and environmental changes that accompanied the introduction of mining to their region. As with the previous studies, oral history research throws into bold relief the manner in which northern Native communities remember mining, in the words of one interviewee, as a mix of the good and the bad.

However remote they may be geographically, northern communities are never isolated from the political and policy frameworks that simultaneously promote and regulate mining development in Canada. The second section of the book thus examines the many ways that northern communities have attempted to insert their voices into provincial, territorial, and federal regulatory processes or to directly engage mining companies. In Chapter 6, Jean-Sébastien Boutet evaluates the Quebec government's *Plan Nord*, a comprehensive northern development program centred on major hydro and mineral projects, in light of the mixed legacy of the abandoned iron mines near Schefferville. Boutet suggests that previous mine closures and the sudden loss of a wage economy at Schefferville

continue to haunt contemporary discussions of development among the Innu communities of Matimekush–Lac John (Schefferville) and Uashat mak Mani-utenam (Sept-Îles), despite current promises of long-term jobs and prosperity. Hereward Longley, in Chapter 7, turns toward the initial period of oil sands growth in the 1970s, tracing the attempts of the Fort McKay First Nation to assert some control over the economic and environmental impacts of development through the courts and regulatory hearings. Andrea Procter's chapter examines the growth of an Inuit rights discourse in response to uranium exploration in northern Labrador, an assertion of resource claims that was expressed formally through the emergence of the Labrador Inuit Association in the 1970s and the land claims process that produced Nunatsiavut in 2005. And yet, even though resource rights and land claims may represent a step forward from total exclusion of Inuit from development, Procter questions whether granting Inuit a share of the dominant development paradigm may also represent an entrenchment of neoliberal ideas of self-sufficiency and economic autonomy from state "handouts." In a similar vein, the final chapter of this section, by Tyler Levitan and Emilie Cameron, provides a pointed critique of the recent move toward impact and benefit agreements (IBAs), the private deals that are now typically struck between mining companies and northern Native communities in order to delineate jobs, economic benefits, and environmental liabilities associated with nearby mining developments. As with Procter's work, Levitan and Cameron suggest that the seemingly inclusionary step of inviting northern Native communities into negotiations with companies may actually represent the affirmation of a neoliberal regime whereby northern social development programs become at least partially privatized within the (disturbingly) boom and bust capital flows associated with the mining industry. While mining companies and governments point to new industry–Native community partnerships as a marker of major change, the chapters in this section suggest that unequal power relations and colonial legacies still play a major role in shaping northern development projects.

The final section presents three chapters that examine the zombie-like afterlife of many mines, and the manner in which the history of these places is reflected in the contemporary reality of nearby communities. The first of these is Scott Midgley's discussion of the abandoned

Nanisivik lead-zinc mine on Baffin Island, which operated from 1976 to 2002. Midgley considers the post-closure debates over mine remediation at Nanisivik, arguing that, far from being valueless, the abandoned mine became a site of contested valuation (of land and environment), as the government and company insisted on scientific and cost-effective approaches to mine remediation while the Inuit of Arctic Bay expressed deep skepticism about the long-term efficacy of the proposed remediation plan. By contrast, Heather Green suggests in Chapter 11 that the fly-in, fly-out Polaris lead-zinc mine that operated on Little Cornwallis Island figures hardly at all in the historical memory of the service town of Resolute, located about ninety kilometres to the south on Cornwallis Island. Through oral history interviews, however, Green discovered that the relative amnesia surrounding Polaris is in part a product of Resolute's own experience of marginalization from the social and economic benefits of the development, and the mine persists mainly as a symbol of relative Inuit exclusion from previous development projects. The book's final chapter belongs to Yellowknife-based social and environmental activist Kevin O'Reilly, who provides a detailed yet passionate account of attempts to insert local voices into the remediation of the abandoned Giant Mine. Here, the federal department of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC) is proposing to contain through freezing 237,000 tons of arsenic trioxide stored underground at the mine, a staggering amount of highly toxic material that will require care and maintenance in perpetuity. O'Reilly tells a deeply disturbing story of how AANDC has resisted public involvement, environmental assessment, and independent oversight over the remediation project, reducing the deeply conflicted issues surrounding the historical mine site to a mere technical engineering problem. Perhaps more than any other site, the immense scale and complexity of remediating Giant illustrate the costly legacies associated with northern mining, and the deep conflicts these sites continue to provoke in the present.

It has been more than one hundred years since mining began in the Keno Hill Silver District, the site of the territorial north's first industrial-scale hardrock mines. What has a century of mining brought the Canadian North? Did the mines bring civilization or advance the agenda of settler colonialism? Did they bring untold riches or siphon wealth

from the region for other people living in other places? Did the mines bring economic development or dislocation, all the while bequeathing long-term and costly environmental problems that may not be solved for generations? The chapters in this book suggest that mining in Northern Canada brought all of these things. There is no doubt, for instance, that mining was one of the major stimulants of northward expansion in Canada, a colonial incursion into Native territory that has only recently been redressed, however inadequately, through land claims and IBA processes. The materials and much of the wealth from these mines did indeed follow many pathways out of town—gold to the vaults of central banks, lead and zinc to massive smelting facilities in Southern Canada or overseas, and uranium to the research laboratories of the Los Alamos atomic bomb project—but often provided only marginal employment benefits to the Native communities adjacent to the mines. At the same time, Native communities did often embrace mining development and mining labour as a hedge against tough times in the fur trade and hunting economies. Mining brought new communities and settlers to Northern Canada, but the collapse of many major developments left a legacy of nearly abandoned communities or ghost towns that stand as testaments to the ephemeral nature of the mineral economy. In some cases, the abandoned mines of Northern Canada have also produced environmental problems that afflicted the past and the present, and potentially could persist far into the future.

Almost all of our case studies illustrate the deeply conflicted historical experience of northern mining development that inevitably hangs over current debates about mine remediation, redevelopment, or new mining projects close to Native communities. If the history of northern mining is indeed a tangled legacy, the chapters in this book allow us a close-up view of these contradictory stories, and the ongoing attempts to reconcile the complex past with the opportunities and challenges that mining may present northern communities in the future. The renewed northern mining boom of the past decade has brought territorial governments, Native leaders (particularly the newly empowered land-claims organizations), and mining companies into new relationships, under circumstances very different than those surrounding twentieth-century mining. Yet as Virginia Gibson suggested in her study of diamond mining in the

Northwest Territories, while modern miners "may seek to enter the political geography of the north without acknowledging the past, [a] relational view of history reveals they will arrive with the shadows of ghost-mines behind them."[47] Our research into abandoned mines confirms that reckoning with the history, geography, and ongoing legacies of past rounds of extractive development is critical if large-scale mining has any chance of generating enduring prosperity and opportunities for sustainable economies in Northern Canada.

NOTES

1 Gloria Galloway, "Prime Minister Stephen Harper Pushes Mining Exploration in Arctic," *Globe and Mail*, August 24, 2011.

2 Stephanie Levitz, "Moiling for Gold: Harper Spends Second Day in the North at Area Mine," *Canadian Press*, August 21, 2012, accessed February 19, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2012/08/21/harper-arctic-trip-gold_n_1815787.html.

3 Pav Jordan, "Baffinland Iron Mines Sharply Scales Back Mary River Project," *Globe and Mail*, January 11, 2013; "Mining Slowdown Hurts North's Economy," *Canadian Press*, October 16, 2013, accessed February 19, 2014, http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/mining-slowdown-hurts-north-s-economy-1.2075144. Meadowbank's travails are documented in Alistair MacDonald and John W. Miller, "Mining at Minus 45 Celsius Is No Picnic," *Wall Street Journal*, February 23, 2014, accessed February 25, 2014, http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702303636404579392912016780616. Excellent sources for tracking the ups and downs of mining investment and activity in the North include the annual mining issues of the NWT and Nunavut *News/North* papers, as well as the Natural Resources Canada quarterly and annual mining statistics reports, available at http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/mining-materials/statistics/8848.

4 Brenda Bouw and David Ebner, "The Global Commodity Cycle Speeds Up," *Globe and Mail*, January 24, 2011; Daina Lawrence, "Canadian Government Fostering Arctic Exploration," *Resource World* 11 (December 2011/January 2012): 82–83.

5 Philip Cross, "Canada's North Finally Opens Up," *Financial Post*, March 22, 2012. Notably, mining's potential for northern development has been highlighted in a recent series of reports from the Conference Board of Canada's new "Centre for the North": see Conference Board of Canada, "Mapping the Economic Potential of Canada's North" (Ottawa: December 2010);

Conference Board of Canada, "Toward Thriving Northern Communities" (Ottawa: December 2010); Conference Board of Canada, "The Future of Mining in Northern Canada" (Ottawa: January 2013).

6 Kenneth J. Rea, *The Political Economy of the Canadian North* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 439.

7 Indeed, not all the students or community researchers involved in the project are represented in this volume, for various reasons. Nevertheless, their contributions to this collective research effort certainly shaped the overall project in important ways through writing, conversations, and interactions in communities.

8 For Innis's important writings on mining and/or staples production, see Daniel Drache, ed., *Staples, Markets, and Cultural Change: Selected Essays*, Innis Centenary Series (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); Harold Adams Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History*, rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956); Harold Adams Innis, *Settlement and the Mining Frontier* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936); Harold Adams Innis, *The Problems of Staple Production in Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1933). For discussion, see Matthew Evenden, "The Northern Vision of Harold Innis," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 34 (1999): 162–86. For a discussion of Innis's linking of mining, industrialism, and settlement in Northern Canada, see Liza Piper, "Innis, Biss, and Industrial Circuitry in the Canadian North, 1921–1965," in *Harold Innis and the North: Appraisals and Contestations*, ed. William J. Buxton (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 127–48.

9 John H. Bradbury, "Towards an Alternative Theory of Resource-Based Town Development in Canada," *Economic Geography* 55, no. 2 (1979): 147–66; John H. Bradbury, "Declining Single-Industry Communities in Quebec-Labrador, 1979–1983," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 19, no. 3 (1984): 125–39; John H. Bradbury, "The Impact of Industrial Cycles in the Mining Sector: The Case of the Quebec-Labrador Region in Canada," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 8 (1984): 311–31; John H. Bradbury and Isabelle St.-Martin, "Winding Down in a Quebec Mining Town: A Case Study of Schefferville," *Canadian Geographer* 27, no. 2 (1983): 128–44. See also Cecily Neil, Markku Tykkyläinen, and John Bradbury, eds., *Coping with Closure: An International Comparison of Mine Town Experiences* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

10 Trevor Barnes, "Borderline Communities: Canadian Single Industry Towns, Staples, and Harold Innis," in *B/ordering Space*, eds. Henk Van Houtum, Olivier Kramsch, and Wolfgang Zierhofer (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 109–22. For other scholars of mining influenced by Innis, see Arn Keeling, "'Born in an Atomic Test Tube': Landscapes of Cyclonic Development at Uranium City, Saskatchewan," *Canadian Geographer* 54, no. 2 (2010):

228–52; Mary Louise McAllister, "Shifting Foundations in a Mature Staples Industry: A Political Economic History of Canadian Mineral Policy," *Canadian Political Science Review* 1 (June 2007): 73–90. See also Jody Berland, "Space at the Margins: Critical Theory and Colonial Space after Innis," in *Harold Innis in the New Century*, eds. Charles R. Acland and William J. Buxton (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).

11 William Cronon, "Kennecott Journey: The Paths out of Town," in *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*, eds. William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992); Kathryn Morse, *The Nature of Gold: An Environmental History of the Klondike Gold Rush* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003). Important recent mining histories from south of the border that make similar connections include Thomas G. Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Gray Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Kathleen A. Brosnan, *Uniting Mountain and Plain: Cities, Law, and Environment along the Front Range* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002); Andrew C. Isenberg, *Mining California: An Ecological History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005); Eugene Moehring, *Urbanism and Empire in the Far West, 1840–1890* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2004). Sociologists have made useful contributions in this regard as well: see for instance Scott Frickel and William R. Freudenburg, "Mining the Past: Historical Context and the Changing Implications of Natural Resource Extraction," *Social Problems* 43, no. 4 (1996): 444–66. For a solid contemporary overview focused on the Lower 48, see Lisa J. Wilson, "Riding the Resource Roller Coaster: Understanding Socioeconomic Differences between Mining Communities," *Rural Sociology* 69, no. 2 (2009): 261–81.

12 The first major critique of the Pine Point Mine and its impact on nearby Dene communities appeared in Thomas Berger's report on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry in the 1970s. This section merges staples theory with the Dene critiques that emerged during the hearings. See Thomas Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, Vol. 1* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1977). One scholarly work that flowed out of the pipeline debate was Mel Watkins, ed., *Dene Nation: The Colony Within* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977). See also Lisa Sumi and Sandra Thomsen, *Mining in Remote Areas: Issues and Impacts* (Ottawa: MiningWatch Canada, 2001); Délı̨nę Uranium Team, *If Only We Had Known: The History of Port Radium as Told by the Sahtúot'ı̨nę* (Délı̨nę, NWT: Délı̨nę Uranium Team, 2005); Heather Myers, *Uranium Mining in Port Radium, N.W.T: Old Wastes, New Concerns* (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, August 1982); Janet E. Macpherson, "The Pine Point Mine" and "The Cyprus Anvil Mine," in *Northern Transitions, Volume I: Northern*

Resource Use and Land Use Policy Study, eds. Everett B. Peterson and Janet B. Wright (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1978), 65–148. For brief scholarly overviews, see Claudia Notzke, *Aboriginal Peoples and Natural Resources in Canada* (North York, ON: Captus University Publications, 1994), 216–17; Saleem H. Ali, *Mining, the Environment, and Indigenous Development Conflicts* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003); William Hipwell, Katy Mamen, Viviane Weitzner, and Gail Whiteman, *Aboriginal People and Mining in Canada: Consultation, Participation, and Prospects for Change: Working Discussion Paper* (Ottawa: North-South Institute, 2002). For an excellent popular publication on the issue, see ethnographer Ellen Bielawski's *Rogue Diamonds: Northern Riches on Dene Lands* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2003). There is a large literature on the more recent negotiation of impact and benefit agreements between mining companies and northern Native communities. For an overview, see Levitan and Cameron, this volume.

13 Arn Keeling and John Sandlos, "Environmental Justice Goes Underground? Historical Notes from Canada's Mining Frontier," *Environmental Justice* 2 (2009): 117–25; links between mining and environmental justice are explored in: Subhabrata Bobby Banerjee, "Whose Land Is It Anyway? National Interest, Indigenous Stakeholders, and Colonial Discourses," *Organization & Environment* 13 (March 2000): 3–38; Al Gedicks, *Resource Rebels: Native Challenges to Mining and Oil Companies* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2001); Robert Wesley Heber, "Indigenous Knowledge, Resources Use, and the Dene of Northern Saskatchewan," *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 26 (2005): 247–56; Richard Howitt, *Rethinking Resource Management: Justice, Sustainability, and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Routledge, 2001); Marcus B. Lane and E. Rickson Roy, "Resource Development and Resource Dependency of Indigenous Communities: Australia's Jawoyn Aborigines and Mining at Coronation Hill," *Society and Natural Resources* 10 (1997): 121–42; Nicholas Low and Brendan Gleeson, "Situating Justice in the Environment: The Case of BHP at the Ok Tedi Copper Mine," *Antipode* 30 (1998): 201–26; Joan Martinez-Alier, "Mining Conflicts, Environmental Justice, and Valuation," *Journal of Hazardous Materials* 86 (2001): 153–70. For uranium mining and indigenous struggles in the US Southwest, see Doug Brugge, Timothy Benally, and Esther Yazzie-Lewis, *The Navajo People and Uranium Mining* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006); Doug Brugge and R. Goble, "The History of Uranium Mining and the Navajo People," *American Journal of Public Health* 92 (2002): 1410–19.

14 Christian Brannstrom, "What Kind of History for What Kind of Political Ecology?" *Historical Geography* 32 (2004): 71–88; Karl Offen, "Historical Political Ecology: An Introduction," *Historical Geography* 32 (2004): 7–18. For introductions to the general field of political ecology, see Paul Robbins, *Political Ecology: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004); Karl S.

Zimmerer and Thomas J. Bassett, "Approaching Political Ecology: Society, Nature, and Scale in Human-Environment Studies," in *Political Ecology: An Integrative Approach to Geography and Environment-Development Studies*, eds. Karl S. Zimmerer and Thomas J. Bassett (New York: Guilford Press, 2003); Peter Walker, "Politics of Nature: An Overview of Political Ecology," *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 9 (March 1998): 131–44; Nicholas Low and Brendan Gleeson, *Justice, Society, and Nature: An Exploration of Political Ecology* (London: Routledge, 1998). For the application of "Third World" political ecology in a "First World" setting such as North America (and the problem of this dualism), see James McCarthy, "First World Political Ecology: Lessons from the Wise Use Movement," *Environment and Planning A* 34 (2002): 1281–1302; Richard A. Schroeder, Kevin St. Martin, and E. Albert Katherine, "Political Ecology in North America: Discovering the Third World Within?" *Geoforum* 37 (2006): 163–68; Peter A. Walker, "Reconsidering 'Regional' Political Ecologies: Toward a Political Ecology of the Rural American West," *Progress in Human Geography* 27 (2003): 7–24.

15 For an overview of mining and the political geography of resource extractive zones, see Gavin Bridge, "Resource Triumphalism: Postindustrial Narratives of Primary Commodity Production," *Environment and Planning A* 33 (2001): 2149–73, and Gavin Bridge, "Contested Terrain: Mining and the Environment," *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 29 (2004): 205–59. The connections between the state, industry, and indigenous dispossession are explored by many authors, including Anthony Bebbington et al., "Contention and Ambiguity: Mining and the Possibilities of Development," *Development and Change* 39, no. 6 (2008): 965–92; Richard Howitt, *Rethinking Resource Management: Justice, Sustainability, and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Routledge, 2001). A Marxist literature examining these processes focuses on mining's role in what is termed "accumulation by dispossession" in various settings: see Rebecca Hall, "Diamond Mining in Canada's Northwest Territories: A Colonial Continuity," *Antipode* 45, no. 2 (2013): 376–93; William Holden, Kathleen Nadeau, and R. Daniel Jacobson, "Exemplifying Accumulation by Dispossession: Mining and Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines," *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 93 (2): 141–61; Todd Gordon and Jeffery R. Webber, "Imperialism and Resistance: Canadian Mining Companies in Latin America," *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (2008): 63–87.

16 For studies that highlight northern resource development policy, see Rea, *The Political Economy of the Canadian North*; Frances Abele, "Canadian Contradictions: Forty Years of Northern Political Development," *Arctic* 40 (1987): 310–20; Morris Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada, 1914–1967* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988); Shelagh Grant, *Sovereignty Or Security?: Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936–1950* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988); Kerry Abel, *Drum Songs: Glimpses of Dene History*

(Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); Liza Piper, *The Industrial Transformation of Subarctic Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009); John Sandlos and Arn Keeling, "Claiming the New North: Mining and Colonialism at the Pine Point Mine, Northwest Territories, Canada," *Environment and History* 18, no. 1 (2012): 5–34.

17 Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939–63* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994); Jean-Sébastien Boutet, "Développement ferrifère et mondes autochtones au Québec subarctique, 1954–1983," *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 40, no. 3 (2010): 35–52; Caroline Desbiens, "Producing North and South: A Political Geography of Hydro Development in Quebec," *Canadian Geographer* 48, no. 2 (2004): 101–18; Mark O. Dickerson, *Whose North?: Political Change, Political Development, and Self-Government in the Northwest Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992); R. Quinn Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit since the Second World War* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988); Matthew Farish and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "High Modernism in the Arctic: Planning Frobisher Bay and Inuvik," *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009): 517–44; Frank Tough, *'As Their Natural Resources Fail': Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870–1930* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996); David Quiring, *CCF Colonialism in Northern Saskatchewan: Battling Parish Priests, Bootleggers, and Fur Sharks* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

18 See Heather Goodall, "Indigenous Peoples, Colonialism, and Memories of Environmental Injustice," in *Echoes from the Poisoned Well: Global Memories of Environmental Injustice*, eds. Sylvia Hood Washington, Paul C. Rosier, and Heather Goodall (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2006), 74–75.

19 Piper, *The Industrial Transformation of Subarctic Canada*, 95–96; Keeling, "Born in an Atomic Test Tube," 236.

20 The example of the Taltson Dam, built to power the Pine Point Mine, is discussed in Sandlos and Keeling, "Claiming the New North," 31, and Ellen Bielawski (in collaboration with the community of Lutsel k'e), The Desecration of Nanula Kué: Impact of the Talston Hydroelectric Development on Dene Soline, Unpublished report for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (December 1993).

21 See chapters by O'Reilly and Gordon, this volume. See also Yellowknives Dene First Nation, *Weledeh Yellowknives Dene: A History* (Dettah, NWT: Yellowknives Dene First Nation Council, 1997), 53–54; Canada-Délı̨nę Uranium Table, *Final Report Concerning Health and Environmental Issues Related to the Port Radium Mine* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2005).

22 For more on Inuit relocations and hunger in the Eastern Arctic, see Tester and Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes)*. For nutrition and disease, see Liza Piper

and John Sandlos, "A Broken Frontier: Ecological Imperialism in the Canadian North," *Environmental History* 12, no. 4 (2007): 759–95, and Liza Piper, "Nutritional Science, Health, and Changing Northern Environments," in *Big Country, Big Issues: Canada's Environment, Culture, and History*, eds. Nadine Klopfer and Christof Mauch (Munich: Rachel Carson Center Perspectives Series, 2011), 60–81; P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Matthew Farish, "The Cold War on Canadian Soil: Militarizing a Northern Environment," *Environmental History* 12, no. 4 (2007): 920–50.

23 Timothy J. LeCain, *Mass Destruction: The Men and Giant Mines That Wired America and Scarred the Planet* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009); Martin Lynch, *Mining in World History* (London: Reaktion, 2002); LeCain, *Mass Destruction*; Timothy LeCain, "The Limits of 'Eco-Efficiency': Arsenic Pollution and the Cottrell Electric Precipitator in the U.S. Copper Smelter Industry," *Environmental History* 5 (2000): 336–51; Chad Montrie, *To Save the Land and People: A History of Opposition to Surface Coal Mining in Appalachia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Duane A. Smith, *Mining America: The Industry and the Environment, 1800–1980* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987); David Stiller, *Wounding the West: Montana, Mining, and the Environment* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000). For the environmental impact and cross-border policy implications of secondary production facilities, specifically smelters, see John D. Wirth, *Smelter Smoke in North America: The Politics of Transborder Pollution* (Lawrence: University of Press of Kansas, 2000).

24 Richard V. Francaviglia, *Hard Places: Reading the Landscape of America's Historic Mining Districts* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991); Ben Marsh, "Continuity and Decline in the Anthracite Towns of Pennsylvania," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77, no. 3 (1987): 337–52; William Wyckoff, "Postindustrial Butte," *The Geographical Review* 85, no. 4 (1995): 478–96; David Robertson, *Hard as the Rock Itself: Place and Identity in the American Mining Town* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2006). See also Peter Goin and C. Elizabeth Raymond, *Changing Mines in America* (Santa Fe: Center for American Places, 2004); Peter Goin and Elizabeth Raymond, "Living in Anthracite: Mining Landscape and Sense of Place in Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania," *The Public Historian* 23, no. 2 (2001): 29–45; John Harner, "Place Identity and Copper Mining in Sonora, Mexico," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 91, no. 4 (2001): 660–80. For a nuanced application of these ideas to Northern Canada, see Liza Piper, "Subterranean Bodies: Mining the Large Lakes of North-West Canada, 1921–1960," *Environment and History* 13, no. 2 (2007): 155–86.

25 See Susan Jackson, ed., *Yellowknife, NWT: An Illustrated History* (Yellowknife, NWT: Nor'West Publishing, 1990); Terry Foster and Ronne Heming,

eds., *Yellowknife Tales: Sixty Years of Stories from Yellowknife* (Yellowknife, NWT: Outcrop, 2003); Northwest Territories Mining Heritage Society, "The Gold Mines Built Yellowknife," accessed February 28, 2012, http://www.nwt-miningheritage.com/files/frontend-static mininghistory/The%20Gold%20 Mines%20Built%20Yellowknife.pdf.

26 Tara Cater and Arn Keeling, "'That's Where Our Future Came From': Mining, Landscape, and Memory in Rankin Inlet, Nunavut," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 37, no. 2 (2013): 59–82.

27 Aaro E. Aho, *Hills of Silver: The Yukon's Mighty Keno Hill Mine* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Pub, 2006); Richard Geren and Blake McCullogh, *Cain's Legacy: The Building of Iron Ore Company of Canada* (Sept-Îles, QC: Iron Ore Company of Canada, 1990); Robert Bothwell, *Eldorado: Canada's National Uranium Company* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984).

28 For the web memorial, see "Pine Point Revisited," accessed May 7, 2012, http://pinepointrevisited.homestead.com/Pine_Point.html. For the multimedia documentary, see Paul Shoebridge and Michael Simons, *Welcome to Pine Point* (Montreal: National Film Board, 2011).

29 See, for example, Robert McPherson, *New Owners in Their Own Land: Minerals and Inuit Land Claims* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003). For a discussion of impact and benefit agreements, see Levitan and Cameron, this volume.

30 John Sandlos and Arn Keeling, "Zombie Mines and the (Over)Burden of History," *Solutions Journal* 4, no. 3 (2013): 80–83.

31 Office of the Auditor General of Canada, "Report of the Commissioner of the Environment and Sustainable Development, 2002" (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Services, 2002), chapters 2 and 3. A 2012 report from the same office reviewed the growing financial liabilities for federal contaminated sites remediation, highlighting Giant and Faro mines as two of the four highest reported liabilities. "Report of the Commissioner of the Environment and Sustainable Development – Spring 2012" (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Services, 2012), chapter 3.

32 Mines in the territorial north underdoing remediation and/or monitoring under the Northern Contaminants Program include Cantung, Colomac, Con, Contact Lake, Discovery, El Bonanza, Faro, Giant, Indor/Beaverlodge, Keno Hill, Mt. Nansen, Nanisivik, North Inca, Port Radium, Rayrock, Sawmill Bay, and Silver Bay Properties. Of these sites, Cantung, Contact Lake, Discovery, and Keno Hill are simultaneously being redeveloped for new mining activity. Pine Point and Lupin also have proposals for mine redevelopment pending. See AANDC, Contaminants and Remediation Directorate, "Contaminated Sites Remediation: What's Happening in the Sahtu?," March 2009, accessed February 19, 2014, http://publications.gc.ca/collections/

collection_2010/ainc-inac/R1-27-2009-eng.pdf; AANDC, Major Mineral Projects and Deposits North of 60 Degrees, accessed March 3, 2012, http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-INTER-HQ/STAGING/texte-text/mm_mmpd-ld_1333034932925_eng.html; AANDC, Northern Contaminants Program, last updated August 15, 2012, http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100035611.

33 For examples of publications using oral history in analyses of mining community formation and history, see Thomas Dublin, *When the Mines Closed: Stories of Struggle in Hard Times* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998); Janet Finn, *Tracing the Veins: Of Copper, Culture, and Community from Butte to Chuquicamata* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Mary Murphy, *Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte, 1914–41* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Lynne Bowen, *Boss Whistle: The Coal Miners of Vancouver Island Remember*, rev. ed. (Nanaimo, BC: Rocky Point Books, 2002). Community-driven and public oral history projects related to mining are popular in mining regions and are too numerous to list!

34 Robertson, *Hard Places*; Goin and Raymond, "Living in Anthracite."

35 Karen Bescherer Metheny, *From the Miner's Doublehouse: Archaeology and Landscape in a Pennsylvania Coal Company Town* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007); Ashley Ward, "Reclaiming Place through Remembrance: Using Oral Histories in Geographic Research," *Historical Geography* 40 (2012): 133–45.

36 Délı̨nę Uranium Team, *If Only We Had Known*; Lianne Leddy, "Cold War Colonialism: The Serpent River First Nation and Uranium Mining, 1953–1988" (PhD thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2011); Lianne Leddy, "Interviewing *Nookomis* and Other Reflections: The Promise of Community Collaboration," *Oral History Forum d'histoire orale* 30 (2010): 1–18; Brugge, Benally, and Yazzie-Lewis, *The Navajo People and Uranium Mining*.

37 Project researchers collected thousands of documents related to mining activity and mining policy from Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa, the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife, the Yukon Archives in Whitehorse, and other repositories. These records tend to be scattered and deal with individual mines and projects, but federal Indian Affairs and Northern Affairs records (RG22 and RG85 in the national archives) from this period were particularly significant for understanding government policy respecting mining and northern development. On our practice of digitizing archival documents for collaborative research, see Arn Keeling and John Sandlos, "Shooting the Archives: Document Digitization for Historical-Geographical Collaboration," *History Compass* 9, no. 5 (May 2011): 423–32.

38 Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), chapter 1; Alistair Thomson, "Four Paradigm Transformations

in Oral History," *Oral History Review* 34, no. 1: 49–70; David Neufeld, "Parks Canada, The Commemoration of Canada, and Northern Aboriginal Oral History," in *Oral History and Public Memories*, ed. Paula Hamilton (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 26–48.

39 Margaret Kovach, "Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies," in *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-oppressive Approaches*, ed. Leslie A. Brown and Susan Strega (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2005), 19–36; Kathy Absolon and Cam Willett, "Putting Ourselves Forward: Location in Aboriginal Research," in *Research as Resistance*, 97–126; Shawn Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2008).

40 On the importance of contexts of production of oral histories, see Laura Cameron, "Listening for Pleasure," *Native Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (1996): 109–29; Julie Cruikshank, *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998).

41 Linda Shopes, "Oral History and the Study of Communities: Problems, Paradoxes, and Possibilities," *Journal of American History* 89, no. 2 (Sept. 2002): 588–98.

42 Ibid., 597.

43 Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes, "Introduction: Building Partnerships between Oral History and Memory Studies," in *Oral History and Public Memories*, vii–xvii; David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), chapter 5; Dydia DeLyser, "Authenticity on the Ground: Engaging the Past in a California Ghost Town," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89, no. 4 (1999): 602–32. For a useful introduction to the idea of collective "social" memory, see Bernd Steinbock, *Social Memory in Athenian Public Discourse: Uses and Meanings of the Past* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 7–19.

44 Metheny, *From the Miner's Doublehouse,* 252.

45 These guidelines are outlined at Panel on Research Ethics, *TCPS 2—2nd edition of Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*, accessed February 19, 2014, http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/eng/policy-politique/initiatives/tcps2-eptc2/Default/.

46 A methodological and political risk highlighted in the thoughtful introduction in Jean-Sébastien Boutet, "Opening Ungava to Industry: A Decentring Approach to Indigenous History in Subarctic Québec, 1937–54," *Cultural Geographies* 21, no. 1 (January 2014): 79–97.

47 Virginia Valerie Gibson, "Negotiated Spaces: Work, Home, and Relationships in the Dene Diamond Economy" (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2008), 81–82.

University of Calgary

PRISM: University of Calgary's Digital Repository

University of Calgary Press | University of Calgary Press Open Access Books

2015-11

Mining and communities in Northern Canada : history, politics, and memory

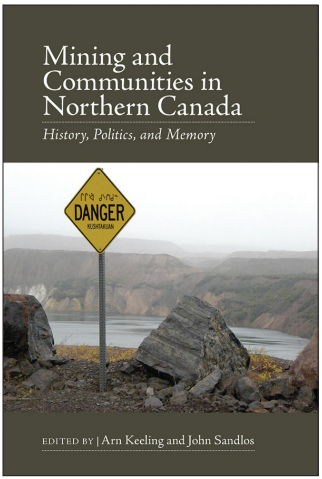
Keeling, Arn; Sandlos, John

University of Calgary Press

Keeling, A., & Sandlos, J. (Eds.). (2015). Mining and Communities in Northern Canada: History, Politics, and Memory. Canada: University of Calgary Press.
http://hdl.handle.net/1880/51021
book

http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/
Attribution Non-Commercial No Derivatives 4.0 International
Downloaded from PRISM: https://prism.ucalgary.ca

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press



MINING AND COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN CANADA: HISTORY, POLITICS, AND MEMORY

Edited by Arn Keeling and John Sandlos

ISBN 978-1-55238-805-1

THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK. It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at ucpress@ucalgary.ca

Cover Art: The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE: This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence. This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY**:

- read and store this document free of charge;
- distribute it for personal use free of charge;
- print sections of the work for personal use;
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY NOT**:

- gain financially from the work in any way;
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
- reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press
press.ucalgary.ca

Acknowledgement: *We acknowledge the wording around open access used by Australian publisher,* **re.press**, *and thank them for giving us permission to adapt their wording to our policy* http://www.re-press.org

From Igloo to Mine Shaft: Inuit Labour and Memory at the Rankin Inlet Nickel Mine

Arn Keeling and Patricia Boulter

The North Rankin Nickel Mine in Kangiqiniq (Rankin Inlet)[1] has been closed now for over fifty years, and its iconic headframe lost to fire in the late 1970s. Yet the sense of connection and identification with the mine remains strong in the town. At a workshop held in 2011, nearly seventy people gathered to share stories, examine historical photographs, and watch a screening of the National Film Board documentary "People of the Rock."[2] The film, made in 1961 and depicting a somewhat sanitized version of the Rankin Inlet mine story, nevertheless elicited poignant memories from elders in the room, who shared stories of lost loved ones and memories of the mining days and their youth. Community members gathered around archival photos of Inuit miners at work, pointing out friends and relations, and helping in some cases with identification (Figs. 1, 2). The mood of the gathering, while reflective, was also celebratory, a

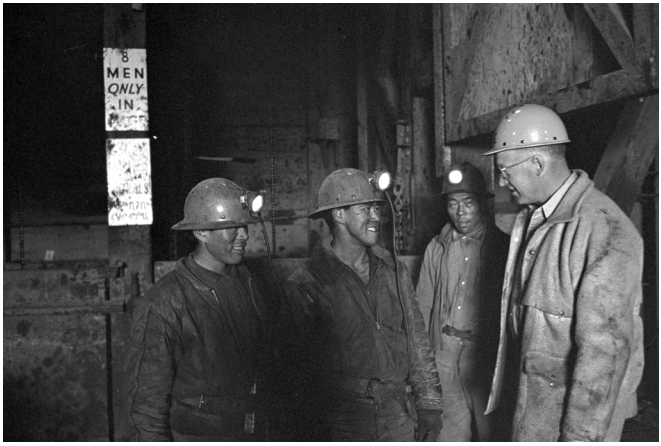


Figure 1: Workers joking with a supervisor at the nickel mine [Harry Liberal, Titi Kudlu, Noah Kumakjuaq and Andy Easton]. Photo by Kryn Taconis. Library and Archives Canada photo PA-175565.

chance for the community to once again honour its founding members and partake in stories and images of the mining days.

In many ways, a commemorative gathering such as this workshop might seem unremarkable. Indeed, a wide-ranging literature on mining history and heritage explores the persistence of local identities as "mining communities" long after the end of mining. Historically, mining communities have been known for the strong sense of worker solidarity forged in the often-extreme "workscapes" of mining, a solidarity that may extend to community responses to the crisis of deindustrialization.[3] Through rituals, commemorative activities, and a typically strong identification with the mining landscape, many mining communities demonstrate their resilience in the face of the often-devastating economic and social changes associated with mine closure. Describing this tenacious sense of place within marginal communities and landscapes, Ben Marsh notes that, for many people, "land retains its meaning long after the means are exhausted."[4] While perhaps easily dismissed as exercises in nostalgia, or critiqued for their masking of the social inequities and environmental degradation associated with mineral development and deindustrialization, these perspectives nevertheless capture something of the intense identity formation connected with the experience of mining labour and the role of these identities in fostering community spirit and resilience in the face of economic decline.[5]

Figure 2: Two men stand and talk in front of Rankin Inlet Nickel Mines Ltd., July 1961. Douglas Wilkinson fonds/Nunavut Archives/N-1979-051: 2316

But the Kangiqiniq workshop also highlights the absence from these accounts of the experience of indigenous people in many mining regions. Although indigenous people have long worked in and for mines in various capacities, their mining history is usually explored in terms of their dispossession, exclusion, marginalization, and experience of landscape degradation associated with (neo)colonial mineral development. As Bridge and Frederiksen note (with reference to Nigeria), mining was "part and parcel of the process of socio-ecological modernization" of indigenous territories globally, and "the principal means by which [these

territories] became incorporated into a world economy under conditions of colonial rule."[6] Yet indigenous people did not merely suffer through or resist mineral development; they also participated (willingly or otherwise) and, in so doing, became miners. For instance, classic anthropological studies in Bolivia explored the development of an indigenous mining identity there, associated with the long history of colonial and modern mining in the Andean region.[7] Nevertheless, few studies (beyond those in this volume) have sought to capture indigenous people's parallel historical development of mining identities and their experience of mine closure, either as workers or as broader participants in local economic and settlement life.[8]

The history of the North Rankin Nickel Mine provides insights into the complex indigenous experience of mining as an agent of socio-economic change. Founded on a rich nickel deposit located on the western shore of Hudson Bay in present-day Nunavut, the mine formed the basis for the settlement at Kangiqiniq in the late 1950s. Regarded as an experiment in Inuit modernization and a solution to a perceived crisis affecting traditional resources, the mine's short operational life (1957–1962) belied its importance as Canada's first Arctic mine and the first to actively promote the employment of indigenous workers. At its peak, Inuit employees, virtually all of whom moved to Rankin Inlet with no experience of wage work, comprised about 70 per cent of the mine's workforce, as both underground and surface workers. The mine's sudden closure in 1962 devastated the local economy, threatening the community's very survival and forcing many Inuit to leave the community to seek alternate employment or to return to traditional harvesting activities.

While the story of the Rankin Inlet mine has been explored by various authors, few have incorporated first-hand perspectives of Inuit miners themselves.[9] Based on oral histories conducted in Kangiqiniq in 2011 with the assistance of Inuit researchers, this essay explores the history of mining at Kangiqiniq and the emergence of a mining identity among Inuit miners.[10] These perspectives are supplemented by archival research on the history of the mine and its relation to government and company policy in the region. In spite of its short, tumultuous life and sudden collapse, the mine remains central to the identity of the community and its Inuit and non-Inuit residents alike. The memories shared by Inuit miners

about Kangiqiniq provide important insights into the experience of indigenous workers with mineral development, the transition to industrial modernity, and the impacts of mine closure. The continued close identification with the mine by these elders, and by the broader Kangiqiniq community, reveals the unique and persistent sense of heritage and place connected to the mining experience.

****

The North Rankin Nickel Mine, which commenced construction in the early 1950s and produced its first ore in 1957, operated in the context of rapid socio-economic change in the postwar Eastern Arctic. Before the 1950s, northern agencies, including the RCMP and federal government officials, strove to prohibit Inuit from congregating around permanent settlements by enforcing a strict "policy of dispersal." This policy aimed to protect traditional Inuit land-based culture, but more importantly, to ensure Inuit would not become a financial burden to the nation. At the same time, contradictory educational and settlement policies sought both to elevate Inuit from their "primitive" position through modernizing their social and cultural practices while at the same time preserving their "independent" and "traditional" lifeways.[11] Early in the 1950s, with the collapse of Arctic fox fur prices and a perceived crisis in caribou populations, the Department of Northern Affairs adopted an increasingly interventionist policy in the Eastern Arctic.[12] These developments, and the negative publicity surrounding desperate Inuit living conditions (including episodes of starvation among inland Inuit groups) largely ended the laissez faire attitude of the government, which shifted to the promotion of wage labour as a solution to the "Eskimo problem."

Along with work in construction at Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line stations, the mine at Rankin Inlet appeared to offer an opportunity to shift Inuit away from their seemingly precarious land-based economy and toward industrial wage labour and settlement life. As a Canadian Press reporter noted in 1958, "[Government] officials here call the Rankin experiment a 'bright shining light' against the general background of the Eskimo Problem. Sustained success would mean a lot in the program to integrate the Eskimo from his stone-age past into the 'time clock'

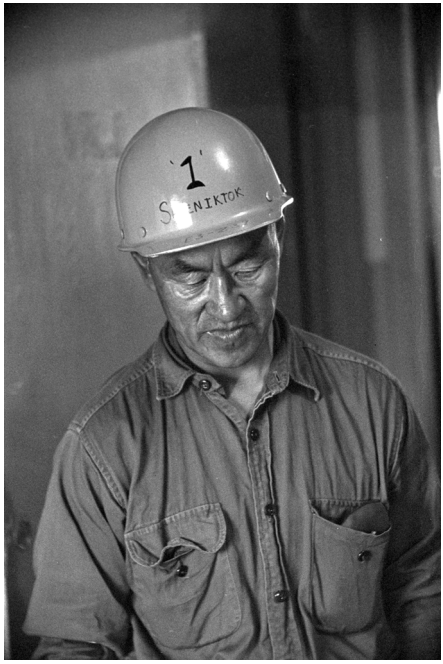


Figure 3: One of the supervisors at the nickel mine [Singiituq]. Photo by Kryn Taconis/ Library and Archives Canada photo PA-175593.

world."[13] Writing to the mine company's secretary for information about the operation, Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs R. Gordon Robertson suggested that "because of the steadily increasing inroads on the wildlife resources of the North, it is going to be necessary to have more Eskimos adapted to wage employment as their means of livelihood."[14] To this end, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources and other government agencies in the region, such as the RCMP, assisted the North Rankin Nickel Mine in identifying suitable Inuit candidates for employment.[15] As the mine's first general manager Ken Whatmough recalled, the company also drew on the connections of Singiituq, a boat pilot from Chesterfield Inlet, to locate local labour when needed.[16]

For its part, the company initially embraced Inuit labour as a seasonal workforce, and Inuit were engaged in construction and stevedore work (as well as trade) at Rankin Inlet as early as 1953. By 1956–57, as the mine shifted to production, Inuit were recruited to Rankin Inlet in increasing numbers. North Rankin Nickel Mine (NRNM) president W. W. Weber told Northern Affairs officials he was "strongly in favor of employing as

many Eskimos as possible" and integrating them permanently into the life of the mining camp.[17] That year, Inuit employment increased from fourteen to eighty workers and, under mine manager J. Andrew Easton, Inuit workers became integrated into nearly all aspects of the operation, including (eventually) underground work. For NRNM, in spite of language and cultural barriers, Inuit workers provided a ready and "cheerful" labour force that helped the company deal with the challenge and expense of attracting and retaining southern mine workers in this remote location. With the mine's financial viability in question from the outset, Inuit labour presented an important means of reducing costs.[18]

Though the bulk of the recruits were from the Chesterfield Inlet area of northwestern Hudson Bay, Inuit migrated to the new settlement from across the Kivalliq (then known as Keewatin) region. Interviewees recalled travelling by dog sled, airplane, and Peterhead boat to Rankin Inlet in the mid- to late 1950s. Ollie Ittinuar, who was an RCMP special constable at Chesterfield Inlet in the early 1950s, recalled a community meeting at which people were asked if they would like to work at the mine. Seeking better wages, Ittinuar travelled by dog team to Rankin Inlet with another family. "As soon as we got over there the mine people came over and asked us to work for them right away, so we got to work right away upon arrival. So that's how the job started with the mine."[19] Others, like Joachim Kavik and Francis Kapuk, lived with their families in the area (Kavik at Meliadine Lake, Kapuk at Baker Foreland), so they were well aware of the developments at Rankin Inlet. Kapuk recalled:

> When we came here from caribou hunting we would come back here and stay with people here . . . They were living in igloos at that time when we would come here . . . There was white people who came in at that time as well who came to tell us there were employment opportunities at the mine, who said if you hear of anyone who wants to work for the mine, pass it around.

Others, like Thomas Tudlik (from north of Chesterfield Inlet) and John Towtoongie (from Coral Harbour), had previously left their communities to seek opportunities elsewhere before coming to Rankin Inlet. Veronica Manilak flew to Rankin Inlet from Repulse Bay with her husband in 1961, where they joined her father, who was already working at the mine.

In the *Keewatin Journal* (a recollection of life in the region from the 1950s–70s published in 1979), several people recounted how between 1958 and 1959 they were no longer able to make a living or survive off the land due to the shortage in caribou, and therefore had no alternative other than to work in the mine.[20] Similarly, several miners we interviewed recalled how their moves brought a dramatic, almost immediate change from a predominantly land-based lifestyle of hunting and trapping to industrial work and settlement life. "We lived as a true natured Inuit when I was growing up," noted Thomas Tudlik. "For example, we had no family allowances. In those days we had no governments, no established governments during the time I was growing up. We had the Hudson Bay Company, where we traded furs and things like that." Joachim Kavik said that his father, while happy living on the land, was encouraged to come work at the mine and eventually did so. "My father was a very traditional Inuk he did not speak one word of English when he started working for the mine." His family wanted to keep their dogs for hunting, so they lived about a mile from the Rankin settlement.

The transition to settlement life posed challenges for Inuit workers and their families. Both settlement and work life for Rankin Inuit was highly structured by the paternalistic yet often contradictory policies of the company and Northern Affairs officials. Initially, Inuit workers lived in sod houses and tents at the fringes of the nascent settlement (see Fig. 4), while southern workers occupied bunkhouses near the mine. Francis Kapuk recalled difficult living conditions: "In the early stages when we came here we were living in a tent, we didn't really stay in an igloo but we stayed in a tent. We fixed it up by putting together whatever cardboard we could find as insulation inside the tent." Veronica Manilak remembers the challenges of starting over in a new community: "I found it rather boring, extremely lonely [and] strange, because when we left we left everything at home including our husky dogs including our belongings. We left home with nothing, we left our tent, we left everything in there, the only thing we took were our children and our rifle and that's pretty much it."

Migration to Rankin Inlet brought Inuit from different regional dialect and kinship groups together with white southerners in the "cosmopolitan" setting of Rankin Inlet, and the settlement was initially segregated by race and kinship. As it developed, the townsite was divided into

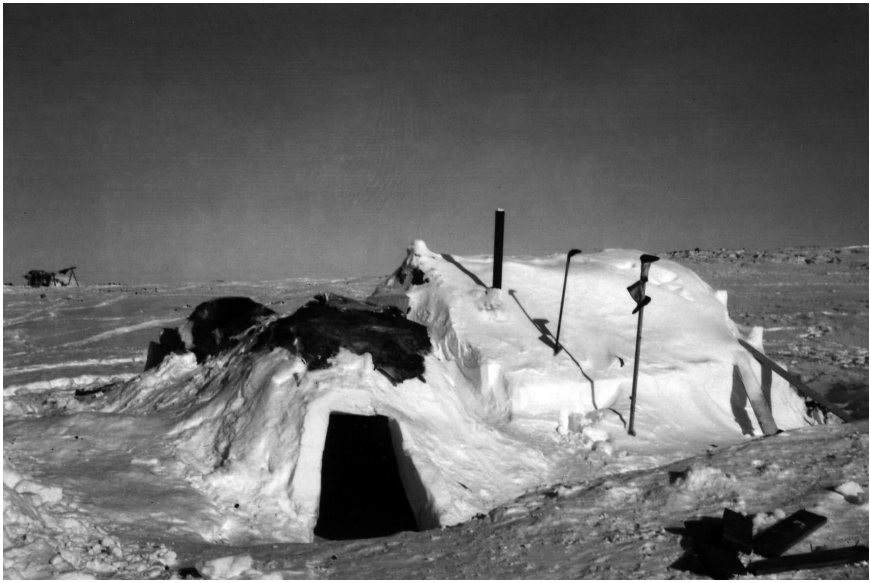


Figure 4: Reinforced tent house in Rankin Inlet, early 1950s. Photo by Kenneth Whatmough, Consulting Engineer and General Manager, North Rankin Nickel Mines Limited/Nunavut Archives.

three distinct sections: two containing Inuit residents (the New and Old Eskimo Settlements) and the other meant for non-Inuit, Euro-Canadian personnel of the mine, government, or other institutions.[21] The "White Settlement" comprised two neat rows of buildings: houses for the federal northern service officer, the HBC store, the school, and the Roman Catholic and Anglican missions. In this section, houses were supplied with heat, water, and sewage lines from the mine. "The New Eskimo Settlement" was separated from the white settlement and located further from the mine buildings. It was closely monitored by the NRNM and considered off limits to non-Inuit mine workers. The houses here were prefabricated, three-room structures. Although these houses all had electrical lighting and regular garbage collection provided for by the mine, they did not have centralized heating or running water. Instead, Inuit heated their houses with cooking stoves and had to walk to get water. Makeshift outhouses were often shared by several families. Located a quarter mile north of the mine's headframe, the "Old Eskimo Settlement" consisted

of several clusters of shacks and tents, many built by Inuit themselves. In this section, the mine provided no essential services and "debris [was] . . . scattered everywhere."[22] This area was typically occupied by those who had lower-paying positions within the mine. However, many Inuit families preferred living in the Old Settlement, for they could live near kin and practise their traditional pursuits easily in the less monitored environment. The settlement's segregated nature in this period was reinforced by government officials when interior Padlirmiut suffering from starvation in the winter of 1957–58 were relocated and settled in a nearby Keewatin Rehabilitation Project camp called Itivia.[23]

Work for wages was, of course, the principal attraction of Rankin Inlet. Initially, Inuit workers, particularly those doing construction work, were paid less than non-Inuit (as little as 60 cents per hour).[24] The company and federal officials reacted strongly to accusations from the local Oblate missionary, Father Fafard, and others that they perpetuated second-class status and wages among Inuit, noting that Inuit workers also received meals in the mine's mess hall and, by the end of the 1950s, free housing and stove oil.[25] By the time Inuit workers began working underground, wages were on par with those paid non-Inuit workers for similar jobs. Although the hours were long and the underground environment unfamiliar, Inuit miners appreciated the security of regular wages and, as one miner's wife recalled, the opportunity to purchase goods at the mine commissary and Hudson Bay store.[26] Nevertheless, Inuit miners' pay packets were controlled at first by the northern service officer, "in order to ensure that at the outset at least their earnings are used to purchase only essential goods and not frittered away on non-essentials" like luxury goods.[27]

As in most aspects of settlement life, workplace segregation (Inuit and non-Inuit initially ate separately, for instance) gave way to gradual, if partial, integration of Inuit and non-Inuit. Although few spoke any English at all (and no white miners spoke Inuktitut), several Inuit miners recalled how they learned by example how to drill, blast, and operate underground: according to Peter Ipkarnerk, "The white people that we worked [with], they were there to show us how to do things, so we learned by example, by looking, by observing." In this way, Inuit workers learned to operate machinery above and below ground, trained as mechanics

(such as plumbers), and joined non-Inuit workers on the mine's emergency rescue team. Others, like Jack Kabvitok, worked in construction and performed other services around the settlement before working in the mine itself. The former miners suggested work relations with qallunaat (non-Inuit) workers were good, overall, even jokingly remembering learning how to swear in English from them. Although some tensions and conflicts with supervisors were recalled, the "big boss," mine manager Andy Easton, was fondly remembered as a fair man who cared for the Inuit workers.

For the mine and Northern Affairs officials, one of the main challenges in employing Inuit was the inculcation of the norms and values of wage work, including time discipline. Southern employees, working on seasonal rotation and living in bunkhouses away from families, worked seven days a week, but Inuit workers balked at this schedule (although they worked these hours during construction). As early as 1956, a northern service officer reported that "the Eskimos stated that they were satisfied with the pay and working conditions but that they would like to have time off for hunting meat for their wives and children."[28] From time to time, Inuit employees would fail to show up for shifts in order to go hunting, a source of friction with the mine. Working with Northern Affairs officials, mine management devised a system whereby Inuit could request leave to hunt, so long as they helped to find a shift replacement in advance. As former miner Peter Ipkarnerk recounted, "We . . . made a request to our supervisors, to the authorities, to go out and hunt . . . as long as they agreed then we could go out in the middle of the week." This option was important to the miners, not only materially in helping feed their families, but also culturally. According to Thomas Tudlik: "the work was very important, the fact that we had to work all the time. But, at the same time we are meat eaters, so we used to go out hunting." In 1959, when the mine reinstituted seven-day weeks, Inuit miners complained and the northern service officer wrote to manager Andrew Easton, noting that Inuit needed time off to practise "their traditional occupations," with a view to a "return to life on the land" after mining.[29]

Invoking ideas of acculturation and citizenship, many federal officials regarded employment at Rankin Inlet as furthering the Inuit "adjustment and integration into our industrial society" with "the same opportunities

to develop their talents as other Canadians."[30] Inuit from the coastal regions north of Rankin Inlet (Chesterfield Inlet and Repulse Bay) were considered more acculturated to living in settled communities and participating in wage labour ventures, due to their interaction with whalers and history of Distant Early Warning Line construction employment. For its part, the mining company (which dominated community life) remained mainly concerned with the performance of Inuit as workers, not their status as citizens.[31] As the anthropologist Robert Dailey and his wife Lois noted in their 1958 report on the community, "Those Eskimo [sic] that are frugal, hard working, punctual, and cooperative, are in the eyes of the mine 'desirable.' Those who do not readily adjust or who do not pay close enough attention to orders, or who malinger, are rejected and forced to leave the community."[32] Similarly, the anthropologist, social worker, and long-time Rankin Inlet resident Bob Williamson concluded that in spite of the ready adaptation by many to mine work, "the Eskimo did not completely identify with the mine and management objectives." Indeed, some Inuit who worked at the mine chose to leave, returning to former communities or moving to more "traditional" communities like Whale Cove.[33] Clearly some, like John Towtoongie, who told us of splitting his time between living in Whale Cove and working in Rankin Inlet, preferred to retain their connections to hunting life over a full-time commitment to mining.

The emerging social life of the community reflected a similar pattern of segregation, then partial integration. Early efforts to limit and monitor contact between the Inuit and non-Inuit of the community extended to social functions.[34] In spite of a desire to acculturate and "modernize" Inuit, the many entertainments organized within the community were initially racially segregated, and a separate movie night and dance were held each week for Inuit and non-Inuit. Non-Inuit men were strictly prohibited from entering the "Eskimo Village," or they would be fired.[35] Similarly, Inuit women were not allowed access to the male bunkhouses and could not enter the commissary except on Saturdays and only in the company of their husbands. Although later relaxed, these policies aimed to prevent drinking, gambling, and, most of all, liaisons between non-Inuit men and Inuit women, to avoid sexually transmitted diseases, adultery, prostitution, and unwanted pregnancies. In spite of these restrictions, as Ollie

Ittinuar's son Peter, who grew up in Rankin Inlet, commented, "in a way it was more integration than had ever existed before, even though it was segregated. People took part in the same activities, there was community dances, movies . . . white people and Inuit people went to these things at the same time, went to church at the same time." Elders fondly recalled fiddle dances and cowboy films attended by both Inuit and qallunaat. They noted that beer drinking, too, became a feature of community life, a source of bonding between Inuit and non-Inuit workers, but also a source of problems for some workers.

By the early 1960s, Rankin Inlet was a thriving community of about 600 Inuit and non-Inuit, with government offices (housed by the mine), an RCMP detachment, three religious missions, and a Hudson's Bay store. But the North Rankin Nickel Mine, from the outset a financially precarious operation, began to seriously founder in 1960 and on April 3, 1962, the *Globe and Mail* reported that the mine had closed, throwing seventy "Eskimos" out of work and threatening the future of the town. Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs R. G. Robertson ruefully reflected, "The problem with mines is that they run out," while expressing hopes that displaced Inuit workers might eventually find work elsewhere and promising government support in the interim.[36] In another story, business reporter Stanley Twardy, playing on the popular image in the southern press of the modernized Inuit miner, was less sanguine: "Hoping to bring civilization to the Rankin Eskimos the Government sold them on installment-plan-buying of wooden huts and the Hudson's Bay store accepted their credit on other long-term purchases. Some Eskimos learned to live in style and purchased refrigerators, which are operated from the mine's electric supply."[37] A month later, newspapers were reporting the government's emergency response to the emerging "Keewatin crisis" and forecasting "an end to the unique inland caribou people" occasioned by declining caribou herds, relocation to the coast and, now, economic displacement.[38]

Northern Affairs officials, who had so eagerly encouraged Inuit to migrate to Rankin Inlet for work, veered between paralysis and panic at the prospect of the mine's closure and mass unemployment in the region. As early as 1959, the area administrator for Rankin Inlet had urged government planning for closure, noting "wage employment is the basic

need of the people here" but concluding, grimly, that "some of the people might have been better off in the long run had they never entered the field of wage employment."[39] Through a series of reports, correspondence, and conferences on the future of the region in the wake of mine closure, suggestions for the community ranged from the creation of alternative industries to a return to traditional semi-subsistence activities to the complete depopulation of Rankin Inlet and relocation of its residents (either to other Arctic communities, or to Southern Canada).[40] In the end, the unofficial "plan" for Rankin Inlet's post-mining future consisted of a chaotic series of initiatives that involved elements of voluntary relocation, migration (back to previous settlements), economic diversification, and (eventually) the move of Northern Affairs' Keewatin regional headquarters from Churchill, Manitoba, to Rankin Inlet as an economic stimulus. For its part, the mining company and its non-Native employees simply walked away from the settlement, after selling much of the town's infrastructure to the federal government.[41]

Inuit workers and their families recalled closure as a time of hardship and adjustment. As two workers interviewed by filmmaker Peter Ittinuar in the early 1970s recalled, with few work opportunities in Rankin Inlet, many Inuit returned to their former communities at their own expense. "I thought there was going to be permanent mining activity, and I thought there was going to be a lot of employment," David Iglukak told Ittinuar.[42] While Northern Affairs officials encouraged Inuit to leave the community and to return to land-based activities for survival, many who had left this life struggled to re-adjust. Veronica Manilak recalled:

> We became extremely poor after the mine closed. We were as a matter of fact very hungry at times. . . . There was a man named Batiste who had dogs, and with his dogs my husband went out caribou hunting one day and he got lots of caribou and we got lots of meat at that point. We had no more snowmobiles and things like that because the mine had closed and we became extremely poor.

As Shingituk [Singiituq], the Inuk foreman, pointed out in a meeting with Rankin Inlet's Eskimo Affairs Council in February 1962, many people who had moved to Rankin Inlet "no longer had the type of equipment

they would need to return to the land"—especially dogs.[43] Belying their supposed status as working Canadian citizens, Inuit workers were excluded from unemployment insurance benefits, and welfare payments in the community skyrocketed in 1963. Reflecting the efforts to push Inuit back onto the land, welfare rates were adjusted to account for an individual's ability (though not necessarily success) to obtain "country food."[44] For its part, the mining company, Veronica Manilak suggested, "just left us behind," and the interviewees in Peter Ittinuar's film lamented the hardship and reliance on government assistance that resulted.

Contemporary interviews illustrate the diverse strategies for survival pursued by the unemployed miners. Many families (indeed the majority in Rankin Inlet) did not want to leave; as Jack Kabvitok noted, "Rankin Inlet had become my home." He sold carvings to stake hunting activities ("it was a bit of a struggle at that point because we had practically nothing, even though at that time I had five dogs"), and eventually found work with the town government. John Towtoongie recalled that people who returned to Arviat and Whale Cove also found it difficult to hunt for a living. "I was actually about the only one with a team of dogs, along with [another] man. When we would go out caribou hunting for example, there were a few caribou around at that time, when we would catch caribou we would distribute the meat among the other people." Francis Kapuk briefly returned to Chesterfield Inlet to hunt seal, then was recruited to return to Rankin Inlet to work in the government-established fish canning enterprise. This and other government-sponsored arts and crafts initiatives, including a sewing centre and ceramics studio, provided some income for the families of displaced miners, and opened up wage-earning opportunities for women.[45]

As many noted at the time, however, Rankin Inuit no longer desired to live fully off the land, but instead wished to be given the choice of practising their traditional lifeways, participating in wage labour opportunities, or balancing the two. Many of the miners, in fact, wanted to continue mine work, and Northern Affairs officials sought to match Inuit mine workers with other industrial opportunities elsewhere in the North, with some success. With government assistance, Inuit from Rankin Inlet relocated to work in mines in Quebec (at the request of former NRNM manager Andy Easton), Manitoba, the Yukon, and the

Northwest Territories; as well, they went to work on the construction of the Great Slave Lake Railway line from Alberta to the Pine Point Mine in the NWT.[46] Peter Ipkarnerk and Francis Kapuk, along with two other miners, were flown to Yellowknife in late 1963 to work at Con Mine. Ollie Ittinuar, after a short stint at the Asbestos Hill Mine in Quebec, joined several other Rankin families at the Sherritt Gordon mine in Lynn Lake, Manitoba, where he worked for nine years, eventually becoming a shift boss. Some relocated miners brought their families (like the Ittinuars); others, like Joachim Kavik, lived in bunkhouses or in rented accommodations with other miners.

These moves (as with the relocations to Rankin Inlet) were treated by Northern Affairs officials as an "experiment," so they were closely monitored and reported on, including in the press.[47] As with Rankin Inlet, the redeployment of Inuit miners at other northern sites was intended to reduce labour turnover costs at northern mines and to continue the process of Inuit social development. Government reports and correspondence document the miners' struggle to adjust to new surroundings and their separation from families, but also the successful transplant of many workers.[48] Several workers moved repeatedly between Rankin Inlet and different locations or jobs as they sought personal stability and opportunity. Separation from family was, oftentimes, an obstacle to long-term employment at mines and communities far from Rankin Inlet. Others, particularly those like the Ittinuars whose family remained together, thrived in their new locations. Many miners gained reputations as valued employees and went on to work at mines across the North, including Cullaton Lake, Nanisivik, and others.

Nevertheless, for many miners, Rankin Inlet continued to draw them back, in spite of the community's challenges. Upon returning from a few years working in Yellowknife, Peter Ipkarnerk found that "it was lonely when we came back here to Rankin Inlet. Looking at the mine . . . seeing the mine closed it was very lonely because that was the only place where we were making money, where we were able to work and make money." He continued working on long rotations away from the settlement before retiring as a miner in 1969. After a long period as a miner in Lynn Lake, eventually Ollie Ittinuar also brought his family back to Rankin Inlet, where he opened a coffee shop. As Williamson and Foster noted in their

1975 report on the relocations, most non-Inuit observers regarded the return of the miners to Rankin Inlet as a failure of the relocation and re-establishment program.[49] But it appears many workers simply seized the opportunity to return to the community they and their families now called home, particularly once the establishment of regional administration in Rankin Inlet somewhat stabilized the community in the 1970s. Many of the original Rankin mining families became leading families in the town; their names adorn the lists of past town councillors and mayors posted on the wall of the hamlet chamber, and they are regularly honoured as the founding generation of the community. As several miners we interviewed told us, mining is still regarded as the community's reason for being and as a shaper of its character.[50]

****

Asked about the hard work performed by the miners of Rankin Inlet, Peter Ipkarnerk offered this analogy:

> Inuit are no strangers to hard work . . . many years ago Inuit lived a very difficult life with the contact with the white man, you know. We would receive matches for example, in order to save one stick of match, for example, we used to split in half so that we'd have another match, another a bit more match . . . to light the Inuit oil lamp. My parents, for example, had maybe two bags of tea and those bags of tea would last for a very long time. So we were always aware of the hard work that we did, that we used to do years and years ago.

Ipkarnerk's story, like those of some others we interviewed, reflects the connection of his Inuit values of industriousness and adaptability with his life experience of mine work. Although wage employment, as Pamela Stern points out, is often contrasted with subsistence work,[51] Ipkarnerk's comment suggests a kind of continuity or connection between these activities and the struggles associated with them.

In the interviews we conducted, the miners' articulation of a strong sense of identity *as* miners does not supplant, but is folded into their sense of Inuitness and seen as contiguous with it. While clearly influenced and

perhaps to some degree controlled by federal officials and mine managers in the settlement, Inuit miners also pursued goals and practices commensurate with their own "life projects," whether hunting for country food or leaving jobs altogether to return to their families and homes.[52] In some cases (perhaps among the miners we were unable to interview), former workers might not have identified so closely or positively with their mining experience. Nevertheless, the miners we interviewed talked not only with evident pride about their achievements working underground in the Rankin Inlet mine and elsewhere, but also about the importance of hunting and language, their work ethic, and their sense of connection to Kangiqiniq as an Arctic place. In the crucible of their struggles to adapt and survive in difficult circumstances, whether environmental or economic, identities were forged and transformed: the miners' and that of the Kangiqiniq community.[53]

The Rankin Inlet story, as told in the archives, in film, and in the oral histories of miners and their spouses, adds a significant indigenous dimension to the stories of work, community life, and survival in mining and post-mining communities. As Katharine Rollwagen observed in relation to the Britannia Beach mine in British Columbia, "employees' experiences during these crises . . . remind us that resource-town closures cannot be characterized as inevitable or tragic; these are dynamic periods of intense change, shaped by both material realities, such as income and commodity prices, and discursive factors, such as loyalty and community"—to which we would add, identity.[54] In some cases, elders' memories of the mining experience at Rankin Inlet seem to have been filtered, to some extent, through the lens of personal and collective nostalgia, and the sharp edges of social struggle and economic hardship dulled somewhat by the passage of time. But as Piita Irniq, former commissioner of Nunavut and Kangiqiniq resident in the 1980s and 1990s, noted in an interview, the experience of moving "from igloo to mine shaft" in a single generation also resonates with the larger story of Inuit resilience in the face of colonialism and rapid socio-economic and cultural change. While federal officials at the time promoted mineral development as an instrument of Inuit acculturation and assimilation into modern Canadian society, what the mine's history and its aftermath show is that while Inuit successfully, in many cases, became miners, they definitively remained

Inuit. Similar to the "entanglements of industry and indigeneity" documented by Jean-Sébastien Boutet in his account of Naskapi and Innu communities near Schefferville, Quebec, Inuit in Rankin Inlet embraced a variety of strategies as they pursued their life projects in the context of rapidly changing historical-geographical circumstances, including environmental change, the growing influence of colonial forces in their lives, and the opportunities and challenges presented by industrial development and decline.[55]

NOTES

1 Since the conclusion of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and the creation of the Nunavut Territory in 1998, many of the English-language place names in Nunavut have reverted to their Inuktitut names. Although the Hamlet of Rankin Inlet continues to use its English name, in this chapter, generic reference to the contemporary place will be the Inuktitut "Kangiqiniq," meaning "deep bay." Historical references to Rankin Inlet will remain in English.

2 *People of the Rock*, directed by Clarke Daprato (National Film Board of Canada, 1961). The workshop was hosted by the authors, with the help of the research assistants noted below (see note 10) and the vital translation assistance of Piita Irniq. The authors wish to thank these contributors, the workshop participants, and the Hamlet of Rankin Inlet, and to acknowledge funding support from ArcticNet for this research.

3 Thomas G. Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Janet L. Finn, *Tracing the Veins: Of Copper, Culture, and Community from Butte to Chuquicamata* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Katharine Rollwagen, "When Ghosts Hovered: Community and Crisis in a Company Town, Britannia Beach, British Columbia, 1957–1965," *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine* 35, no. 2 (2007): 25–36; William Wyckoff, "Postindustrial Butte," *Geographical Review* 85, no. 4 (1995): 478–96.

4 Ben Marsh, "Continuity and Decline in the Anthracite Towns of Pennsylvania," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77, no. 3 (1987): 351.

5 Thomas Dublin, *When the Mines Closed: Stories of Struggle in Hard Times* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998); Peter Goin and Elizabeth Raymond, "Living in Anthracite: Mining Landscape and Sense of Place in Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania," *The Public Historian* 23, no. 2 (2001): 29–45; John Harner, "Place Identity and Copper Mining in Sonora, Mexico," *Annals of*

the Association of American Geographers 91, no. 4 (2001): 660–80; Rosemary Power, "'After the Black Gold': A View of Mining Heritage from Coalfield Areas of Britain," *Folklore*, no. 119 (2008): 160–81; David Robertson, *Hard as the Rock Itself: Place and Identity in the American Mining Town* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2006); Robert Summerby-Murray, "Interpreting Personalized Industrial Heritage in the Mining Towns of Cumberland County, Nova Scotia: Landscape Examples From Springhill and River Hebert," *Urban History Review* 35, no. 3 (2007): 51–59.

6 Gavin Bridge and Tomas Frederiksen, "'Order Out of Chaos': Resources, Hazards, and the Production of a Tin-Mining Economy in Northern Nigeria in the Early Twentieth Century," *Environment and History* 18, no. 3 (2012): 371. See also John Sandlos and Arn Keeling, "Claiming the New North: Development and Colonialism at the Pine Point Mine, Northwest Territories, Canada," *Environment and History* 18, no. 1 (2012): 5–34; William Holden, Kathleen Nadeau, and R. Daniel Jacobson, "Exemplifying Accumulation by Dispossession: Mining and Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines," *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 93, no. 2 (2011): 141–61.

7 June Nash, *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us: Dependency and Exploitation in Bolivian Tin Mines*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Michael T. Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

8 One notable exception is the Navajo Uranium Miner Oral History Project, although the focus of many of the interviews was on the health legacies of uranium mining in Navajo Country in the US Southwest. See Doug Brugge, Timothy Benally, and Esther Yazzie-Lewis, *The Navajo People and Uranium Mining* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006).

9 Most notably, Robert G. Williamson, *Eskimo Underground: Socio-Cultural Change in the Canadian Central Arctic* (Uppsala, Sweden: Institutionen för Allmän och Jämförande Etnbografi, 1974). Williamson, a social worker and anthropologist living in Rankin Inlet in the 1960s, based his research on intensive local interaction with Rankin Inlet residents, but tended to be preoccupied with questions of collective cultural adjustment and dislocation. Robert McPherson, in *New Owners in Their Own Land: Minerals and Inuit Land Claims* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003), based much of his analysis on Williamson. For histories of the mine based on archival research, see Mary Josephine Taylor, "The Development of Mineral Policy for the Eastern Arctic, 1953–1985" (MA thesis, Carleton University, 1985) and Patricia J. Boulter, "The Survival of an Arctic Boom Town: Socio-economic and Cultural Diversity in Rankin Inlet, 1956–63" (MA major paper, Memorial University, 2011), the latter of which formed the basis for portions of this article.

10 Interviews were conducted with nine Inuit elders, including seven former miners and two miners' wives. Interviews took place in English and Inuktitut, with Piita Irniq, former commissioner of Nunavut and an expert translator, simultaneously translating and facilitating the interviews. Although the questions were developed and posed by the authors, other participants included research assistants Pallulaaq Kusugak Friesen of Rankin Inlet and Jordan Konek, a young Inuit filmmaker from Arviat who video recorded the interviews. Keeling also interviewed Irniq, a former Rankin Inlet resident but not a miner, about his memories of this period, and (later) Peter Ittinuar, son of former miner Ollie Ittinuar, now living in Ontario.

11 David Damas, *Arctic Migrants, Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002); "Notes Respecting the Administration of Eskimo Affairs," 10 March 1948, RG 85 vol. 2081 file 1012-4 pt. 3, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC).

12 Peter K. Kulchyski and Frank J. Tester, *Kiumajut (Talking Back): Game Management and Inuit Rights, 1900–70* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007); John Sandlos, *Hunters at the Margin: Native People and Wildlife Conservation in the Northwest Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).

13 Arch MacKenzie, "Eskimos Said May Be Big Factor in Northern Mining," *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix,* September 22, 1958, 13.

14 R. G. Robertson, Letter to Secretary, North Rankin Nickel Mine, 18 November 1955, RG22 R216 vol. 210 file 40-3-22 pt. 1, LAC.

15 Indeed, it appears that the mine approached the RCMP detachment in Chesterfield Inlet for help in recruiting workers in early 1956. Report by Cpl. C. E. Boone, RCMP Chesterfield Inlet Detachment, 14 March 1956, RG 85 vol. 1268 file 1000-184 pt. 1, LAC.

16 File 1, Ken Whatmough Fonds, Nunavut Archives. Electronic copies of two files from these fonds, as well as numerous photographs, were provided by Nunavut territorial archivist, Edward Atkinson. Singiituq went on to play an important role in the community as an intermediary between the mine and its Inuit workers.

17 Cited in C. H. Herbert, Memorandum to the Deputy Minister, 25 April 1957, RG22 R216 vol. 832 file 40-3-22 pt. 2, LAC.

18 "Employment for Northern People," no date (likely 1950s), RG 22 vol. 1339-180 file 40-8-23 pt. 2, LAC.

19 Ollie Ittinuar interview, August 2011. Peter Ittinuar also related the story of his father's move in an interview with the author in May 2012, as well as in Thierry Rodon, ed., *Teach an Eskimo How to Read…: Conversations with Peter Freuchen Ittinuar* (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2008).

20 Dale Smith, ed., *Keewatin Journal* (Rankin Inlet, NU: Dale Smith, 1979), 17. Held in National Library of Canada.

21 The following description comes from Robert C. Dailey and Lois Dailey, "The Eskimo of Rankin Inlet: A Preliminary Report," Ottawa: Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, June 1961.

22 Dailey and Dailey, "Eskimo of Rankin Inlet," 17.

23 On the relationship between the Keewatin Relocation Project and wider developments in the region, including Rankin Inlet, see Frank James Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939–63* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994), chapters 7 and 8, and "The Keewatin Project" (November 1958), RG 85 vol. 1071 file 251-6 pt. 2, LAC.

24 Ipkarnerk interview with Arn Keeling, August 2011. A government memorandum from 1956 lists the rate as 75 cents an hour, and suggests the rate be increased: Letter from Sivertz to Kerr, "Eskimos of Rankin Inlet, N.W.T.," 10 December 1956, RG 85 vol. 1268 file 1000-184 pt. 1, LAC. These low wages were justified due to the "primitive" nature of Inuit lifeways at this time. Letter to Maurice Marrinan from Jean Lesage (March 18, 1957), RG 85 vol. 1268 file 1000-184 pt. 1, LAC.

25 These accusations, published in southern newspapers, and the responses, including from the minister of Northern Affairs, are detailed in RG 85 R216 vol. 1268 file 1000-184 pt. 2, LAC.

26 Irkootee interview with Patricia Boulter, August 2011.

27 Letter, B. G. Sivertz to H. Larsen, RCMP G. Division Chief, 12 April 1956, and B. G. Sivertz, Memorandum for W. G. Kerr re: Eskimos, Rankin Inlet N.W.T., 10 December 1956, RG 85 vol. 1268 file 1000-184 pt. 1, LAC.

28 Memorandum, F. G. Cunningham to Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs, 10 December 1956, RG 85 vol. 1268 vol. 1000-184 pt. 1, LAC.

29 Letter, D. W. Grant to Andrew Easton, May 1959, RG 85 vol. 1512 vol. 1000-184 pt. 3, LAC.

30 "Employment of Eskimos," 26 December 1956, Alexander Stevenson fonds, N1992-023 box 31 file 1, Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (hereafter PWNHC), Northwest Territories Archives.

31 McPherson, *New Owners*, 12.

32 Dailey and Dailey, "Eskimo of Rankin Inlet," 94. For instance, in 1958, eleven men were returned to Baker Lake after failing to report for work at the mine. Monthly Report by W. G. Kerr (July 31, 1958), RG 85 vol. 623 file A205-184, LAC.

33 F. G. Vallee, *Kabloona and the Eskimo in the Central Keewatin* (Ottawa: Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, 1962), 56; Letter from Easton to Grant (Aug. 26, 1959), RG 85 vol. 1512 file 1000-184 pt. 3, LAC.

34 Letter by B. G. Sivertz to Kerr, "Eskimos, Rankin Inlet, N.W.T." (Dec. 10, 1956), RG 85 vol. 1268 vol. 1000-184 pt. 1, LAC.

35 In spite of these restrictions, a Northern Affairs welfare officer reported in 1957 two instances of liaisons between non-Inuit men and Inuit women resulting in pregnancies. F. W. Thompson, "Report on Visit to Rankin Inlet, November 11–15, 1957," RG 85 vol. 1268 vol. 1000-184 pt. 2, LAC.

36 "Eskimo Job Problem Posed by Mine Closure," *Globe and Mail*, April 3, 1962, 25.

37 Stanley Twardy, "Ebbing Ore Blow to Eskimos," *Globe and Mail*, April 3, 1962, cited in RG 22 vol. 832 file 40-3-22 pt. 2, LAC.

38 "Displaced by Caribou Shortage, Eskimos to Get Aid From Ottawa," Canadian Press story clipping, 24 May 1962, cited in RG 22 vol. 832 file 40-3-22 pt. 2, LAC.

39 Report by D. W. Grant, Area Administrator, N1992-023 file 35-8, PWNHC.

40 See the extensive correspondence and reports in RG85 R216 vol. 1448 file 1000-184 vols. 7 and 8, LAC, as well as D. M. Brack and D. McIntosh, "Keewatin Mainland Area Economic Survey and Regional Appraisal," report for Industrial Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, March 1963, held in National Library of Canada.

41 See documents in RG85 D-3-a A251-3-500 file 1933 pt. 3, LAC.

42 Interviews in film, "Rankin Inlet Mine," Peter Ittinuar, film held in Rankin Inlet Community Resource Centre. This remarkable film (shot on black-and-white video) consists of a series of interviews in Inuktitut between Ittinuar and former miners, documenting the challenges the community faced after the sudden closure of the mine. This quote is based on a recorded simultaneous translation of the film by Piita Irniq. In an interview with Keeling, Ittinuar himself noted the film's "poignancy" and the miners' eloquence in discussing their post-mining struggles.

43 "Proceedings of a Meeting with the Eskimo Affairs Council and People of Rankin Inlet on February 26, 1962," RG85 Series D-1-A R216 vol. 1448 file 1000-184 pt. 7, LAC.

44 T. D. Stewart, Memorandum, Social assistance payments—Rankin Inlet, 6 March 1964, RG85 Series D-1-A R216 vol. 1962 file 1009-10 pt. 1, LAC. These welfare policies are also discussed in Williamson, *Eskimo Underground*.

45 Several interviewees mentioned these activities; they are discussed in detail in Stacy Neale, "The Rankin Inlet Ceramics Project: A Study in Development and Influence" (MA thesis, Concordia University, 1997).

46 These relocations are discussed in detail in Robert G. Williamson and Terrence W. Foster, "Eskimo Relocation in Canada," Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1975.

47 See, for instance, Bob Hill, "Transplanted Eskimos Doing Well," *Edmonton Journal*, November 28, 1963, 8; "Great Slave Lake Railway Begins Training Program," *North* magazine, March–April 1966, 44–45.

48 In addition to Williamson and Foster, several files in boxes 31, 51, and 57 of the R. G. Williamson fonds (MG 216) at the University of Saskatchewan Archives in Saskatoon also document the relocations and their challenges. Another report dealing with worker relocation is D. S. Stevenson, "Problems of Eskimo Relocation for Industrial Employment: A Preliminary Study," Northern Science Research Centre report, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, May 1968.

49 Williamson and Foster, "Eskimo Relocation in Canada," 108.

50 The crest of the Hamlet of Rankin Inlet, for instance, depicts the mine headframe (ironically, now gone from the landscape) fronted by an inukshuk, with a crossed miner's pick and Inuit harpoon. On the identification of contemporary residents with the mining past and landscape, see Tara Cater and Arn Keeling, "That's where our future came from": Mining, Landscape, and Memory in Rankin Inlet, Nunavut," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 37, no. 2 (2013): 59–82.

51 Pamela Stern, "Upside-Down and Backwards: Time Discipline in a Canadian Inuit Town," *Anthropologica* 45, no. 1 (2003): 155.

52 For a discussion of indigenous "life projects" and development, see Mario Blaser, Harvey Feit, and Glenn McRae, "Indigenous Peoples and Development Processes: New Terrains of Struggle," in *In the Way of Development: Indigenous Peoples, Life Projects, and Globalization*, eds. Mario Blaser, Harvey Feit, and Glenn McRae (London: Zed Books, 2004), 1–25.

53 This comment reflects the discussion of the politics of Inuit cultural identity in Edmund (Ned) Searles, "Anthropology in an Era of Inuit Empowerment," in *Critical Inuit Studies: An Anthology of Contemporary Arctic Ethnography*, eds. Pamela Stern and Lisa Stevenson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 89–101.

54 Rollwagen, "When Ghosts Hovered," 33.

55 Jean-Sébastien Boutet, "Opening Ungava to Industry: A Decentring Approach to Indigenous History in Subarctic Québec, 1937–1954," *Cultural Geographies* 21, no. 1 (2014): 79–97.

University of Calgary

PRISM: University of Calgary's Digital Repository

University of Calgary Press | University of Calgary Press Open Access Books

2015-11

Mining and communities in Northern Canada : history, politics, and memory

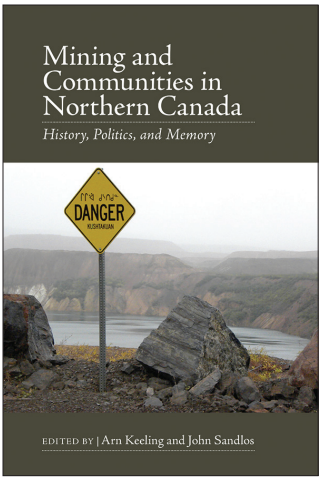
Keeling, Arn; Sandlos, John

University of Calgary Press

Keeling, A., & Sandlos, J. (Eds.). (2015). Mining and Communities in Northern Canada: History, Politics, and Memory. Canada: University of Calgary Press.
http://hdl.handle.net/1880/51021
book

http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/
Attribution Non-Commercial No Derivatives 4.0 International
Downloaded from PRISM: https://prism.ucalgary.ca

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press



MINING AND COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN CANADA: HISTORY, POLITICS, AND MEMORY

Edited by Arn Keeling and John Sandlos

ISBN 978-1-55238-805-1

THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK. It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at ucpress@ucalgary.ca

Cover Art: The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE: This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence. This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY**:

- read and store this document free of charge;
- distribute it for personal use free of charge;
- print sections of the work for personal use;
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY NOT**:

- gain financially from the work in any way;
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
- reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press
press.ucalgary.ca

Acknowledgement: *We acknowledge the wording around open access used by Australian publisher,* **re.press**, *and thank them for giving us permission to adapt their wording to our policy* http://www.re-press.org

Narratives Unearthed, or, How an Abandoned Mine Doesn't Really Abandon You

Sarah M. Gordon

In Denendeh, the traditional territory of the Dene Nation, there are two places called Sǫbak'e, "the money place." One is Yellowknife, capital of the Northwest Territories and administrative hub for most industry of the region, which centred on gold mining beginning in 1935 and diamond mining beginning in 1998.[1] The other is on the eastern shore of Great Bear Lake, where the Port Radium mine, and its associated village, used to stand. Arguably the most striking cultural collision between the Dene of the Sahtú (Great Bear Lake) and the forces of urban Canada took place at Port Radium. For sixty years, the only settlements on the lake were the Dene town of Délı̨nę (formerly Fort Franklin) on the western shore, the Port Radium mining town on the eastern shore, and a small Dene settlement at Sawmill Bay near Port Radium. Délı̨nę is the only one remaining. In the 1940s and 1950s, companies associated with the Port Radium mine hired Dene workers to load and transport uranium ore

across the lake and downriver and to supply wood for fuel and construction at the mine site. The long-term impacts of the mine have been devastating and controversial to the Sahtúot'ı̨nę, or Great Bear Lake Dene. The story of Port Radium has become, in Délı̨nę, a cautionary tale about what happens when trust is given to the wrong people, local interests are not given equal weight to outside interests, and when outside influence is allowed to progress unchecked by local knowledge on Dene land.

Port Radium has been the subject of numerous histories that have foregrounded different perspectives on its impacts and importance: the community of Délı̨nę itself has published a book of personal histories;[2] historians and academics have produced texts that have sought to give the mine broader historical context;[3] it has been the subject of at least two documentary films;[4] and countless pages in magazines, newspapers, and other periodicals have been devoted to its story.[5] Collectively, these texts tell conflicting stories about the origin of the mine and its relationship with the Aboriginal people who lived and worked there. This chapter does not seek to evaluate any of those narratives, nor does it seek to add yet another voice to the cacophony. Rather, its goal is to assess some of these conflicting narratives *as narratives*. These are stories that people tell and that they believe, and as such they reflect larger epistemic paradigms at work in the context of their circulation. In the words of Julie Cruikshank: "More interesting than the question of which versions more accurately account for 'what really happened' is what differing versions tell us about the values they commemorate."[6] A story never exists in isolation. In all cases, there are people who tell the story, people who listen, and people who remember; all of these people do the work of contextualizing that story within the framework of the relationships surrounding it, the history that precedes it, and the future that flows forward from it. J. L. Austin introduced to linguistic circles the idea that not all statements can be said to be true or false, but rather, some utterances exist to *do something*;[7] Searle pushed this a step further by arguing that, truly, *all* utterances do something.[8] Kiowa writer N. Scott Momaday argues that questions of truth and fiction are subsumed beneath the life and actions of the story itself:

> Stories are true to our common experience; they are statements which concern the human condition. To the extent that the human condition involves moral considerations, stories have moral implications. Beyond that, stories are true in that they are established squarely upon belief. In the oral tradition stories are told not merely to entertain or to instruct; they are told to be believed. Stories are not subject to the imposition of such questions as true or false, fact or fiction. Stories are realities lived and believed. They are true.[9]

The mainstream and Dene narratives about the discovery of the Port Radium mine reflect sharply contrasting attitudes about the relationship between people (both Dene and non-Dene) and the landscape; these are the attitudes that have shaped, and continue to shape, northern colonialism. At the same time, the metonymic relationship between the mine and the broader experience of colonialism imbues Port Radium with a homeopathic power: to heal Port Radium properly, with due attention given to the values and personhood of the Sahtúot'ı̨nę and the Sahtú landscape, is to take a great leap toward healing the damage of colonialism more broadly.

Intimate and multifaceted relationships between mining, colonialism, and indigenous cultures exist throughout the Americas. Délı̨nę's story finds its closest cognate in the story of the Navajo, whose ancestral land became home to a thousand uranium mines in the early twentieth century, and who lost countless elders to the effects of radiation exposure. Among the Navajo, uranium is a monster, *Leetso*, born from the ground and delivered by the Navajo miners.[10] Similarly, tin mines in Bolivia, which began to appear almost immediately following colonization of the region, are homes to a syncretic Devil whose growth in power corresponds to growth in labour alienation.[11] June Nash has discussed how Bolivian tin miners' insistence on foregrounding local cosmology as a framework within which to understand both the mines' internal functions and their ongoing social impacts has empowered miners to resist imposed models of modernization.[12] In Délı̨nę, neither the mine nor its ore has the agency attributed to monsters or devils, as they do in the Navajo homeland and in Bolivia. Rather, the land itself has a kind of

personhood; the natural, social, and cultural worlds often disaggregated in urban societies and in analyses of indigenous societies[13] remain unified here, so the relationship between people and the land is governed by guidelines of interpersonal ethical conduct. Julie Cruikshank has discussed how Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal narratives about the Klondike gold rush construct the categories of "individual" and "society" in starkly contrasting ways that index radically different understandings of what qualifies as good, valued, or justified behaviour.[14] Like Cruikshank, I seek to describe how different narratives about Port Radium reflect values of the teller that relate to conceptions of personhood and the relationship between people and the environment. Like Nash and Taussig, I seek to uncover the ways in which these narrative differences create opportunities for local Aboriginal empowerment in the face of colonial pressure to continue to assimilate to mainstream Canadian norms.

I spent a total of thirteen months in Délı̨nę between June 2009 and August 2011, researching the way the community negotiates the pressure to assimilate to Euro-Canadian norms while retaining a sense of local Sahtúot'ı̨nę identity. To that end, I interviewed various community members of different ages; I travelled on the land around the lake on trips geared toward trapping, hunting, fishing, and community education; and I participated in diverse community gatherings and activities. When I discussed culture change and community adaptation with friends in Délı̨nę, Port Radium came up as a recurrent theme in conversation. The ongoing impact of the mine comes not only from its material footprint on the landscape of the Sahtú: it comes also from the knowledge spread about the mine and its history through the narratives that circulate about it in different spheres. The varied stories about the mine—with its deceptive beginning, controversial existence, and devastating outcome—stand as both icons of and cautionary tales about the broader experience of colonialism.

PORT RADIUM: A BRIEF HISTORY

The Port Radium mine was built to excavate a vein of pitchblende ore that was staked by Gilbert Labine in 1930. Various conflicting narratives account for how he came to discover the ore; those will be discussed below. Following the discovery, Labine's Eldorado Gold Mines Ltd. built a camp in a protected cove called Cameron Bay. Other companies set up small ventures nearby, at Contact Lake and on the Camsell River. The goal of most of these ventures was to unearth and sell silver, copper, iron, and especially radium, which was being used in everything from phosphorescent wristwatches to newly developed cancer treatments. Uranium, which was considered virtually worthless at the time, was dumped with other tailings into the lake water. Prior to Labine's discovery, Belgium had held a monopoly over the global radium supply, extracting the element—which was valued at $75,000 per gram in 1930—from its colony in the Belgian Congo.[15] In the mid-1930s, the Canadian government established a post office and RCMP outpost at the Cameron Bay site to serve all the workers in the area. By the late 1930s, the global radium market had become saturated, and Eldorado found itself in a pricing war with the Belgian Union Minière; facing expensive extraction processes, the northern Canadian companies found themselves priced out of the market. To avoid shutting down, Eldorado negotiated with the Union Minière to delineate the geographical boundaries of their respective markets. But when World War II broke out in 1939, all participating countries imposed powerful trade restrictions; when Canada joined the Allies in September of that year, Eldorado lost its market in Germany. In 1940, the mine closed temporarily.[16] The government closed its offices there, and all non-Aboriginal residents returned to their homes farther south. In 1941, the American atomic bomb project began seeking sources of uranium oxide, a mineral found in high concentrations in pitchblende. The Nazi naval military and its U-boats held the North Atlantic in a stranglehold. The transportation of uranium across the Atlantic from Belgian-controlled mines in Africa became prohibitively dangerous. In 1942, the American government asked to purchase sixty tons of Canadian uranium oxide for use in the Manhattan Project, its secret task force working to develop a new, extremely powerful bomb.[17] The order was enough to inspire the Canadian

government to purchase a controlling share of Labine's Eldorado Gold Mines Ltd., rechristening it Eldorado Mining and Refining Ltd. and reopening the Port Radium site as a Crown corporation.[18] Most of the uranium used in the Manhattan Project came from previously purchased stock imported from Belgian-controlled Congo and stored in Staten Island, New York; demands beyond that were met with uranium from Port Radium. The Eldorado Mine at Port Radium continued to produce uranium ore until 1960, when it closed down again. In 1964, it reopened as a silver mine. The mine shut down for the final time in 1982, and most of its associated buildings and structures were dismantled.

While Eldorado's archival records are largely closed to the public, all available evidence suggests that before 1977, the Aboriginal people were not hired to work underground in the mine.[19] Aboriginal people were hired informally to provide other services around the Port Radium site: many Délı̨nę residents describe gathering wood for use as fuel and building material. Aboriginal people were also directly employed by the Northern Transportation Company Ltd. (NTCL) to work as ore carriers and barge pilots along the uranium transport route that moved the ore from its extraction site to refineries farther south. But even those workers with jobs that did not involve handling ore report noticing the effects of the radioactive dust that coated everything, and the fuel and oil that would find its way into the water from the boats and machinery. To get water, people would have to break the oily sheen that clung to the lake's surface. Ducks and fish, cut open, smelled like fuel, and sometimes they grew tumors.[20]

The rise in cancer cases among Sahtúot'ı̨nę became noticeable after the mine closed in the 1980s. The community pressured the Canadian government to undertake studies of the history, epidemiology, and environmental impact of Port Radium. Délı̨nę secured an agreement after initial resistance to conduct joint research with the federal government in these areas. In 2000, the two governments formed the Canada-Délı̨nę Uranium Table (CDUT), a committee that aimed "to address concerns about the human health and environmental impacts of Port Radium."[21] The CDUT's final report, issued in 2005, stated that "according to risk modelling based on the [radiation] dose reconstruction, 1.6 excess cancers (more than baseline) are theoretically predicted in a group of 35

individuals with ages and radioactive doses the same as the ore transport workers,"[22] but they found no conclusive evidence that uranium transport workers experienced any direct health impacts from radiation exposure. Many community members and some independent researchers dispute this claim.[23] The CDUT's research did, however, identify long-lasting tears in the community's political, cultural, and psychological fabric that are directly traceable to the community's connection with Port Radium. Their final report outlined twenty-six recommendations for action toward remediating the mine's lingering impacts. The recommendations included mandates for traditional knowledge research and the establishment of a traditional knowledge centre in the community, local job training and capacity building, the protection of Sahtúot'ı̨nę interests in all future research in the community, staffing the community health centre with health-care workers sensitive to Sahtúot'ı̨nę culture and to the mine's health impacts, and remediating the environment and landscape as quickly as possible.[24]

The CDUT process was controversial throughout its execution. Most people, in my experience, were pleased with the list of twenty-six recommendations that emerged from the process, but have been displeased with what they perceive to be insufficient follow-through on the part of the federal government. The remediation of the landscape has been underway for several years, but the components of cultural and psychological healing have received comparatively little attention. Local efforts to do this work have proven difficult to fund; traditional knowledge research has largely come about on the impetus of independent researchers visiting from universities and non-governmental organizations who can draw on scholarly and arts-based funding. Furthermore, the environmental cleanup, upon which great progress has been made in recent years, is fraught with tension: many community elders dislike that barrels of waste are being buried on-site, rather than transported elsewhere for disposal. Many people still desire compensation for the cancer deaths that they attribute to radiation exposure on the land. The mine may have been closed for more than three decades, its openings sealed over and most of its buildings dismantled, but its story, in Délı̨nę, is far from over.

CONFLICTING DISCOVERY NARRATIVES: GILBERT LABINE

The Port Radium mine has two distinct and radically different origin stories: one told in Délı̨nę, and another told in publications and formal documents throughout the rest of Canada. These narratives are mutually exclusive: if one is wholly true, the other cannot be. That said, even if one narrative is true and the other is false, the secret of the discovery of the pitchblende vein at Port Radium remains with the people who were present at the time, none of whom are alive anymore. For people today, these discovery narratives reflect strongly contrasting perspectives on Aboriginal disenfranchisement and the fair use of northern land.

The commonly known narrative about the origin of the Port Radium mine originates with Gilbert Labine, the prospector who identified the site and whose company, Eldorado Gold Mines Ltd., established the mine there. This "mainstream" story has been reproduced in several major Canadian publications.[25] According to that story, Gilbert Labine took a prospecting trip to the Northwest Territories, possibly inspired by a 1900 report by J. Macintosh Bell, a geologist for the Geological Survey of Canada, which referred to a sighting of cobalt bloom at the site where Port Radium was later established.[26] In a 1934 speech on the history of the subject, Labine describes having used maps of the Northwest Territories secured from the Department of the Interior and having received guidance from the 1900 Bell report.[27] In 1960, however, Labine published a contradictory history of his expedition. In an early publication about the history of the mine, Labine denied having seen the Bell report:

> There is one fact I would like to point out: I had no geological maps and any of my early mapping of the structures was made by my own reconnaissance and not by the Geological Survey. It has been stated that the Bell Report of 1900 [. . .] was responsible for my going to Great Bear Lake. I would like to state here that this is absolutely false, as I did not read the Bell Report until the following year when I obtained a copy from the archives in Ottawa, after I had already been in that country. Further, I had travelled with Bell. As a matter-of-fact I was his first assistant in Canada

> when he returned from New Zealand and in all of our discussions never once did he mention to me that he had seen anything of interest in the Great Bear Lake field.[28]

At least one rendition of the narrative indicates that Labine made a first prospecting trip to the Northwest Territories in 1929 without having read the Bell report and spotted the cobalt bloom during his return flight south. This inspired him to seek out the Bell report on his return home and then to head back to the region the following year, for further prospecting.[29]

Labine travelled with a partner, Charles St. Paul, and for a long time found nothing. One morning, shortly before they were about to give up, St. Paul was struck with snow blindness—a temporary, painful affliction of the eyes caused by overexposure to ultraviolet light without the use of eye protection, commonly triggered by sunlight reflecting off vast expanses of snow—and had to spend a few days recovering in the dark. Labine went for a walk on his own, where he stumbled across an ore vein that may have been pitchblende or may have been silver showing indications of pitchblende, depending on the version of the narrative. Labine found a plum-sized sample of the black rock, which he brought back to St. Paul in their tent. He nursed St. Paul's eyes back to health until St. Paul could confirm Labine's suspicions: the surface of the rock—which appeared black, shiny, and bubbly, like it had solidified while boiling—looked like pitchblende.

The two men returned to the south, where their hunch was validated at a lab. Armed with this new knowledge, Labine staked his claim at the site of the vein, and then set about the arduous task of securing venture capital to fund his goal of building a mine a thousand miles from the nearest railroad, which was in Edmonton. Through perseverance, backed by the extremely high price of radium at the time, he succeeded, and the mine was built on the site of that vein of pitchblende.

While my purpose in this analysis is not to evaluate the validity of this narrative, it contains inconsistencies that bear mentioning. As others have pointed out,[30] it is extremely unlikely that a prospector as experienced as St. Paul would have made the kinds of basic errors that would have led to snow blindness. Labine and St. Paul spent an entire

season prospecting together, and yet Labine's discovery happened almost immediately following the onset of St. Paul's affliction (snow blindness typically heals in less than seventy-two hours). As well, pitchblende is not a common ore in Canada, making it questionable that the two men would have been able to identify the rock so readily. Different sources have told different stories about how Labine had previously been able to see a sample of the ore.[31]

Perhaps Labine intentionally lied in one version of this narrative. More likely, the narrative evolved over the twenty-five years between these tellings, curated according to the demands of different audiences and how Labine wished to understand his own story. A reader can hardly help but notice how Labine's personal narrative has Horatio Alger qualities, embracing every trope of the American myth of the self-made man, who typically comes from poverty and, through hard work, perseverance, and strategic risk taking, achieves great financial success.[32] Lest this individualistic formula seem too American to have been the unconscious result of a narrator's interaction with more collectively minded Canadian audiences, it bears noting that shortly after the pitchblende strike, the Eldorado mining company enlisted the support of a New York City–based PR firm in shaping its corporate image,[33] and that the trope of the self-made man has also been pervasive in Canada, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,[34] and especially with reference to prospectors. Julie Cruikshank has referred to Horatio Alger as the Yukon prospector's "prototype."[35] By actively excluding the Bell report from later versions of the narrative, Labine frees himself of any obligation to share credit for the mine's discovery. Even the assistant he paid to accompany him plays only a supporting role in the narrative: St. Paul's snow-blindness not only sets up the conditions for Labine's discovery, but also illustrates his weakness and lesser competence as contrasted with Labine's robust success (after all, the two men were travelling together in the same conditions, but only one went snow-blind). Key tropes of Canadian literature find their way into the story, as well. Sherrill Grace describes a "northern narrative," in which a white, male hero is thrown into a northern landscape and must struggle to survive until he finds salvation "through endurance in this harsh yet potentially transforming landscape."[36] In lieu of the wolves and bears that most frequently

symbolize northern danger, Labine's narrative has snow blindness; in lieu of explicit spiritual salvation, Labine finds financial salvation. Labine has ventured into that wilderness and not only survived but vanquished it (which, in turn, calls to mind Margaret Atwood's rhetoric of "survival" as connected to Canada's fascination with, and terror of, the north).[37]

At the same time that Labine's narrative positions him as a survivor of the North's many challenges, it also feeds into the rhetoric of opportunism surrounding northern expansion that was popular in Canada in the first half of the twentieth century.[38] The turn of the century saw expanding foreign and domestic markets for Canadian natural resources and a federal government, under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that was keen to enable national industry to capitalize on these opportunities.[39] This attitude grew even more powerful in the 1940s, when Lester B. Pearson—then ambassador to the United States—published an article in *Foreign Affairs* celebrating the opportunity offered by the "great wealth in the Land of the Midnight Sun," saying that "a whole new region has been brought out of the blurred and shadowy realm of northern folklore and shown to be an important and accessible part of our modern world."[40] Labine's story combines the thrill of risk with the promise of opportunity, elevating his own stature while promoting broader Canadian motives to further colonize the North.

DISCOVERY NARRATIVES: ʔƎHTSÉO BEYONNIE

Unsurprisingly, the origin of the Port Radium mine is understood very differently in Délı̨nę than in the rest of Canada, and the Délı̨nę version includes Aboriginal people as prominent players in the mine's discovery and establishment. Like Labine's version, the Sahtúot'ı̨nę narrative comes in several versions that waver, slightly, around a common narrative centre. I quote it here from the version published in *"If Only We Had Known": The History of Port Radium as Told by The Sahtúot'ı̨nę*:

> Prior to 1930, a Dene man, Victor Beyonnie's dad was travelling to Caribou Point and camped at Port Radium. He noticed an unusual looking rock, which he showed a non-Dene prospector.
>
> The prospector took the rock to Edmonton and showed it to a prospector named Gilbert Labine. Being a geologist, Mr. Labine noticed that the rock possibly contained pitchblende. In 1930, Gilbert Labine began staking claims at Echo Bay on the eastern shore of Great Bear Lake. During 1931 he and his crew shipped ten tons of handpicked ore to Ottawa for further analysis.[41]

When the story is told in Délı̨nę, sometimes people say that Old Beyonnie met a prospector who gave the rock to Gilbert Labine, and sometimes people say that Old Beyonnie met Labine himself during his expedition to the Arctic. Everyone agrees that the prospector gave Old Beyonnie something tokenistic in exchange for the rock—coffee, rifle shells, a bag of flour—saying that the rock probably had no value. The ore proved to be pitchblende, of course, and its discovery not only saved Labine's company from the brink of bankruptcy, but made Labine himself very wealthy. As in stories of ox-hide purchases common in colonial North America, an agreement is made to exchange small items, but the colonizing party, with duplicitous intent, claimed far more than the spirit of the agreement allowed.[42]

The Délı̨nę narrative is widely known and commonly told in the community. It comes up as a metaphor or analogy in the context of other political conversations: an implicit cautionary tale. On the occasion that this narrative came up in one of my interviews, its structure and content were fragmented across three speakers (elder Andrew John "AJ" Kenny, his son Dennis who worked with me as an interpreter, and myself) and two languages (the Sahtúot'ı̨nę language and English):

> Sarah Gordon (SG): What do you think is the most important lesson for young people and future generations to learn from the Port Radium story?
>
> Andrew John "AJ" Kenny (AJK): [responds in Sahtúot'ı̨nę language].

Dennis Kenny (DK), interpreting: He said the government treated our elders really badly. Really badly. The way they treated them, there was no compensation, nothing. He said, look at my mom's grandfather. He's the one who found the . . . that stuff at Port Radium.

SG: The pitchblende?

DK: Yeah. He was the one who found it. And he never, her dad never even got compensated. He got a 25 pound flour. And they're talking about this guy who discovered it. Now he's rich, he's a millionaire, and there's a book about him. And no nothing about my mom's dad. My grandfather. He's the one who discovered. . .

AJK (in English): Victor. Victor Beyonnie's dad. Victor's brother is my wife's father.

DK: Yeah. Their dad. He's the one who found that.

SG: What was his name? It was Beyonnie, but. . .

DK: ʔəhtséo Beyonnie.[43]

AJK: Beyonnie.

DK: They just call him Beyonnie. He *[AJ]* said that story is, you know, it's important for people to learn it, how the government treated us. So badly. Not just that, but the explorers too. Like that guy who discovered that stuff.

SG: Labine?

DK: Labine, yeah. Some people said all the older people . . . should, you know, gather young people together and tell them exactly what happened and what they did for them and what happened to them. Now my Dad's talking about all this, how his brother's gone by cancer, my grandpa died by cancer, my grandpa was a really hard-working man . . . he was good hard-working

> man and he helped a lot of people just with, you know, giving them advice and stuff like that.[44]

Virtually any time Port Radium is discussed in Délı̨nę, the narrative is tied to some concept of death. The Kennys' version of the origin narrative closes with a discussion of the cancer: the mine began with the unjust treatment of a Dene man, and it continues, now, with the unjust suffering of Dene people who lived or worked at or near the mine or the uranium transport route. But another narrative—less commonly told, but just as widely known in Délı̨nę—speaks to prior Dene knowledge of the mine site and of the lives it would take. Its focus, however, is not on the Dene lives lost, but the Japanese. The narrative, paraphrased based on my field notes, goes like this:

> The place where Port Radium is now, long ago, people knew it was a bad place. They said they should never sleep there or go near it. But long ago, some hunters were travelling and they stayed there one night. One of them was a prophet, and that night, he had a dream. He saw a large hole in the ground with white men walking into it. Then, he saw a large flying bird carrying a black stick. The bird carried the stick to a land far away and then dropped it; it made a giant, burning hole in the ground. Out of the hole, the spirits of thousands of people escaped, rising to the sky. The spirits looked like Dene people, but they were not Dene.

The versions of this narrative that I heard attributed the vision to an unnamed prophet who lived long, long ago, though they often cite Prophet Ayah (or Ayha)[45]—an extremely important Dene prophet who passed away in Délı̨nę in 1920—as a teller of the tale. Most notable of these is the version recorded by Sahtúot'ı̨nę elder George Blondin in his book *When the World Was New*.[46] Other versions of the story, recorded by journalists and previous ethnographers, attribute the vision itself to Ayha, when he was a young man, before he had been instructed to share his visions with the world. One version, published in *News/North*—a regional newspaper that circulates throughout the Canadian territories—cites Leroy Andre and Joe Blondin, both Sahtúot'ı̨nę, as its sources:

Long before the Europeans came or any mines opened on the shores of Great Bear Lake, the Dene people learned Port Radium was deadly and many of them stayed away.

Délı̨nę didn't exist yet and the people still lived on the land, often travelling in groups of families to hunt and fish.

One day a group of Dene was passing through the area and they decided to camp near what would eventually become known as Port Radium. Among them was a powerful medicine man, the Prophet Ayha.

During the night, the others awoke to the prophet singing. He did not wake himself, but sang for most of the night in his sleep.

In the morning the people asked him why he was singing in his sleep, so he told them of his vision. He said he saw boats and many houses with smoke coming out of them. There were people with white skin going into a great hole in the ground and coming back out with rocks.

These people were carrying the rocks away and he decided to see where they were going. So in his dream state he followed them across Great Bear Lake and down along the river network to Fort McMurray and beyond there into the U.S. There the people made a long stick and put the rocks in it. They then loaded the big stick into a giant bird, which then took flight so he followed it as it flew over wide-open water.

When it came back over the land, the bird dropped the stick and it burst into a giant ball of fire and many people who lived there were burnt.

"Those people looked a lot like us," said Prophet Ayha. "I was singing for them."

He then told the people that all of this would happen after they died.

> Many years later, in September of 1940, the Prophet Ayha passed away.
>
> On Aug. 6, 1945, the U.S. dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Three days later another fell on Nagasaki.[47]

Another print version of this story adds that long before colonization, the Dene knew that this place was dangerous; loud noises came from the rocks there, and it was "bad medicine" to pass nearby.[48]

CONTRASTING NARRATIVES

The mainstream Canadian narrative of the origin of Port Radium contrasts sharply with the Délı̨nę narrative with respect to where they situate power and agency. The mainstream story situates power with Labine: plucky, resourceful, down-on-his-luck prospector who challenges the frigid Canadian Arctic and survives, rewarded for his rigour and persistence by the discovery of an ore containing a wildly valuable element, radium. The Aboriginal residents of the area are, at best, background characters, part of the landscape; more often they are invisible. The Dene narrative, however, complicates these power dynamics. Because the rock is discovered by ʔəhtséo Beyonnie, a Dene man, the glory of its discovery (and associated power) should, according to the Sahtúot'ı̨nę, reside with him, but the prospector purchases the rock for a token sum so that he may assume its power for himself, accruing great wealth and prestige in the process. The Aboriginal version of the story focuses on the good faith with which the First Nations people generally greeted and supported the arriving Europeans, and on the unjust and inhumane treatment they received in response.

The differences in the roles played by Aboriginal people in the mine's discovery mirror the roles they play in narratives of northern colonialism more broadly: the mainstream narratives of Arctic colonialism erase Aboriginal sovereignty and personhood, especially in the face of industrial and governmental desires for land and resources on Aboriginal land.[49] The Crown recognized Aboriginal title to any land that had not been ceded through treaty, but as the land held value to the government

and the Aboriginal people did not, the latter were conceptualized mostly as obstacles to overcome in order to secure the former.[50]

One constant remains through the different versions of Labine's story, in keeping with the colonial mentality: Aboriginal people do not appear. This noticeable absence is in keeping with subsequent descriptions of Port Radium. At Library and Archives Canada, I searched dozens of boxes of material related to the Eldorado, scanning for references to Aboriginal people at the mine sites. Boxes contained correspondence between the company's management staff, employment records, and file after file of media clippings—but little if any mention of Dene, as employees, traders, or even merely local residents. Julie Cruikshank has argued that "facts get established by enacting silences . . . there are things to be said and ways of saying them."[51] Whenever a narrative is shared, be it orally or in print, decisions of inclusion and exclusion are made based on culturally ingrained assumptions of what is or is not considered relevant. When southern, urban Canada hears stories of the founding of a new and successful mine, it expects Horatio Alger: independence and plucky self-reliance. When it hears of the country's movement to further colonize the North, it expects stories of challenge meeting opportunity. It does not expect stories about the local people of the area whose lives are integral to and affected (sometimes negatively) by the success of the story's lead character.

The picture of Aboriginal life at Port Radium emerged in the negative spaces of my archival scavenging. The archival material about Port Radium and the Eldorado corporation made no reference to the Aboriginal employees who lived at the mine and worked there casually, or who worked along the uranium transport route.[52] An unpublished essay called "Radium in Canada," by radiation expert Marcel Pochon, who was a high-level director at Eldorado for many years, says that "Great Bear Lake had had, in the past, very few visitors," going on to enumerate prospectors and missionaries who had travelled in the region, but giving no mention to the Dene and Tłı̨chǫ people who had travelled there for centuries; it goes on to describe the land as "uninhabited."[53]

A 1937 article in *Collier's Weekly* includes limited references to Aboriginal residents of the Port Radium area, but its inclusions and exclusions are telling. "Radium City," the topic of the article, has, in the

author's description, only a single female resident—the wife of the mine manager—but nonetheless manages to have a "little gang of half-breed kids."[54] The author goes on to describe the warming effect of the smiles of young women he sees from afar, who, implicitly, are not the lone woman resident of Radium City.[55] Aboriginal people are present in the gaps of the story, in the spaces between and around its actual characters, who are, of course, white.

The background appearances of Aboriginal people in so many Port Radium stories raise the question that they may have appeared in the background of Labine's mine discovery narrative, as well, even if he never mentioned them or implied that they were there. Fred J. "Tiny" Peet, an electrician and miner who had worked at Port Radium, stated in an oral history interview that Labine mentioned having hired an "Indian" guide in his early expeditions to the area.[56] "Punch" Dickins, renowned bush pilot who flew in and out of Port Radium, said that Peet's story certainly would have made sense, because many Aboriginal people hunted in the area and would have been of great help with equipment and dog teams.[57] He also offered that, according to his understanding, prospectors' interest in the region had originally stemmed from the fact that the Dene and Dogrib people who lived there had copper arrowheads—a perspective that contrasts sharply with Pochon's assertion that the landscape of the Sahtú was devoid of human life. Just as northern colonization cannot escape the presence of Aboriginal people, no matter its attempts to work around them, neither can any discovery narrative about Port Radium completely and convincingly erase the presence and influence of Aboriginal people.

Differing perspectives on northern colonization, as illustrated by these contrasting narratives about the origin of the Port Radium mine, also reflect different attitudes about the nature of fair exchange and reciprocity. In both narratives, a piece of ore found its way from the earth on the shore of Great Bear Lake into the hands of a prospector. In the Sahtúot'ı̨nę narrative, that exchange was mediated by a Dene man; in Labine's narrative, he found the rock himself. In both cases, however, Labine profited enormously from his discovery, in terms of both finance and fame. In an urban Canadian narrative context, there is no problem with this arrangement. Labine gambled carefully and invested well in his trip, he made a discovery, and succeeded—any successful business,

after all, is, at its core, about selling something for more than it cost to acquire or produce. Even if ʔəhtséo Beyonnie did find the rock and sell it to Labine for a token price, this may not inherently be unfair: when he bought it, he presumably was unaware of its value. But the nature of this exchange, and the resulting process of profiting from the gifts given freely by the land, violates fundamental moral codes in Délı̨nę.

During my time in Délı̨nę, I had two separate conversations, one in an interview and one informally, with individuals who drew parallels between the cultural prohibition against selling wild meat for money and the ethical problem with the mine. When a hunter or fisherman in Délı̨nę brings home meat, it is expected that he will share that meat with friends and relatives who ask, and that he will not request money in exchange. Morris Neyelle, a respected community leader, outlined in an interview the ethic of exchange that he inherited from his elders:

> You know, in my culture, like hunting, fishing, all those kind of things that my elders, even my parents always said, what's given to you free should be given back free. Don't take anything for it, especially money. So to this day, if somebody asks for meat—caribou meat, or fish—first thing they do is, especially outsiders, they go, "Well, I'll give you money." I say, "No!" I say, "It's given to me free, why should I take money for it? I didn't make it. It's given to me free, I should give it back free to whoever asks for it."
>
> But if you misuse it, the elders always said, if you misuse it by gaining from it, by accepting money for it, that way, everything will go, they always said. And I notice a lot of that happening in the other regions. I know there are a lot of stores where they were selling meat. I've seen that too. And it's not right. If they made it, sure. But they didn't make it, so that's why they're losing all the caribou.[58]

Neyelle and I often discussed the politics of selling meat, and how no person should ask for money for something like meat, which was given to them for free. In similar conversation, another elder told me, laughing, that if people were keen to give him something in exchange for meat, they

could bring him five gallons of gas for his snowmobile when they knew he was heading out on a trip—not that anybody ever did!

On one occasion, while we were discussing these politics of exchange, Neyelle drew a poignant comparison between this ethic and the ethics of mining: the problem with mining, he said, was that humans extracted from the ground a rock that they did not make, and then sold it for profit. The land did not ask payment for the ore that they extracted. And thus, just as the caribou would retreat from the hunting grounds of people who disrespected them by selling their meat, so too was the land pulling away from the people. This idea of the land withdrawing could be interpreted in many ways: the growing sense, among elders, that younger generations are disconnected from the local landscape is one possibility; the idea that the resources of the land are becoming slimmer and harder to use, and its environment changing and becoming less hospitable, is another.

Implicit in Neyelle's story is an analysis of the nature of reciprocity and exchange in Délı̨nę, and the importance of not taking personal gain at the expense of another human or non-human being. The land, a living thing, creates all of its parts: the caribou, the fish, the minerals in the earth. When we, as humans, take any of those, we are receiving the gifts given by the land. Any travelling that a person may do to find the caribou herd, or any labouring the person may do to cut a hole in the lake ice, is simply the work that must be done in order to receive those gifts: it doesn't *make* anything. And if the land did not want people to receive those gifts, it would keep those gifts away from the people who seek them. So, to charge money for something given by the land is to take something for nothing, to profit without having done anything to deserve it.[59] That kind of empty profit is exemplified by money. Money is an abstraction that circulates between people without any obvious empirical roots in the world. Neyelle often told me that the elders said not to worry too much about money—it was, after all, only a thing of this world, of no real value.

When an elder says that he will accept five gallons of gasoline from anyone grateful to receive his meat, he is recognizing the difference between receiving money as interest and receiving gas as both a gift and an investment. Gas is a practical thing: without it, the skidoos, trucks, and boat motors will not run, and without those tools, the elder can neither

travel to get more meat nor drive around town to deliver it to those who need it. He does not profit, per se, from a gift of gasoline: he cannot pocket five gallons of gas and use it to buy frivolous things for himself. Instead, he will use the gasoline—either that five-gallon can, or an equivalent five-gallon can that he buys for himself before his next trip—to do the work he must do in order to continue to provide meat to the community. And a person who gives him the gift of five gallons of gas also gives him the gift of time, saving him from having to drive to the gas station to buy those five gallons himself. All of this enables this elder to treat the land with the respect it deserves: by harvesting only the meat that the community needs at any given time, he does not have to overharvest on any given trip and risk harming the caribou herds or wasting meat.

REMEMBERING AN ABANDONED MINE

The buildings of the original Port Radium community have long since been dismantled, but the remnants of the mine itself still remain. As a part of the CDUT agreement, the land must be remediated as much as possible.[60] What constitutes a thoroughly remediated site remains a topic of contention. According to the federal government, and to the local officials in charge of liaising between local and federal authorities on the topic, the remediation work on the area of the Port Radium mine itself is complete; at the time of my visit to Délı̨nę in the summers of 2009 and 2010, remediation work had moved on to Sawmill Bay, with temporary workers being hired on three-week rotations to clean up that contaminated site. But the elders, in particular, continue to insist that the remediation work at Port Radium is incomplete. Morris Neyelle, for example, is dissatisfied with any remediation plan that involves disposing of any waste on-site—especially any toxic waste. That waste was made by people from the South, he says, so they should take it back south with them. The final agreement of the Canada-Délı̨nę Uranium Table stipulates that while tailings, abandoned machinery, and scrap may be disposed of on-site, any hazardous material should be removed for safe disposal elsewhere.[61] Sahtúot'ı̨nę employees of the clean-up process told me that they were responsible for burying material on-site. Nobody was able to say with any

confidence whether that material was hazardous or not. Happiness that the remediation plans are moving forward, and that Sahtúot'ı̨nę workers are being employed as part of the process, is tempered by distrust in the overall process. Port Radium was built on deception and misinformation: why should any Dene believe that its deconstruction should be any more honest?

The parallel of the colonial experience and the Port Radium experience extends into the future. While the Sahtúot'ı̨nę work on remediating the mine site, they are also working on remediating themselves, not only from the damaging impacts of their experiences living and working on the uranium transport route, but also from the impacts of abusive residential schools[62] and tuberculosis hospitals,[63] of Indian agents, of living as wards of the state, of manipulative treaty processes.[64] The mine is both a part of this process and powerful metonymy for it: like many of those other colonial events, its development brought with it the promise of some good things (jobs for Dene people and new opportunities for trade, for example), but those good things have been outweighed by their negative consequences, which never could have been predicted by the Sahtúot'ı̨nę people. This metonymy certainly emphasizes the mine's cognitively destructive power, but it also imbues the mine, and its associated narratives and effects, with a kind of homeopathic power: to address, and heal from, the impacts of the mine is to address and heal from the impacts of colonialism more broadly. And planning to keep the problems of the mine from repeating themselves means also planning to assert control over the ongoing colonial relationship between Délı̨nę and Canada.

This is not to say that the presence of Port Radium within living memory of many Sahtúot'ı̨nę somehow simplifies the decolonization process. If anything, it highlights the tensions that exist between different generations and personalities within the community regarding how the community should assert its independence and negotiate its relationship between the First Nation government and economy, and the federal government and economy. For example, many community leaders, especially of older generations, express significant reservations about the prospect of any future natural resource development on their land, citing Port Radium as an example of how projects that may seem beneficial at first can have unanticipated long-term consequences, particularly when

outsiders are the primary stakeholders. But other community leaders, particularly younger ones, recognize Port Radium as a cautionary tale for what can happen if the community is denied a seat at the decision-making table, but also argue that opening parts of the Sahtú to natural resource exploration, and potential extraction, can provide the community with much-needed cash inflow and employment opportunities. The community is concurrently working to implement self-government, geared toward asserting Sahtúot'ı̨nę sovereignty over local governance, land management, and education. Just as resource development must proceed cautiously, taking into account the perspectives and needs of various community members, so too must the self-government process.

In her work on narratives of colonial encounter in Alaska, Cruikshank reminds us that "ideas have material consequences."[65] The narratives surrounding the origin, life, and afterlife of Port Radium *do things*: they situate power; they illustrate Dene and non-Dene understandings of personhood, agency, responsibility, and modernity; they assign meaning to Port Radium relative to a larger colonial context and use Port Radium as an icon for the deception inherent in colonial processes more broadly. The mainstream Canadian narrative of the mine's origin, with its erasure of any Aboriginal presence and its foregrounding of the mine's discovery as the achievement of a lone ambitious and resourceful person, reflects the values and interests of its largely white, urban audiences and tellers. The Dene narrative indexes concerns regarding the community's broader colonial context and concurrently shapes the community's recovery from the mine's impacts and the broader impacts of colonialism.

Cruikshank has argued that "viewing encounters of ideas historically shows how indigenous peoples continue to face a double exclusion, initially by colonial processes that displace them from land and ultimately by a neocolonial discourse that hastens the transformation of sentient and social spaces to measurable commodities called 'lands and resources.'"[66] In the words of Dennis Kenny, speaking on behalf of his father Andrew John Kenny: "He [Andrew John] said that [the Port Radium] story is . . . important for people to learn . . . How the government treated us. Not just [the government], but the explorers, too."[67] "The explorers" are the prospectors and any other adventurers who travelled through the North desiring and seeking out means for personal gain. The story of Port

Radium is, for the people of Délı̨nę, a cautionary tale that contains moral and political implications that influence the community's strategies for self-governance and cultural preservation. Beyond its impact on the environment, Port Radium has given an accessible face to the overarching ethos of colonial mistreatment, and in that respect, it gives Délı̨nę the strength of a visible adversary against which it may chart its course, demarcated by local traditions and values, into a self-determined future.

NOTES

1 Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, "History of Giant Mine," accessed January 31, 2014, http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100027388/1100100027390; Natural Resources Canada, "Canada: A Diamond-Producing Nation," http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/minerals-metals/business-market/3630.

2 Délı̨nę Uranium Team, *If Only We Had Known: The History of Port Radium as Told by the Sahtúot'ı̨nę* (Délı̨nę: Délı̨nę Uranium Team, 2005).

3 Robert Bothwell, *Eldorado: Canada's National Uranium Company* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); Liza Piper, "Subterranean Bodies: Mining the Large Lakes of North-West Canada, 1921–1960," *Environment and History* 13 (2007): 155–86, Peter C. van Wyck, "The Highway of the Atom: Recollections along a Route," *Topia* 7 (2002): 99–115. Peter C. van Wyck, *The Highway of the Atom* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

4 Peter Blow, *Village of Widows* (Toronto: Lindum Films Inc., 1999); David Henningson, *Somba Ke: The Money Place* (2006).

5 See, for example, Julie Salverson, "They Never Told Us These Things," *Maisonneuve*, August 12, 2011; Andrew Nikiforuk, "Echoes of the Atomic Age: Cancer Kills Fourteen Aboriginal Uranium Workers," *Calgary Herald*, March 14, 1998.

6 Julie Cruikshank, *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 92.

7 John L. Austin, *How To Do Things with Words* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975).

8 John R. Searle, *Expression and Meaning* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

9 N. Scott Momaday, *The Man Made of Words* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 3. See also Thomas King, *The Truth about Stories: A Native Narrative* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

10 Esther Yazzie-Lewis and Jim Zion, "*Leetso*, the Powerful Yellow Monster," in *The Navajo People and Uranium Mining*, eds. Doug Brugge, Timothy Benally, and Esther Yazzie-Lewis (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 2.

11 Michael T. Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

12 June Nash, *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

13 Julie Cruikshank, *Do Glaciers Listen?* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 4.

14 Cruikshank, *Social Life of Stories,* 72–97.

15 Bothwell, *Eldorado,* 8.

16 Ibid., 72–77.

17 Ibid., 97–98; van Wyck, *Highway of the Atom*, 117.

18 Bothwell, *Eldorado*, 117–54.

19 Canada-Délı̨nę Uranium Table, "Canada Délı̨nę Uranium Table Final Report" (Délı̨nę: Délı̨nę First Nation, 2005).

20 Délı̨nę Uranium Team, *If Only We Had Known.*

21 Canada-Délı̨nę Uranium Table, "Final Report," ii.

22 Ibid., 40–41.

23 Blow, *Village of Widows.*

24 Canada-Délı̨nę Uranium Table, "Final Report," ii–x.

25 Bothwell, *Eldorado*; Gordon C. Garbutt, *Uranium in Canada* (Ottawa: Eldorado Mining and Refining Ltd., 1964); W. O. Kupsch, "From Erzgebirge to Cluff Lake – A Scientific Journey through Time," *The Musk-Ox* 23 (1978): 7–87; Gilbert Labine, "Great Bear Lake" (Library and Archives Canada [hereafter LAC], 1934); Gilbert Labine, "Port Radium: The Story of Its Beginnings," *The Refiner* (1960); Peter C. Newman, "Gilbert Labine: Adventurous Bushwhacker," *The Beaver* (1959); Leslie Roberts, "Living on Radium," *Collier's Weekly*, June 5, 1937.

26 J. Mackintosh Bell, "Report on the Topography and Geology of Great Bear Lake and of a Chain of Lakes and Streams thence to Great Slave Lake," in *Annual Report* (Ottawa: Geological Survey of Canada, 1901).

27 Labine, "Great Bear Lake."

28 Labine, "Port Radium: The Story of Its Beginnings."

29 Kupsch, "From Erzgebirge to Cluff Lake," 53.

30 See, for example, van Wyck, *Highway of the Atom*, 106.

31 Ibid., 108.

32 See Irvin G. Wyllie, *The Self-Made Man in America: The Myth of Rags to Riches* (New York: The Free Press, 1966 [1954]).

33 van Wyck, *Highway of the Atom*, 109.

34 Allan Smith, "The Myth of the Self-Made Man in English Canada, 1850–1914," *Canadian Historical Review* 59, no. 2 (1978): 189–219.

35 Cruikshank, *Social Life of Stories*, 92.

36 Sherrill Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 169.

37 Margaret Atwood, *Survival* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press Ltd., 1972); Margaret Atwood, *Strange Things: The Malevolent North in Canadian Literature* (London: Virago Press, 2004 [1995]).

38 See Piper, "Subterranean Bodies"; Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870–1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971).

39 Zaslow, *Opening of the Canadian North*, 131–37, 279.

40 Quoted in Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*, 9.

41 Délı̨nę Uranium Team, *If Only We Had Known,* 9.

42 Jason Baird Jackson, "The Story Of Colonialism, or Rethinking the Ox-Hide Purchase in Native North America and Beyond," *Journal of American Folklore* 126, no. 499 (2013): 31–54.

43 Literally, "Grandfather Beyonnie" or "Elder Beyonnie." "ʔəhtséo" is an honorific used to refer to elders and revered ancestors.

44 Andrew John Kenny and Dennis Kenny, "Personal Interview – 12 January" (2011).

45 Both spellings are generally acceptable in Délı̨nę.

46 George Blondin, *When the World Was New: Stories of the Sahtú Dene* (Yellowknife, NWT: Outcrop, 1990), 78.

47 John Curran, "Dene Medicine Man Foretold Horrific Future" (Yellowknife, NWT: Northern News Services, 2007).

48 Salverson, "They Never Told Us These Things."

49 See, for example, Rebecca Hall, "Diamond Mining in Canada's Northwest Territories: A Colonial Continuity," *Antipode* 45, no. 2 (2013): 376–93.

50 See René Fumoleau, *As Long as This Land Shall Last* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1975); Zaslow, *Opening of the Canadian North*, 7–9.

51 Cruikshank, *Social Life of Stories,* 95.

52 The final report of the Canada-Délı̨nę Uranium Table confirms that no employment records exist for Délı̨nę Dene people at Port Radium. It also asserts that "no Délı̨ne [*sic*] Dene were ever directly employed by Eldorado at the Port Radium mine or mill," though they did trade wood and meat at the village and

worked along the uranium transport route as ore carriers, deckhands, and pilots. Canada-Délı̨nę Uranium Table, "Final Report," 5, 27.

53 Marcel Pochon, "Radium in Canada," n.d., Eldorado Nuclear Ltd. fonds, LAC.

54 Roberts, "Living on Radium," 17.

55 Ibid., 28.

56 Fred J. (Tiny) Peet, "Interview by Jane Mingay," 1978, LAC.

57 "Punch" Dickins, "Interview by Jane Mingay," 1978, LAC.

58 Morris Neyelle, "Unpublished personal interview, 12 October" (2010).

59 Hall describes this as a kind of "accumulation by dispossession," a term developed by Harvey that builds on Marx's concept of primitive accumulation. Hall, "Diamond Mining in Canada's Northwest Territories."

60 See Canada-Délı̨nę Uranium Table, "Final Report," 83.

61 Ibid., x–xi.

62 See, for example, Alice Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart Shook Like a Drum: What I Learned at the Indian Mission Schools, Northwest Territories* (Ottawa: Borealis Press Ltd., 2009).

63 Little has been published on the trauma suffered by Inuit and Dene people who were forcibly relocated to tuberculosis hospitals during the early and middle parts of the twentieth century. See Joe Betsidea, "Unpublished interview, 14 April" (2011); Pat Sandiford Grygier, *A Long Way from Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic among the Inuit* (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1994); Neyelle, "Unpublished personal interview, 12 October."

64 See Fumoleau, *As Long as This Land Shall Last*.

65 Julie Cruikshank, "Nature and Culture in the Field: Two Centuries of Stories from Lituya Bay, Alaska," in *Research in Science and Technology Studies: Knowledge and Technology Transfer*, ed. Marianne de Laet, Knowledge and Society 13 (Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd., 2002), 37.

66 Ibid., 38.

67 Kenny and Kenny, "Personal Interview – 12 January."

University of Calgary

PRISM: University of Calgary's Digital Repository

University of Calgary Press | University of Calgary Press Open Access Books

2015-11

Mining and communities in Northern Canada : history, politics, and memory

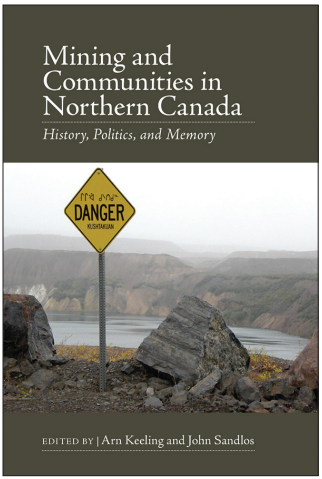
Keeling, Arn; Sandlos, John

University of Calgary Press

Keeling, A., & Sandlos, J. (Eds.). (2015). Mining and Communities in Northern Canada: History, Politics, and Memory. Canada: University of Calgary Press.
http://hdl.handle.net/1880/51021
book

http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/
Attribution Non-Commercial No Derivatives 4.0 International
Downloaded from PRISM: https://prism.ucalgary.ca

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press



MINING AND COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN CANADA: HISTORY, POLITICS, AND MEMORY

Edited by Arn Keeling and John Sandlos

ISBN 978-1-55238-805-1

THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK. It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at ucpress@ucalgary.ca

Cover Art: The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE: This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence. This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY**:

- read and store this document free of charge;
- distribute it for personal use free of charge;
- print sections of the work for personal use;
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY NOT**:

- gain financially from the work in any way;
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
- reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press
press.ucalgary.ca

Acknowledgement: *We acknowledge the wording around open access used by Australian publisher,* **re.press**, *and thank them for giving us permission to adapt their wording to our policy* http://www.re-press.org

"It's Just Natural": First Nation Family History and the Keno Hill Silver Mine

Alexandra Winton and Joella Hogan

For Yukon First Nation people, family history is intertwined with the history of the land. As the late Yukon First Nation elder Kitty Smith once told anthropologist Julie Cruikshank, "I belong to Yukon. I'm born here. I branch here. My grandpa's country, here. My grandma's. That's why I stay here . . . My roots grow in jackpine roots."[1] This sentiment holds true for the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun, or Big River People,[2] of the central Yukon, even though their relationships to the land and to each other have been transformed by over one hundred years of silver mining within their traditional territory.

In this chapter, we share the story of Herman Melancon, a member of the First Nation of Na-Cho Nyäk Dun and an underground miner. Using indigenous methodologies, historical research, and oral history generously shared by Herman, we parallel Herman's personal and family history with that of the Keno Hill mine, offering an intimate view into the

complexity of relationships between northern First Nation peoples and industrial development.

Herman's family connection with the mine dates back to before he was born, to the mine's origins in the early twentieth century. At the heart of the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun traditional territory is the McQuesten River watershed, a region rich in fish and wildlife that sustained the Northern Tutchone-speaking people on their seasonal round throughout this rugged landscape.[3] It was near the headwaters of the McQuesten that high-grade galena, or silver ore, was discovered by Jacob A. Davidson in 1903. Hoping for gold, Davidson abandoned the find, unaware that he had stumbled upon one of the largest and richest silver deposits in the world, soon to be known as the Keno Hill mining district. Two years later and approximately one hundred kilometres downstream from Davidson's discovery, Dave Hager was born in McQuesten Village, a seasonal Na-Cho Nyäk Dun settlement at the mouth of the McQuesten River. Although it was not immediately apparent, Davidson's discovery would bring great changes for Hager, his family, and for the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun.

By virtue of their location, the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun had managed to escape some of the most severe impacts of the Klondike gold rush of 1898—the onslaught of thousands of gold seekers, the devastation of local wildlife populations, and the destruction of traditional hunting and fishing lands (to name a few). As the Klondike gold rush began to wane, however, increasing numbers of prospectors flooded into Na-Cho Nyäk Dun territory in search of the next bonanza.[4] There was gold in the area, but as more silver discoveries were made, many with ore averaging 300 ounces of silver to the ton, most prospectors abandoned their placer gold claims in search of silver. The first major staking rush did not occur until the 1920s, but when it did, development came quickly to the area. Mining techniques rapidly progressed from individual miners collecting float, or surface chunks of galena, to mechanized underground mining with corporate financing from the likes of the Guggenheim brothers. As the mines proliferated below ground, so too did the new communities above: the wild boom town of Keno City sprang up at the foot of silver-rich Sourdough, Galena, and Keno hills; while mining camps like Calumet, Wernecke, Elsa, and Bellekeno clung to the tops of these windswept peaks. Down in the valley, the more sedate community of Mayo

developed into a regional centre on the banks of the Stewart River, where the silver-lead-zinc ore could be shipped out on sternwheelers (Fig. 1).[5]

Traditionally, Na-Cho Nyäk Dun people had travelled throughout this area in order to take advantage of seasonal harvests and lessen their impact on the land. In the summer months, Na-Cho Nyäk Dun families gathered on the banks of the Stewart and McQuesten Rivers to fish for chinook and chum salmon; in the fall, they moved into the mountains to hunt gophers and caribou, pick berries, and gather medicinal plants; and in winter, they returned to the lowlands to hunt for moose and ice-fish in the region's many lakes.[6] As the Keno Hill mining district developed, the expanding network of mines, roads, and communities bisected these traditional hunting and gathering grounds, contaminating water sources and ruining delicate plant and animal habitats. The Na-Cho Nyäk Dun were exposed to new diseases, religions, and societal pressures transported by newcomers. In keeping with the colonial policies of the day, the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun were forcibly settled into a sedentary community two miles downriver from Mayo, now known as the Old Village, where, despite being subject to curfews and segregation, they managed to live a semi-traditional lifestyle for many years.[7] As Na-Cho Nyäk Dun elder Dave Moses described it, his people adapted their seasonal round and subsistence patterns in order to accommodate the newcomers and their needs:

> After the boom, lots of people comin' to this place . . . Indian go get rifle to shoot moose and sell meat to Whiteman and make his living that way. When they find some rock in Keno, [First Nation] people move to Mayo and work on steamboat, cut wood, pile wood and sold wood on the barge . . . Pretty soon they use machine to grind the ore so it comes to a flour and put it in a sack . . . I been around Keno Hill when they first start. When I was a little boy people worked around Keno, Elsa, and hauled ore with horse team and caterpillar in the wintertime . . . Later they put in the highway and we haul ore back from Keno, back and forth with truck.[8]

As Moses explained, many First Nation people joined in the new economy, cutting wood for the steamships, selling meat, fish, and berries to

the miners, and eventually, working in the mines themselves. For the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun, the way that they related to their environment began to change, as they adapted their hunting and harvesting patterns to help feed and shelter these newcomers and as they became involved in the extraction industry that quickly transformed their land.

By the late 1940s, most of the silver claims in the area had been consolidated by United Keno Hill Mines Ltd. (UKHM) and large-scale industrial mining had taken hold in the Keno region. UKHM operated up to nine different mines in the Keno Hill district, most of which consisted of a series of deep underground shafts, where miners worked in tandem, blasting out veins of ore to be hauled away by narrow-gauge railways. All ore was then transported by truck or aerial tramway to the company town of Elsa, the hub of the district, where a 250-ton capacity mill would separate out silver, lead, and zinc concentrates to be shipped to a smelter in Trail, British Columbia.

The expanding UKHM operations required massive amounts of electricity, which was provided by the Mayo hydro dam, built by the Yukon government in 1952 at the urging of UKHM. This dam drastically changed the hydrology of the Mayo River and raised the level of Mayo Lake by six metres. Transmission lines and roads were completed between Keno, Mayo, and Whitehorse, shifting the mode of transportation away from the rivers and damaging moose and caribou habitats.[9] Also in the 1950s, the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun were asked to relocate once again, this time back into the town of Mayo, where they were subject to discrimination, and many of their children were taken away to residential schools.

After the boom years of the 1950s and 1960s, the Keno Hill district went into a slow decline. Aging technology and low silver prices prompted cutbacks, strikes, and eventually, the indefinite closure of the mines in 1989. Most UKHM employees left the Yukon, Elsa was abandoned, and there was virtually no reclamation of the mine sites. As life in the region slowed, many Na-Cho Nyäk Dun people returned to traditional pursuits, such as hunting and trapping, and the environmental destruction left by the mining industry became more apparent.

Throughout this cycle of boom and bust, Na-Cho Nyäk Dun citizens became adept at operating in two new worlds: both the dark, cavernous world of the underground mines and the capital-based world of

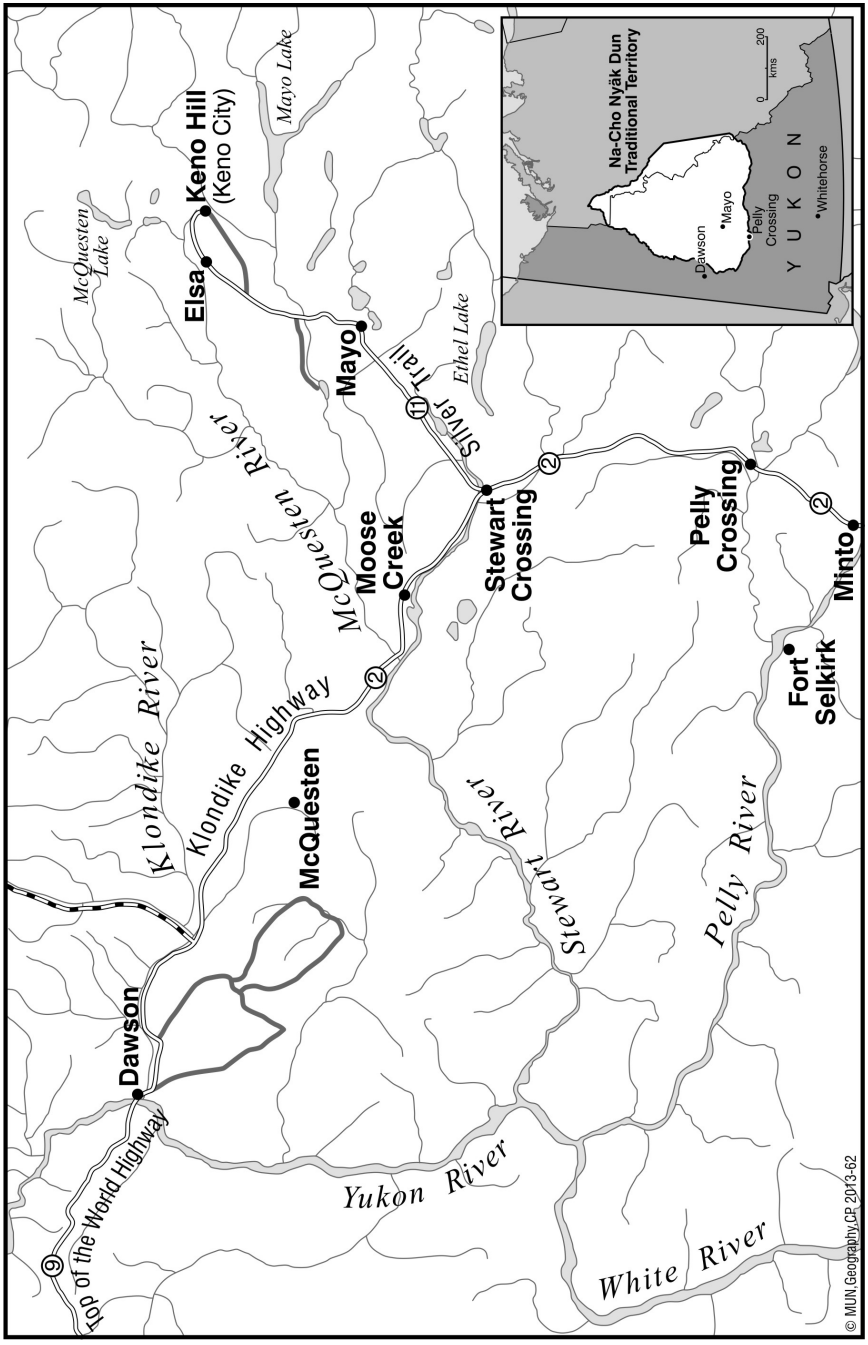


Figure 1: The Keno Hill, Yukon, mining district. Map by Charlie Conway.

Figure 2: Herman Melancon. Photo by Evan Rensch.

the newcomers who built them. The Na-Cho Nyäk Dun weathered environmental, economic, and social changes, while struggling to maintain their traditions, language, and culture. Perhaps the most severe impact was the newcomers themselves—an influx of hundreds of single Euro-Canadian men, who streamed into the region to work at the mines. Many of the newcomers entered into relationships with local Na-Cho Nyäk Dun women, and, whether they were considered legitimate or not, these relationships forever altered the cultural makeup of the region.

This complex reality is embodied by Dave Hager's grandson, Herman Melancon—the son of Dave's daughter Irene and Maurice Melancon, a non–First Nation miner from Quebec. At age fifty, Herman Melancon has spent more than half his life underground working as a miner. When asked to introduce himself, Herman quickly acknowledges his mining background:

> I'm Herman Melancon, from Mayo. I lived here most of my life, but I also lived in Tungsten, Northwest Territories for a couple

> years, it's another mining town. It's running right now, that mine, and I been mining for 26 years. I first started in the Keno Hill Mine . . . I learned just from, probably from, coming from my Dad being a miner, see? It's just natural. I grew up around it, eh?

Just as Kitty Smith likened herself to the Jack pine—"I branch here," she said, her family and her history growing and diverging like the southern Yukon tree[10]—Herman Melancon's family grew and expanded with the development of the Keno Hill silver mine. Like the roots of a tree seeking water, the shafts, caverns, and tunnels of the mines have spread underground, following the silver-rich mineral veins. So too have Herman's family and the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun culture grown, so that both are now irrevocably intertwined with the history of the mine. Knit together in a complex pattern of mutual involvement and unequal impacts, the story of the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun and the Keno Hill mine is illustrative of how Aboriginal people across Northern Canada have been both affected by and involved in one of the most destructive forms of industrial development in their traditional lands. Our goal as researchers, authors, and community members is to share Herman's version of this story, which may help us to understand this complex relationship.

In order to help tell this story, we employ anthropological, oral history, and indigenous methodologies. The work of anthropologist Julie Cruikshank has influenced our approach to oral history and ethnography. Cruikshank's early work with Yukon First Nation women helped to set a new standard for oral history. By using long, uninterrupted interview excerpts, Cruikshank allowed, as much as possible, for stories to be told by the tellers themselves.[11] We make use of this style of storytelling here.

Indigenous academics such as Shawn Wilson, Lianne Leddy, and Margaret Kovach have also informed our approach to research.[12] As Wilson suggests, "We cannot remove ourselves from the world in order to examine it."[13] Indeed, this would be difficult for us, as we both live in or very near to the communities in which we have conducted research. Indigenous methodology also stresses the need for researchers to locate themselves during and within their research;[14] therefore, we will take a moment to do so now. Alexandra met Herman while conducting research

for her master's degree. In the summer of 2011, Alexandra and a young Na-Cho Nyäk Dun citizen, Kaylie-Ann Hummel, interviewed Herman about his experiences with the Keno Hill mine. Joella (herself a Na-Cho Nyäk Dun citizen) met Herman through his wife Bobbie-Lee. Joella cannot remember exactly when she met him, as Herman has always been there, in the background, working in his garage or as the main character in Bobbie-Lee's stories. In the winter of 2013, Joella and Bobbie-Lee conducted another interview with Herman for this book chapter.

We have also been influenced by our own life experiences, storytelling cultures, and family histories, which counsel us to listen well, give credit to storytellers, and ask for permission before sharing their stories. Therefore, we have attempted to work as collaboratively as possible with Herman as we conducted research for and wrote this contribution. We are very much aware that our personalities and backgrounds have had an impact on our relationship with Herman and the way in which we portray his story; as such, we have included our own questions and responses in Herman's interview excerpts. We have used initials (HM, AW, JH, KH) to indicate who is speaking in these excerpts. As much as possible, we hope to allow Herman to tell his own story, fostering a relationship with the reader, who may then see the connections between Herman's community and his or her own.

According to Cruikshank, such narrative connections are vital to understanding change in modern First Nation communities:

> Yukon storytellers of First Nation ancestry frequently demonstrate ability to build connections where rifts might otherwise appear. They use narratives to dismantle boundaries rather than erect them . . . narrative storytelling can construct meaningful bridges in disruptive situations.[15]

In a complex era of mineral redevelopment, coupled with new Aboriginal self-government, we believe that Herman's story can serve as one such bridge. By sharing his narrative, we hope to create a broader understanding of the modern relationship between the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun, their land, and the processes that have affected it. Na-Cho Nyäk Dun are not alone in this situation; indeed many northern Aboriginal people are now faced with the difficulties of engaging in a modern economy,

Figure 3: Dave Hager standing on the sternwheeler "Keno" ca. 1930s. Yukon Archives/Dave Hager fonds/#8875.

while balancing new self-government responsibilities and struggling to preserve traditional ways of being. We hope that by sharing this story, we will shed light on the complexities of this modern era for northern Aboriginal people.

DOCUMENTING CHANGE

On September 27, 1905, Dave Hager was born to Jenny Jimmy at McQuesten Village. Known his entire life as "Big Dave," Hager was an amateur photographer, who both took part in and recorded a time of great change for the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun. His photographs can be found in the homes of his children as well as in the Yukon Archives. Dave documented his life and those around him through the lens of his camera; photographs of him show a young man in the early days of mining, when he was working on the steamboats (Fig. 6). These wooden paddlewheelers

pushed barges loaded with ore from the Keno mines down the Stewart River toward Whitehorse. Ore would then be shipped on the White Pass Railway to the port of Skagway, Alaska, and then out to a smelter in Southern Canada. The Stewart and Yukon Rivers were lined with wood camps, where many First Nation men worked, providing the thousands of cords of wood needed to fuel the boats. Big Dave worked as a deckhand, loading the wood from shore onto the boats. Later, when the highways replaced the steamships, Hager worked for the Yukon territorial government, conducting highway maintenance between Mayo and Whitehorse.[16]

Dave, like many Na-Cho Nyäk Dun men, engaged in the new economy but did not catch gold—or in this case, silver—fever. He managed to keep a foot in both worlds by maintaining traditional pursuits, such as hunting, trapping, and raising his family on the land as much as possible. An anecdotal account, which appears in *Hills of Silver*, the only book dedicated to the Keno Hill silver mine, reveals Dave's attitude toward mining. After watching a crew of miners struggle for three days to move a large piece of mining equipment just one thousand feet, Dave, who was repairing a nearby bridge, is purported to have remarked, "those white men will do anything for money."[17]

In 1929, Big Dave married Alice Louise, a First Nation woman from Fort Good Hope, Northwest Territories. Together, Dave and Alice had six daughters: Martha, Rosie, Jenny, Irene, Laura, and Mary, all of whom were raised in the Mayo area. The Hager girls would all marry non–First Nation miners, or men involved with Keno Hill in some way. As Herman's wife Bobbie-Lee said, "they were all attracted to miners." One of these daughters, Irene, met and married Maurice Melancon, originally from Quebec. From a mining family himself, Maurice came north to work as an underground miner for UKHM. While Maurice was transplanted to the Mayo area, like many others, he gained acceptance in the community and knowledge of the land from his First Nation wife and her family. The skills to operate in both worlds were then passed on to their son Herman, who learned to hunt and trap from his grandfather and learned about the mining industry from his father.[18]

For a brief time, Maurice worked at another mine, called Tungsten, located in the southern Yukon. Tragically, Maurice was killed in a car

accident while driving to work on the Tungsten road. Herman recalled the accident:

> He was driving to work in Tungsten, after he got called back there to go to work. And he was driving back there and there was only about, I don't know, bad pass there and he went over the bank. He drove right from Mayo too, that day, it was too far . . . I was nineteen. I went mining after he died, right after.

Born to a miner, Herman became a miner himself at the age of twenty. While Herman is definitely the miner in the family, his brothers have all been involved with mining either directly or in the support industries. When asked why he continues to mine, despite the dangers of underground work, Herman replied: "Well, it's part of me, it's in my blood. My Dad, probably to, in some way, make him proud a' me. And then, plus for the money, I like the money."

Herman is just one of the many Na-Cho Nyäk Dun citizens in the modern community of Mayo who are of mixed ancestry, due to the influx of young, Euro-Canadian men who came to work in the mines. These men came alone, and many of them married local Na-Cho Nyäk Dun women. According to the enfranchisement policies of the 1876 Indian Act, these women and their children then lost their status as Indian people and the few privileges it provided. Years later, they fought to regain their status and take part in the land claim agreements that were occurring across the territory.[19] The women were also isolated from their families, as many of them went to live in Elsa with their new husbands. Of course, these struggles did not change who they were, or their ability to connect with their culture or the land. Debbie Buyck, a Na-Cho Nyäk Dun woman whose husband worked in Elsa, has said that even while living in a predominantly non–First Nation company town, built on the standards of southern Canadians, Na-Cho Nyäk Dun women managed to practise many of their traditional activities:

> We did continue in our traditional ways outside of work, we went berry picking, hunting and fishing. We would go out on the weekend for drives or day hikes and would scout out old places our parents had taken us when we were kids . . . the mothers

> and kids would go berry picking and fishing while our husbands worked in the mines, we took lots of picnics and some of the old First Nation ladies in camp taught us our traditional ways.[20]

Many of the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun women who lived up at Elsa talk of picking berries, hunting, and snaring small animals in the region, all attempts to maintain aspects of the seasonal harvest. The increased mining activity in the area and a more sedentary lifestyle affected the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun's ability to hunt, fish, and pursue traditional activities; however, these pursuits did not disappear entirely. Men and women both found ways to balance this new life with traditional ways of living, which were passed down to the generation currently in Mayo.

"IT'S HARD TO IMAGINE THESE HILLS WITHOUT MINING"

For Herman's grandparents and parents, the mine was a new development, an oddity, which altered their environment, brought newcomers into the area, and drastically reshaped their relationship to the land and to others. For Herman, however, the mine has always been there, and his involvement with it began early. As Herman's father was a non–First Nation man who worked for UKHM, his family was able to live in the company town of Elsa, where UKHM provided housing, recreation facilities, free steam heat, and discounted groceries. While Herman has fond memories of a busy youth in the community, not everyone was able to live there. Most First Nation men who worked for the mine lived a few kilometres down the road, in a small cluster of houses called Millerville. It is unclear whether they were forced to live there rather than in Elsa, or whether they received the same benefits as residents of Elsa.[21] For a young man of mixed ancestry, like Herman, life in such a racially divided mining camp must have been somewhat difficult, but, like many people now living in Mayo, he is reluctant to speak about the segregated past.

When Herman's father got better-paying work at the Tungsten mine, the Melancon family moved back to Mayo. After his father's sudden death, Herman began working for UKHM himself. His first job was

digging trenches, but, being a tall, strong man, Herman quickly moved up to the position of trammer. As he explained, there was a natural progression in the training of an underground miner and a gradual increase in pay:

> HM: Trammer . . . that's where you drive around little trains for the miners, go outside and dump it [the ore], then you come back and help them, have to help them . . . And then you go to miner helper, later, from that. And then eventually you can do your own minin'. But now, it's all trained differently, they're all trained on heavy equipments, eh? Right off the bat, usually. AW: So they didn't have those sorts of training programs when you were young?
>
> HM: No, you learn different . . . I went underground, they get you diggin' ditch, eh? And they start you off from the bottom.

Herman has worked as a miner ever since, and now, as he said, "I run everything underground. Yeah, anything that moves, I run it, eh? I have to." While he is known throughout the community as a good miner, his career has not been without its dangers. When Herman was twenty-seven, he was in a horrific accident that occurred when a co-worker, drilling into the rock face beside him, accidentally hit a hole pre-loaded with dynamite. Joella asked Herman about the incident:

> JH: Do you want to tell me the story about how your arm got blew up?
>
> HM: . . . Well, we were drillin', I was in Bellekeno . . . I was workin' three weeks by myself . . . And then they hired young guy, [name omitted], used to live in Elsa. And the night shift crew, they bootlegged the face, so bootleg is like a socket of holes that they built, you know, couple feet deep, or a foot deep, whatever and then the shift boss spray paint them all blue, fluorescent blue, so you could see them, eh? . . . it's the law to drill away from them, six inches minimum, away from all those holes. Because if there's power still to light it, you can't see inside, it's frozen eh, the holes, all crushed. . . . So I was just pulling that drill down off

> the backhoe on the left side, I only had three holes left to go and then it went off . . . just when my arm was in the air, I guess. And it blew me back or wherever, by the time I woke up I was probably about thirty feet from the face, landed about thirty feet away. Banged my arm. I could see something happened, 'cause I was laying on the ground and it was all quiet, you couldn't hear nothing. And then I could hear [Herman's co-worker] moaning away, way up at the face there. But I was lookin' around for my arm, 'cause I couldn't see it on my side. And something was hurting on my right side. And I was looking around, bending over, look around on the ground for my arm, 'cause I thought it was blown off, like that bending over and then all of a sudden, my arm . . . come flying, fell off the back of my neck and come, was hanging there. Then I was happy, 'cause it was still there. But I couldn't do nothing, I had to hold it up, it was broken, broken right off, eh? The bone was busted right off.

Fortunately, both men survived the explosion, and, after just two months off work, receiving workers compensation, Herman went back underground. "I had to," he said, "'cause workers comp bother me. . . . I still got pins in here, pins there and screws. . . I was scared for a while, to work underground, but it actually was a good therapy. . . . It helped me become stronger, after a year or two it didn't bother me no more."

This accident and others have left physical imprints on Herman's body. After so many years of working with loud, heavy machinery in a poorly ventilated, underground environment, his hearing is diminished, his lungs are damaged, and he bears the scars from potentially deadly accidents. These corporeal impacts are easy for Herman to discuss. Intangible impacts on his community and his culture are more difficult to express. While Herman is quick to acknowledge the history of the mine, he struggles to articulate how it may have affected his ancestors:

> KH: How do you feel about the mining history in the area?
>
> HM: I uh, there's a lot of history there. I think it goes back right to 1900's, so there's still silver up there. There's still silver

there for a while. And there is a lot of history there, you can just tell by that old museum in Keno, eh? Just by going through there . . .

AW: And how do you think that mining history has affected the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun First Nation?

HM: I'm not sure how it affected. . . I know they're getting more um, native people involved in mining, with their training, eh?

Instead of discussing the past impacts of the mine, Herman speaks about the future, pointing out that there are more First Nation people working within the mining industry. Perhaps this is because Herman has never known the area without mining—as Joella says, "for this current generation [of which she and Herman are a part] . . . it is hard to imagine these hills without mining." The history of the mine and Herman's family story are so intertwined, it is impossible to separate one from the other in order to examine it.

Although Herman's family history has revolved around the mine, mining is just his work, and there is much more to his life. Herman also learned how to hunt and trap from his grandfather, Dave Hager, and he still employs these skills, as he hunts for moose each fall and maintains a trapline near Mayo. Herman was happy to speak with us about this aspect of his life:

AW: . . . And what about trapping, what sort of animals do you trap?

HM: Usually marten and wolverine, link [lynx] usually. Usually the one that pay, eh? 'Cause now it's pretty well . . . pretty low right now.

AW: And where do you trap?

HM: I got a little line ten miles out of Mayo, it starts on the, it's called the Kurtz River and the Ridge Trail. I have a little, I got a little trapping shack on it too.

Hunting and trapping are important activities that, along with mining, tie Herman to his traditional territory and keep him connected to the land. Hunting and trapping are also important skills that Herman was able to rely on to keep him afloat when the mining industry went into an inevitable decline.

MINE CLOSURE AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

In January 1989, as many employees were returning from Christmas holidays, UKHM suddenly announced that, due to low mineral prices, the company was closing the mine indefinitely. All residents of Elsa were given two weeks to vacate the town, which was quickly abandoned. Most UKHM workers left Elsa immediately, finding work at other mines in Southern Canada, but about half of them remained in the Yukon, some moving to Mayo and a few others settling in Keno or the surrounding rural areas.[22] The mines were shuttered, with just a small crew of loyal employees left to treat run-off water from the mines and guard the buildings from vandals. Herman was not immediately affected by the mine closure, as he had already moved on to contract mining work and was able to support his young family, while supplementing his wages with trapping. Kaylie-Ann asked him about this time:

> HM: 1989? When it shut down? I quit before it shut down. I worked there for six years and then I went to work for contractors, so I was already gone outta there. Like I say, I guess it shut down, everybody moved out, all to B.C., all the families moved right outta there. And they just had a skeleton crew there, eh? That's what I remember from the closure, how it shut down there.

Eventually, Herman also had to leave his home community to seek work in mines in the southern Yukon and British Columbia. Herman hinted at the difficulties of this lifestyle: ". . . you're always gone, eh?" When the mine shut, most Na-Cho Nyäk Dun citizens moved into Mayo to be with their extended families, but this was a quiet time for the Mayo region. While there was some employment to be found with the territorial government and the Local Improvement District,[23] there was little other

work to sustain the population. However, long-awaited land claims and self-government processes were finally beginning to take shape.

When the mine was in its final years, Na-Cho Nyäk Dun elders and a team of land use technicians and negotiators were working on a monumental self-government and land claims agreement. Historically there were no treaties negotiated with Yukon First Nations. In order to address this, in 1973 the Yukon Native Brotherhood delivered a landmark document to Prime Minister Trudeau, *Together Today for Our Children Tomorrow*, which was Canada's first comprehensive land claim.[24] This claim eventually developed into the Yukon Umbrella Final Agreement, a modern-day treaty under which the majority of Yukon First Nations negotiated individual land-claim and self-government agreements.[25] In 1993, after decades of negotiations, the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun became the first Yukon First Nation to sign its land-claim and self-government agreements with the federal and territorial governments.[26]

During the land claims process, blocks of land were selected in a large range of sizes throughout the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun traditional territory. These lands were selected for traditional pursuits, harvesting, protecting heritage sites, and future housing and development, as well as for economic development. Much of this land was selected with future generations in mind. Many young Na-Cho Nyäk Dun men were charged with surveying the lands, interviewing elders, and documenting these sites for land claims. Those who were involved with self-government had hope for a brighter future, while others were able to maintain a subsistence lifestyle by cutting wood, trapping, or working as hunting guides.

As Na-Cho Nyäk Dun people began the long process of reclaiming the land, both on paper and in person, they became more aware of the environmental degradation caused by years of mining. There had been very little reclamation or remediation work done at the mine sites; as a result the relics left from mining activity were a danger to wildlife, such as moose, which were found tangled in wire left over from the mine. People became cautious about hunting and fishing near the shuttered mines, and concerns were raised about the quality of water and the impacts on fish and wildlife.

Na-Cho Nyäk Dun began the slow process of self-government, taking over services formerly operated by the federal government,

such as administration of housing and health and social benefits. Self-government ushered in a new era for the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun, who again have a measure of control over their traditional lands. The First Nation now owns approximately 4,700 square kilometres of settlement land, within a traditional territory spanning 162,465 square kilometres.[27] The First Nation of Na-Cho Nyäk Dun now must be consulted regarding development within that region. In order to ensure that their citizens benefit from future development, the First Nation created the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun Development Corporation, a business arm of the government, which can enter into agreements with mining and exploration companies.[28] Now, the First Nation of Na-Cho Nyäk Dun must act as stewards of the environment and the economy, keeping an eye on the activities of new mining companies, while at the same time supporting work and training opportunities for its citizens.

A NEW ERA OF MINING

Throughout these years, Elsa remained abandoned, Keno City shrank to approximately twenty residents, and Mayo experienced an economic downturn: with the need for services greatly diminished, the town fell to 800 residents, or half of its former population.[29] Tourism was regarded as an important economic alternative to mining, so the Yukon government and local tourism organizations marketed the Mayo area with a mining theme. The name "Silver Trail" was given to the Yukon Highway 11, which links Mayo, Elsa, and Keno with the Klondike Highway, and wilderness tourism was suggested as a complementary attraction to the region's mining history.[30]

But in 2006, after sitting abandoned for nearly two decades, the Keno Hill mine site was purchased by Alexco Resource Corporation, a junior mining and reclamation company based in Vancouver. The Yukon government awarded Alexco a contract to remediate the mines and the Elsa townsite, while simultaneously allowing the company to conduct its own exploration work and assess the possibility of redeveloping the mine. In 2010, the Bellekeno Mine, one of United Keno Hill's top producers, was

reopened by Alexco, and the first trucks of silver, lead, and zinc ore in over twenty years began to run through the Keno Hill region.

With a settled land claim and the implementation of self-government, the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun Development Corporation was eager to create economic opportunities for its citizens and the region of Mayo and has done so by supporting the redevelopment of the Keno Hill mine. For Herman, this new relationship was inevitable for his First Nation, but it also creates a new form of responsibility:

> AW: What do you think about Na-Cho Nyäk Dun being involved in the mine up there?
>
> HM: Well, I guess they probably have to keep an eye on them, what they do up there. I dunno, make sure they keep the area clean and everything, and treat the water. I guess they gotta keep treating the water steady there, eh?
>
> AW: So how do you feel about the First Nation being involved in the mining industry as a whole?
>
> HM: Well, if they're, eventually they will have to, eh?
>
> AW: Yeah?
>
> HM: They'll have to uh, know about mining and have more people trained.

The mine redevelopment was not of immediate concern for Herman; however, he soon returned to work at Keno Hill:

> KH: How did you feel when you heard that the mine was reopening?
>
> HM: At the time I didn't mind, 'cause it was close to home. But I wasn't worried about it, 'cause I had a job somewhere else anyway, but then I got on with . . . I went to work for Alexco for a while . . . then I got on with the contractor, soon as they started mining, eh? Right away.

Even though twenty years had gone by, Herman found little difference between his work for UKHM and his work for Alexco; however, he easily draws contrasts between the communities, the old Elsa and that of the new Alexco operation. UKHM Elsa was a real town, with families and an air of permanency, whereas the new incarnation of Elsa is simply a work camp:

> HM: Elsa, when it was a town site, when people, families lived there, it was more busy. Now it's more like a work-camp, eh, basically. It's pretty quiet up there now. Like, this is just a working camp, eh?
>
> AW: And what's it like for you to be working around Elsa, now, a town that you sorta grew up in, that you spent some time in? When you see the old school and buildings like that, how does it feel?
>
> HM: Well there's probably lots 'a memories in there, yeah, when you're a kid. I remember playing hockey there all the time and that. And it was a pretty busy little town, eh?
>
> AW: Yeah. Do you miss it? Like, do you miss living there, or having that town around?
>
> HM: I dunno, yeah, a little, in a way, but I just like quiet places, eh? Quiet towns, I don't like very big places. I could stay in a big place, but not very long. 'Cause see here, some days you still, you don't even have to lock your door.

For Herman, there was an emotional connection to the town of Elsa, but with eight young daughters to care for, Herman is less concerned with the changes in Elsa, an abandoned mining town, than with the possible changes in Mayo, where his family now lives:

> AW: So how do you think the mine reopening there, how do you think it's affected the community of Mayo?

HM: It probably bring a little more money into the community, more than anything, and some jobs. Yeah. But the majority jobs always go to outside, eh?

AW: Why do you think that is?

HM: Um, they're more qualified.

Herman is one of the few experienced Na-Cho Nyäk Dun miners working at Keno Hill. As in the previous era of mining, most of the well-paid management and technical trades positions are awarded to people from outside the Yukon, who work on a fly-in, fly-out basis. Much like the UKHM era, the influx of young, predominantly male workers at the mine has created concerns about alcohol, drugs, and social changes in the community. However, it was just such an influx of young men that brought Herman's father to the Yukon and created a comparable situation for Herman's grandfather, Dave Hager. Both Herman and his grandfather Dave managed to balance traditional subsistence work while engaging in a modern economy, and both were living in a time of cultural and social change—for Dave it was an influx of newcomers and industrial development, while Herman has witnessed the revival of such development in a new era of Aboriginal self-government. Like his grandfather, Herman also has a large, primarily female family to look after—Herman has eight daughters, and Dave had six. Herman continues to drill away at the same mineral veins his father worked on, expanding the underground maze of tunnels and shafts, some of which are supported by timbers cut by his grandfather. But while his family history may be intrinsically linked to that of the mines, Herman appreciates the world above ground much more than the dark, damp mines below:

AW: . . . So what's it like working underground, like what are your days like there?

HM: If you keep busy, it go by fast. Yeah, I like that. Sometimes you get tired of the dark, I like to come out in the daytime when it's nice outside, I'll come all the way outside to eat lunch, yeah, like if it's real nice.

AW: Just to get some sunlight?

HM: Yeah, to come see some daylight, eh?

[Laughter]

HM: 'Cause you know, I don't wanna spend all day down there, like to come out at least once, eh? . . . So, you see a lot 'a dark, eh? Feel like a mushroom.

Herman also sees an important distinction between his work life and his home life. Mining may pay the bills, but most important for Herman is the rural, northern lifestyle, which he is able to maintain despite physically demanding shift work:

AW: . . . Well, when you're not working up there, what other sorts of activities do you do out on the land and in the area around here?

HM: Well, I like hunting. I used to trap and all that before, but prices are way too low, I don't bother anymore, in the winter.

AW: Where do you go hunting?

HM: Usually up towards Elsa, up that way. Up in that area, or up river.

AW: Is it for moose, mostly?

HM: Yeah. Sometime I go hunting for sheep too.

AW: Have you noticed any changes with the moose habitat or behavior, or anything around the mine sites?

HM: Yeah, there's less moose around. There's more activity, eh, with this mining going on.

AW: Right. So how does that affect your hunting?

HM: Well, usually people have to go further out, eh, for their moose.

Herman, a man who has spent more than half his life mining—who sustains his family and his traditional pursuits through mining—is still critical of such development. While he is not given to public speaking, his wife, Bobbie-Lee, has represented him at community meetings, speaking out about certain mineral development projects to which Herman is opposed, such as a proposed hardrock mine near Mayo:

> HM: . . . But see they're gonna open that Victoria Gold too, and that's in huntin' country there, boy. Yeah, that's out McQuesten Flats there, and all that, that area.
>
> AW: How do people feel about that one?
>
> HM: I'm not sure. Me, myself, I don't care much for open pit mining, 'cause it makes a big hole, eh? And too, when they start using heap leach, eh?
>
> AW: Right. So do you think that kind of mining, up at Keno Hill is better for the environment?
>
> HM: In a way, eh? Yeah, because it's one hole in the side of the mountain, not compared to a open pit. Open pits are huge. When they, they can affect the area way more, yeah, so but they still, it still goes on all over, eh?
>
> AW: Do you feel like you have a say? Like as a First Nation person in the area, like your First Nation has sort of a say in that kind of mining?
>
> HM: Uh, yeah, yeah, they must have some kinda say, 'cause that's all Band land [First Nation settlement land] over there, on this side of it. But they usually go ahead anyway, eh?

Both dependent on the mining industry and critical of it, Herman personifies the complexity of the mining and development debate in the Yukon. In spite of the sometimes fierce rhetoric surrounding contemporary mineral development in the territory, few Yukoners are completely against or completely in favour of mining. Instead, there is a spectrum of what people view as acceptable. Herman, like all of us, is mired in the

modern, industrial world, which is still dependent on non-renewable resources, such as metals and fossil fuels. While Herman toils underground to uncover these metals—silver, lead, and zinc—many of us benefit from his work and in turn, partake in the industry.

"LONG AS IT DOESN'T CHANGE THE YUKON TOO MUCH"

The United Keno Hill Mine has left its mark on the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun traditional territory. The largest environmental scars are hidden deep within the Wernecke Mountains, where there are hundreds of kilometres of hollowed-out mining shafts and, as people say, more timber below ground than above. The social and cultural effects of the mine, however, can still be seen, heard, and felt in the community of Mayo and among the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun. For Herman Melancon, who has worked at the mine nearly his entire adult life, this work has not only shaped his family history, it will also leave a permanent, physical impact on his life. Indeed, with each scar and injury, the story of decades of underground mining is slowly being inscribed on Herman's body. Near the end of our interview, Herman did confess that he was concerned about his health and would eventually like to stop working underground:

> AW: Well, I think that's pretty much all of our questions, do you have anything else you wanna add, or . . .?
>
> HM: I'd probably like to quit, uh, stop from it, you know, stop mining eventually, try something else, maybe placer, maybe placer mining. 'Cause sometimes all the diesel smoke underground, I get tired of it, coughing that black stuff up.
>
> AW: Right. You're worried about your health?
>
> HM: Yeah, I'm starting to get worried about my lungs, actually. I start trying to wear mask more, you know? I wear mask more now, 'cause some equipment, you know, you got lots a' equipment moving underground and the ventilation is not good

enough then you, you get too smoky and breathe too much of that diesel fumes in, eh?

AW: Right, right. Do you notice any effects, any like physical effects yet, from working down there, or . . .?

HM: . . . my hearing is less, eh? Percentage. It's still pretty good, but it's, as years go by it's gonna get less, eh?

Herman is critical of the environmental degradation caused by mining and of the physical impacts on his own body, but for him, mining is a part of his life. A career change would mean shifting from one form of mining (underground) to another (placer). Herman has been a miner since he was twenty years old, and while he is realistic about the boom and bust life cycle of the industry, he is confident there will always be another mine where he can find work:

AW: . . . So who do you think should regulate that [the mining industry]?

HM: Probably government, eh? Don't open it up too much. There's a lot a' nice country, eh, up in the Yukon. But I dunno how long the mining boom will last, eh? Maybe it'll last ten years.

AW: Do you think about that, like, what you'll do if the mine shuts down again?

HM: Keno Hill? I'd probably just go out, more out in B.C. again, eh? But there's another mine open, there's another one at Minto anyway, Minto too. There's how many mines going in the Yukon—one, two, three, eh? I think.

There may always be another mine at which Herman can work, but with each new mine, or redevelopment, there are social and environmental consequences to bear. One of the most significant social impacts of the Keno Hill redevelopment has been a polarization of opinions between people in the surrounding communities. For the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun, differences in opinion about the mine have served to widen the gap between elders and the younger generation who, like Herman, grew up

with mining. For many elders, protection of the land is of the utmost importance, while for a younger generation, who are now running the First Nation government, economic development is also a high priority. Herman spoke about this gap:

> AW: . . . Do you think there's a difference between the way elders in Mayo feel about the mining and the way younger people feel about mining?
>
> HM: Yeah, there's probably a difference. Elders never like it very much, eh? . . . in the old days, elders didn't bother with mining very much. That's 'cause long time ago, Indian people, they used to find gold in the river and they just threw it back in there, didn't they?
>
> AW: Yeah.
>
> [Laughter]
>
> HM: Didn't bother, but now, I'm not sure how elders feel about it now. But you see more younger people working at mines, now, eh? . . . Long as it doesn't change the Yukon too much, eh? The Yukon should be left the way it is, see. You uh, shouldn't overpopulate too much, here, shouldn't change very much, 'cause they'll just ruin it.

Herman demonstrates an important similarity between the opinions of elders and those of younger Na-Cho Nyäk Dun citizens. While they may strive for economic development and recognize their historical connection and economic dependence on the Keno Hill mine, Na-Cho Nyäk Dun citizens, old and young, value the land and feel that they belong to it. As Na-Cho Nyäk Dun elder Helen Buyck has asserted, "The land was their teacher, and the knowledge they have of it is far greater than most people can appreciate."[31] This land and the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun culture have been shaped by over one hundred years of underground mining, but those hundred years represent just a fraction of their story. While some of that history will remain hidden deep within the silver-laden mountains,

much of it will be told both through the stories and the bodies of the Na-Cho Nyäk Dun themselves.

We have shared elements of Herman's story, in an attempt to bridge the burgeoning gaps between generations of Na-Cho Nyäk Dun citizens and between First Nation and non–First Nation Yukoners. However, as Julie Cruikshank points out, "that a culture is shared does not mean that all individual interpretations will be the same."[32] Indeed, this is not a definitive representation of contemporary Na-Cho Nyäk Dun opinions or culture, it is simply our interpretation of Herman's story, which is one we find particularly poignant and illuminating. The very act of sharing stories such as Herman's may serve to create understanding between generations and, we hope, demonstrate the ability of narrative to unravel the complexity of modern relationships between northern indigenous peoples, industrial development, and the land that they share.

Authors' note: At the time of editing in 2013, Alexco Resource Corporation announced that, due to decreasing silver prices, the company would be laying off up to 25 per cent of its employees at the Keno Hill silver mine, with tentative plans to reopen in the early 2015.[33] Herman was laid off and has been exploring other work opportunities at mines down south. Unfortunately, fur prices have been too low for Herman to profitably work his traplines.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Joella and Alexandra wish to express their gratitude to Herman Melancon for his generosity and bravery in sharing his story. Mussi Cho Herman. Mussi to Bobbie-Lee Melancon and Kaylie-Ann Hummel for their assistance, and to the First Nation of Na-Cho Nyäk Dun for its support of this project.

NOTES

1 Julie Cruikshank, *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 1.

2 This literal translation omits much of the meaning held within the name. Northern Tutchone elders speak of a much more nuanced definition, in which "Na-cho" translates to "our elders," thus Na-Cho Nyäk Dun means "flowing from our elders," demonstrating the direct connection between the words of the elders and the Stewart River, which has sustained the Northern Tutchone people.

3 Northern Tutchone is an Athabascan language, traditionally spoken by First Nation people of the central Yukon, whose descendants still identify as Northern Tutchone people. Although they are now divided into three separate communities and First Nations—Mayo (First Nation of Na-Cho Nyäk Dun), Pelly (Selkirk First Nation), and Carmacks (Little Salmon Carmacks First Nation), there are still many historical, cultural, and familial ties between the Northern Tutchone. Na-Cho Nyäk Dun was the name chosen by the Northern Tutchone people of the Mayo area for their government during the land claim and self-government process. Here, we use the term Na-Cho Nyäk Dun to represent the Northern Tutchone people living in the Mayo area, both historically and today.

4 Ken Coates, *Best Left as Indians: Native-White Relations in the Yukon Territory, 1840–1973* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1991), 86–95; Lynette R. Bleiler, Christopher Robert Burn, and Mark O'Donoghue, *Heart of the Yukon: A Natural and Cultural History of the Mayo Area* (Mayo, YT: Village of Mayo, 2006), 99; Dominique Legros, "Oral History as History: Tutchone Athapaskan in the Period 1840–1920," in *Occasional Papers in Yukon History* No. 3 (2) (Whitehorse, YT: Yukon Cultural Services Branch, 2007).

5 Lynette R. Bleiler and Linda E. T. MacDonald, *Gold and Galena: A History of the Mayo District, with Addendum* (Mayo, YT: Mayo Historical Society, 1999), 60–70.

6 Bleiler, Burn, and O'Donoghue, *Heart of the Yukon*, 86–89; Legros, "Oral History as History," 244–308.

7 Yukon Archives, Mayo and Area 1/2, John Hawksley, *Report on Mayo Band of Indians* (Dawson City, YT: Department of Indian Affairs, 1916), 1–3; Bleiler, Burn, and O'Donoghue, *Heart of the Yukon*, 90–91.

8 Dave Moses, in *Heart of the Yukon*, 91.

9 Bleiler, Burn, and O'Donoghue, *Heart of the Yukon*, 119.

10 Quoted in Cruikshank, *Social Life of Stories*, 1.

11 See Julie Cruikshank, Angela Sidney, Kitty Smith, and Annie Ned, *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

12 Shawn Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Winnipeg: Fernwood Press, 2008); Lianne Leddy, "Interviewing Nookomis and Other Reflections: The Promise of Community Collaboration," *Oral History Forum d'histoire orale* 30 (2010): 1–18; and Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies – Characteristics, Conversations, and Context (Toronto*: University of Toronto Press*, 2009).*

13 Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 14.

14 Kathy Absolon and Cam Willet, "Putting Ourselves Forward: Location in Aboriginal Research," in *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-oppressive Approaches*, eds. Leslie Allison Brown and Susan Strega (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press/Women's Press, 2005), 97.

15 Cruikshank, *Social Life of Stories*, 3–4, 24.

16 Bleiler and MacDonald, *Gold and Galena*, 275.

17 Aaro E. Aho, *Hills of Silver: The Yukon's Mighty Keno Hill Mine* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 2006), 58.

18 Much of this information came from personal conversations between Joella and local elders throughout 2012 and 2013.

19 Coates, *Best Left as Indians*, 83, 89, 239.

20 Bleiler, Burn, and O'Donoghue, *Heart of the Yukon*, 92.

21 We only learned about Millerville through oral history, as it is not mentioned in any of the written documents about the Keno Hill area.

22 Yukon Territory, *Silver Trail Tourism Development Plan* (Whitehorse, YT: Yukon Department of Tourism, 1989), 8.

23 This became the municipality of Mayo.

24 Coates, *Best Left as Indians,* 162, 231.

25 These agreements are collected on the Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada website, accessed January 5, 2015: https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100030607/1100100030608.

26 Bleiler, Burn, and O'Donoghue, *Heart of the Yukon*, 129.

27 First Nation of Na-Cho Nyäk Dun, "History," Retrieved from http://nndfn.com/history/.

28 Bleiler, Burn, and O'Donoghue, *Heart of the Yukon*, 91.

29 Ibid.,122.

30 Yukon Territory, *Silver Trail Tourism*, 1.

31 Bleiler, Burn, and O'Donoghue, *Heart of the Yukon*, 87.

32 Cruikshank, *Social Life of Stories*, 43.

33 Alexco Resource Corporation, News Release, *Alexco Implements Cost Savings Measures* (Vancouver: Alexco, May 31, 2013), 1–2; "Alexco Wants to Head Back to Work at Keno Silver Mine," CBC News, December 6, 2013, http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/alexco-wants-to-head-back-to-work-at-keno-silver-mine-1.2453849.

University of Calgary

PRISM: University of Calgary's Digital Repository

University of Calgary Press | University of Calgary Press Open Access Books

2015-11

Mining and communities in Northern Canada : history, politics, and memory

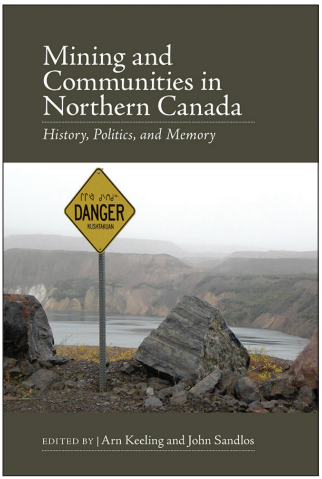
Keeling, Arn; Sandlos, John

University of Calgary Press

Keeling, A., & Sandlos, J. (Eds.). (2015). Mining and Communities in Northern Canada: History, Politics, and Memory. Canada: University of Calgary Press.
http://hdl.handle.net/1880/51021
book

http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/
Attribution Non-Commercial No Derivatives 4.0 International
Downloaded from PRISM: https://prism.ucalgary.ca

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press



MINING AND COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN CANADA: HISTORY, POLITICS, AND MEMORY

Edited by Arn Keeling and John Sandlos

ISBN 978-1-55238-805-1

THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK. It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at ucpress@ucalgary.ca

Cover Art: The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE: This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence. This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY**:

- read and store this document free of charge;
- distribute it for personal use free of charge;
- print sections of the work for personal use;
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY NOT**:

- gain financially from the work in any way;
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
- reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press
press.ucalgary.ca

Acknowledgement: *We acknowledge the wording around open access used by Australian publisher,* **re.press**, *and thank them for giving us permission to adapt their wording to our policy* http://www.re-press.org

Gender, Labour, and Community in a Remote Mining Town

Jane Hammond

The quickest way to travel from the island of Newfoundland to Labrador City is by airplane. A small Provincial Airline plane does a twice-daily milk run from St. John's to Labrador City, stopping in Deer Lake and Goose Bay before reaching its final destination. In early May 2011, as the plane approached western Labrador, I was struck by the scale and extent of over five decades of open-pit iron mining on the landscape. Mountains of red earth sat next to large craters sculpted by years of mass-mining for iron ore. Labrador City, originally built by the Iron Ore Company of Canada (IOC), made up the majority of the western Labrador's population and continually underwent construction to keep up with expanding iron production, as contractors cut large sections of the surrounding wooded area to make room for more temporary housing. Less visible than these environmental changes, however, is the history of unequal gender relations that have accompanied the extraction of iron ore in western Labrador, as women struggled to enter the mining workforce and gain independence and opportunity in this male-dominated company town.

The study of women's place in industrial towns, and more specifically mining communities, has blossomed since the 1980s as scholars moved from focused studies of gender in industry to a more all-encompassing approach to place, community, and industry. This shift in focus reflects changing historiographical understandings of gender and labour history. By the 1980s, scholars such as Angela John recognized that past historical accounts reflected inaccurate, stereotyped gender roles and ideologies.[1] Several studies examined traditional gender divisions and explored the significance of women's positions as housewives to the success of the town and industry. For example, Luxton and Fox used a Marxist approach to reinterpret the work of housewives, arguing that "women's work in the home is one of the most important and necessary labour processes of industrial capitalist society."[2] Similarly, Vicky Seddon's public history of the British coal miners' strikes of the 1980s determined that most women became involved in the strike because they viewed it as an extension of their duties as housewives.[3] By the late 1990s to 2000s, scholars transitioned in their approach from women's studies to gender studies, and the focus moved to understanding relationships between men and women. Recognizing the complexity of gender and labour history, these studies used interdisciplinary, mixed-methods approaches.[4]

Drawing from these models, this study of Labrador City women's history also used an interdisciplinary framework and multi-method techniques. The primary research for this chapter consists of twenty-five oral history interviews and group workshops conducted in May 2011.[5] Oral history is used to reveal the hidden voices and complex divisions among working-class residents in the town, since these might not be readily apparent using other research methods. To obtain multiple points of view, interviewees included current or retired employees of the mine and residents of the community ranging in age from twenty-four to eighty-two. Following the interview process, interviews were carefully analyzed since "only slowly do underlying strands of a community's culture reveal themselves, as interview after interview sounds the same themes."[6] From oral histories, historians can learn not just the facts, but also the experiences, feelings, and insights of the people being interviewed. The study was further supported with research into archival sources and published documents by IOC and the provincial government.

This research reveals that women's entry into the mining workforce was halting in Labrador City. From the early 1970s to the 2000s, top-down forces, such as the influence of the company, along with bottom-up social pressure from other working-class residents made it difficult for women to enter wage labour comfortably or in large numbers. According to Karen Beckwith, change in traditional gender roles in an industrial community requires three major preconditions: women must have the desire to act, the opportunity to change their position, and the strength of group support.[7] Certainly, in broad terms the advent of the 1970s provided a potential opportunity for women in Labrador City to make employment gains, as the second wave of feminism took hold, and women throughout North America began to enter wage employment. This was no less true in Newfoundland, where feminist groups throughout the province encouraged women to take a more active role in society, forming women's unions with a common goal of "lobbying the governments to influence policies that regulate women's lives."[8] One result was employment gains: the number of women working in the province's paid labour force increased by 56.9 per cent between 1970 and 1980.[9] In fact, according to interviewees in Rick Rennie's studies, women of other mining towns in the province, notably Buchans and St. Lawrence, were active participants in the workforce.[10] Despite these gains in the workplace and toward gender equality in the province and in North America at large, at Labrador City, IOC policies continued to structure and maintain an unequal division of labour at the Carol Lake Mine. Women struggled to obtain positions at the mine and, once they entered the mine workforce, faced social and occupational discrimination. Through a study of Labrador City from the 1970s to 2000s, this discussion will reveal that despite women's ability to obtain positions in the mine, the social life and work culture of the company and town maintained gendered inequality until the 2000s. Labrador City's gender history can be divided into three periods. After an initial period between the town's founding in 1958 and 1975, when the company worked to build not only a stable town but also to create an ideal image of the community by encouraging traditional gender roles, women began to resist actively the imposition of unequal gender relations. From 1975 to 1989, women grew increasingly discontented, even as they tentatively entered the mine workforce, mainly in

supporting positions. Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, women's activism, changing attitudes, and strong demands for labour led to greater gender equality. While this chapter focuses on the latter two stages, it is important to first give a brief history of the mine and town's conception.

After the early success of the Iron Ore Company of Canada's (IOC) mining project in Schefferville, Quebec, in 1958 the company began developing the Carol Lake Mine and accompanying mining town, Labrador City. As in many mining towns developed in the 1960s, the founding company invested a great deal of time and money into community development and transformed the region from a land shared with moose, bears, and other wild animals into a modern, suburban-style Canadian town.[11] To maintain this atmosphere, the company controlled the type of people who could live in the community. By hiring only male employees and hand-picking "satisfactory" residents, IOC wielded power not only over the economy of the town, but also influenced the people's way of life and their connection to place.[12] As a result, the town was an environment where women often felt trapped and forced to depend upon their husbands for survival. It was this feeling of inequality that shaped women's level of engagement in community life and their labour opportunities.[13]

In its hiring policies, the company sought to emulate the idealized social structure of the 1950s. Through the 1960s and even as late as the 1970s, IOC's unofficial policy was to hire women only for office work because the mining industry was seen as a man's world. As Nichole Churchill noted, "For a very long period of time, Labrador West was a male-dominated community . . . and you know breaking into the male workforce itself was a problem."[14] In giving priority to married men, it was clear that IOC was still enforcing the nuclear family lifestyle.[15]

By the 1970s, however, some changes made it possible for women to enter non-traditional occupations. The federal Royal Commission on the Status of Women in 1969 recommended that more women be employed in Canadian companies. In response to this report and its corresponding need for employees, IOC began hiring a limited number of women in low-paying, untrained positions in the company. These positions were previously seen as masculine, and included labourers, janitors, office workers, and heavy equipment operators.[16] Despite this initial action, it was not easy for women to enter these jobs. Elizabeth Andrews was one

of those women who struggled to get an entry-level position: "I wrote all the tests, passed them and just waited to be hired. And you're hearing all these people getting hired and you're still. . . . Well what it was is you had to keep going back all the time." Andrews finally broke into the mining industry workforce in August 1974 and was among the first group of women to get hired.

While the industry's high salary was important, women did not endure the hardships associated with entering the mining industry simply to get extra money. There was more behind this action. A woman's entrance into the mining industry in the 1970s was a political statement, whether or not this was her primary intention.[17] The desire for equal rights and women's independence was, quite possibly, stronger in the mining districts throughout Newfoundland and Labrador since, as expressed in histories of other towns, the women of the province were used to greater opportunities:[18]

> I just didn't get what the problem was. Back home [Stephenville], if there was fifteen women in the field, there was probably fifteen men. Nobody thought nothing less of it. It was just the normal thing to do.[19]

After many years of being trapped in their homes with nothing to do, or stuck in abusive relationships, some women in Labrador City saw work at the mine as an opportunity to achieve financial independence. However, they still lacked strength in numbers and the support of the town and company.

The economic downturn in the early 1980s highlighted women's tenuous place in the mine's workforce. Between 1978 and 1982, the mine went through a bust cycle, resulting in mass layoffs. Since the majority of IOC women workers held entry-level jobs, they were the first to go. The very few women who successfully avoided the layoffs were harshly criticized by some IOC men and their wives. Many in the community felt that it was unfair for women to take the few remaining positions when men needed the money to support their families.[20] Clearly, some people in the town did not believe women were or should become breadwinners. As well, many still believed—as they had when women had first entered the mine—that this was not a serious long-term venture but simply an

attempt by women to prove their ability to make extra money. At the end of the recession, IOC was quick to hire back many of the male workers who had been laid off during the bust cycle. However, women were less likely to be rehired by the company. Suddenly women found themselves in the same battles they had struggled through in the 1970s.[21]

WORKING WOMEN AND GENDER ROLES IN THE COMMUNITY

It wasn't long before the mine and town again saw prosperity. With this boom cycle came mass hiring, and despite IOC's primary loyalty to men, the company once again needed women. Thus, by the mid-1980s a larger number of women began working in the mining industry. Women's changing place in the workforce had implications for gender relations and social life in the town. Social divisions emerged between IOC-employed and non–IOC-employed women. Even when IOC women were accepted into housewives' social groups or clubs in town, shift work made it practically impossible to become a member as they missed too many meetings. People developed very strong opinions of wives and mothers working in the mine. One IOC woman remarked:

> I didn't go to the hair dressers. I went a couple of times but you don't go back. Oh, no. You get in there and you're listening to all these women talking about the women working in IOC: "Nothing but a bunch of whores in there screwing everything that's in there." One day I turned over and I said: "Listen, you know who we're screwing? Your husbands, cause it's all your husbands we're working with."[22]

Unable to socialize with the women of the town, some IOC women tried socializing with other IOC employees, but this came with its own problems. Just as IOC men had been accustomed to their male-only work environment, they also enjoyed a male-only social life. When IOC women entered the bars where IOC employees commonly gathered after a shift, the men ignored them:

> They didn't want you in there because they figured you didn't belong. You go in here at happy hour at the clubs in the evening after work, even though it was a union centre and the women should have been allowed just as much as the men, but if I walked in with my husband everything just went dead . . . it was obscene for you to walk into the club because that was where the men went after work, not the women.[23]

Women were not given the cold shoulder just at the clubs. While the men would talk to women at the plant, once in town they refused to even acknowledge women's presence. The small group of IOC women suddenly felt like outcasts in their own community. As some interviewees noted, it took a "different breed of women" to last in the mining workforce because they had to endure hardships both on and off the project.[24] The few IOC women who were willing to endure the work and town harassment built strong and lasting friendships with each other. As Elizabeth said, "I knows some of them more than I knows my family, right because I was nineteen when I started. I mean, I knew them for thirty years."[25] These friendships were essential in preventing depression and social isolation among the women.

In spite of the gains made by women in the 1980s, in many ways Labrador City retained many of the gendered social roles of the previous generation. At this time, 73 per cent of the adult residents were married. Of these, 87 per cent lived in a nuclear family setting where women remained responsible for domestic labour. Most often, there were four to five members per household.[26] This lifestyle was strongly encouraged by company housing policies. Mining companies in the region urged residents to buy housing since company officials believed that home ownership encouraged long-term residency, a stable workforce, and lower costs for the company.[27] IOC provided subsidies for its employees, but these subsidies came with a number of unwritten rules. Priority went to married men, preferably those with families, followed by single men. IOC women, married or single, could not obtain any housing subsidies.[28] While technically a home could be owned by anyone who could afford it, the majority of women did not qualify for a mortgage. This forced some women to remain in abusive relationships, and it caused others to seek

marriage when they had no interest in it.[29] Ultimately, IOC women were deprived of the independence and freedom they were fighting for when originally entering the industry.

Even as late as the 1980s, there was a clear socially acceptable path for Labrador City women to follow. As single, young adults, women worked until they found husbands. They could take jobs as babysitters, nurses, schoolteachers, office workers, or service industry workers.[30] They were then expected to take the position of housewife until their children reached maturity. Social pressure and particularly a lack of child-care facilities encouraged women to remain home with younger children. The town, which prided itself on all its modern amenities, did not have a day-care centre until the 1990s.[31] As one resident recalled:

> Mom didn't work for most of while we were growing up. I can remember her coming to us and saying she was getting a job and we were going to have to take care of ourselves at lunch. So we'd have to get our own lunch. I was probably about thirteen or fourteen.[32]

Once the children reached their teen years, women could choose to go back to work part-time or even full-time in positions categorized as women's work. It appeared that the community embraced and in many cases encouraged women to work in the town's service industry. In fact, some women even gained town support as they became entrepreneurs. When Alison Wiseman became a widow in 1987, she decided to open the Dollar Plus Souvenirs and Convenience store in the town mall. When Wiseman faced financial hardships, the community gave her monetary and emotional support.[33] Women were also supported when opening home-based businesses such as Linda Cassell's sewing venture.[34] Much like their entrance into the mining industry, some women saw this as an opportunity to gain independence.

While working was acceptable for those women without young children, some interviewees reserved harsh judgments about the effect that working mothers' absences had on their children. One informant believed that staying home when her children were young had made them better behaved and educated. She stated:

> I stayed home . . . when she got home from school, to give her a ride, to do different things with her . . . Some kids were left from the time they got out of school in the evening to the time their parents got home in the evening. God only knows what they were at . . . Mine were supervised and I found a difference, not only in their behaviour but even in their attitude and their language . . . I carted around a lot of kids and I picked them up and dropped them off and I could see a difference. Every day as time went by some of them got worse.[35]

She further argued that there was a marked difference in school grades. Since working mothers did not have as much time to devote to their children and could not always find a babysitter, children were left to do their homework as they pleased. The parents would find out how their children were doing through the report cards, and by then it was too late to fix the problem. The housewives, on the contrary, "kept an even keel on it," which yielded better grades.[36]

On the opposing side, women who did work often believed that less doting on the child created a more independent, responsible, and well-rounded young adult who was ready to move out and experience life. Elizabeth Andrews was one working woman who had strong opinions on the matter:

> When the mother stays at home, [the children] had a harder job leaving the home, they had a harder job going to university; a lot of them don't know how to take care of themselves . . . I must say mine are three quite independent go-getters. Determined they were . . . and I say: "Parents, do they think they're doing a wonderful job if their kids never had to cook, never had to clean, never had to do for themselves?"[37]

The working mother believed that by taking on the added pressure of working while raising a family they were also able to provide more for their children and meet the demands of the consumer world. Keeping them busy in extracurricular activities and giving them things such as skidoos prevented boredom and created a well-rounded child.[38]

Interviewees suggested that working women were sometimes blamed for changing marital relations and domestic breakdowns.[39] Working alongside men at the mine led to a perceived increase in extramarital affairs. As men and women spent sixteen-hour shifts together, they were often seeing more of their work partners than they were of their spouses, ultimately leading to family breakups.[40] From a different perspective, women also used mine employment as a means to secure financial independence and escape unsatisfactory or abusive relationships.[41] In households where both spouses worked in wage labour, families needed to adopt a new division of domestic labour, sharing the household responsibilities as a result of opposing shift work and limited access to babysitters and cleaning services.[42] But changing one's domestic practices was not easy for some families, and in Labrador City it triggered resentment from some of the men who were used to being "tended on" by their wives.[43]

In the late 1980s and 1990s, both IOC and the town's women organized to push for gender equality in Labrador City. These efforts led to the establishment of the local Women's Centre run by Marion Atkinson and Barbara Doran. This was designed to provide a safe place for women in the area and to promote equal rights.[44] In response to growing rates of sexual and marital problems (such as abuse, infidelity, and divorce) in the town, the Labrador West Status of Women Council and the newly formed Women's Centre created the Labrador West Status of Women Committee to study gender relations in the town and in the workforce.[45] Finding that working women felt that they were not supported, the Women's Centre established coffee groups, children's play time, skills-training programs, and emotional support groups. The centre was also a safe house for victims of domestic abuse.[46] The IOC publicly supported the Women's Centre and the Labrador West study. The company also joined the federal government's voluntary affirmative action program, which was launched in 1978 as a means of establishing gender equality in the workplace.[47] IOC's actions helped regain the image they once had of being supportive and involved in the success of the community as well as the industry.[48]

By the 1990s, despite IOC's outward enthusiasm for equality in the workplace and town, the company and its male employees still drew clear lines separating feminine and masculine work at the mine. A study on

women in the workforce of Newfoundland and Labrador revealed that while 46.8 per cent of women worked in paid labour, women represented less than 10 per cent of the workforce in trades, technology, and operations fields.[49] Those women who worked with IOC still most often occupied roles consistent with stereotypes about women's abilities: they worked as cleaners, or were funnelled into other jobs that were not as physically demanding. Their positions usually did not pay enough relative to the community's cost of living. Therefore, the majority of women still depended on marriage for financial security.[50]

Nevertheless, in the 1990s, there was a sudden increase in female mine workers at IOC. At this time, the town and company noticed a large number of second- and third-generation children leaving the small town to seek education or jobs, which meant a loss of potential employees. Thus, IOC joined forces with College of the North Atlantic's local campus and the local steelworkers' union to develop the two-year mining technician diploma as part of the "Employee of the Future" program.[51] Students were almost guaranteed a job with the company upon successful completion of the program.[52] As anticipated, the program effectively encouraged a number of young men to stay in the community. It also unexpectedly raised the percentage of female employees. Since both IOC and the college followed the affirmative action program, their education program needed to be accessible to everyone, and women of all ages took advantage.[53] Noreen Careen, the director of the Labrador West Women's Centre, noticed the program resulted in a significant change in the lives of working women in the community. As she argued, "it's the greatest move that was ever made because it gave women an opportunity for their independence that otherwise they would never have had in this community." Just as IOC strongly influenced women of the 1960s and 1970s to embrace the role of housewife, it was now one of the main forces encouraging women's paid employment. Now the majority of Labrador City women were working, if not at IOC then in the supporting services in the town.[54]

The growing participation of women in the Labrador City workforce did not make up for the labour shortfall in the booming community. In fact, some secondary industries and volunteer organizations began to suffer from a lack of available employees. IOC had an unwritten rule that

it would not steal employees from other businesses; however, if an employee quit a position before applying to IOC, that person was considered fair game. With limited choices, stores began hiring people at younger ages, and soon they were hiring children as young as thirteen and fourteen. Other stores and restaurants were forced to close earlier in the evening, as early as six o'clock. Many businesses that should have succeeded, given the average family income in the town, were forced to close permanently.[55] By the early 2000s, businesses began hiring temporary workers from developing countries.[56] Tim Hortons was the first company to do so, and soon Walmart, McDonald's, and other local businesses followed. These companies hired groups of foreign workers, most often from the Philippines, for two-year contracts that included one shared house for approximately ten to twenty employees.[57]

Like the secondary industries, most of the volunteer roles in the town were originally filled by women. As noted earlier, women used these roles to give them something to do throughout the day. Yet with full-time paid positions, women no longer needed or had time to participate in volunteer work. While children took on some responsibilities in the town, few were willing to become involved in volunteer work when they could easily find paid employment. This resulted in fewer social events in the community, and some residents felt the town spirit was fading.[58]

As a result of IOC's new policy toward hiring women, the company achieved parity in the number of male and female employees by the early 2000s.[59] The company added women's locker rooms, washrooms, and lunchrooms, and removed derogatory pictures from the walls. IOC and the union developed an anti-harassment policy with zero tolerance for bullying.[60] As IOC increasingly sought female employees, men encouraged their wives to enter the workforce, and mothers encouraged their daughters to avoid depending on male breadwinners. As one mother recalled:

> I tell my girls, you get your education, get a job, be independent, look out for yourself, then find someone that you can stay with and be with. I've seen so many people I know my mother's age, like I have a friend whose parents were in a bad relation but

> the woman couldn't leave because she has nothing to go to: no education, no job, no skills, but now it's so different.[61]

Increasingly, women in Labrador City regarded paid employment as a means of achieving financial independence and personal empowerment.

Still, the achievement of gender parity in the town's main industry did not eliminate conflict over gender roles in the workplace. Many mining-industry employees noted that the positions in the workforce have simply been divided along gender lines. While a few women filled trade positions such as mechanics and electricians, they were a very small minority. Most women remained in less physically demanding positions such as truck driving. Some women did feel that they fit into this work environment well. One remembered:

> I worked with the guys and the guys treated me like I was one of the boys. And one of the guys even said that to me, "Oh you're just one of the boys," and I think that was one of the best compliments I ever had . . . I thought that was perfect. I got along great with the guys. There was none of this sexual suggestiveness or anything like that. Every now and then they'd tell an off-colour joke, but I mean you just laugh at it. As long as it's not geared towards me personally, I don't mind an off-colour joke or dirty joke or whatever. No big deal to me.[62]

It is clear, however, that in order for women to fit in, they needed to present themselves as "one of the boys." If women appeared weak, male employees did not appreciate working with them. In fact, some men believed that women were given "easy jobs" because they were often unable to do jobs requiring strength. This left all the physically demanding jobs for the men. If a man wanted to rotate to an easier job for a few weeks, there were often none available.[63]

****

As the town of Labrador City celebrated its fiftieth year in 2008, the residents took pride in their generations of hard work in the mines and marvelled at the vast changes to the region's landscape. Yet, the same mine that evokes such strong pride was also at the centre of the cracks that emerged in the town's gender relations, a fraught history revealed through oral histories of this fifty-year period. Despite women making inroads into paid labour in the 1970s, company policy and a masculine workplace culture constrained the number and quality of positions that were available to women. Oral interviews also suggested that working women experienced social pressure and at times outright condemnation for entering the workforce. Moreover, through the period of low commodity prices in the 1980s, it was female workers who were most vulnerable to layoffs, showing that their foothold in a male-dominated workforce remained tenuous.

If the call for gender equality in the Carol Lake Mine began with the broader feminist call for greater access to wage employment in the 1970s, progress on the issue was slow. Indeed, gendered inequalities maintained a strong hold over Labrador City until the 2000s, when a significant increase in women's employment and more tangible social and workplace equity policies from the town and company (child care, anti-harassment, etc.) led to significant gains for working women. Other studies have suggested that, as in Labrador City, a combination of policy changes in the workplace and fundamental cultural and social change within the local community is a prerequisite for the advancement of gender equity in single-industry towns.[64] In Labrador City, policy innovation and cultural change proceeded more slowly than was typical elsewhere in Canada. The memories of women who lived and worked in the town suggest, moreover, that the intransigence of management and cultural resistance among other working-class residents worked in concert to reinforce male dominance and gender inequity at the mine.

NOTES

1 Angela John, *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Women Workers at Victorian Coal Mines* (London: Croom Helm, 1980).

2 Meg Luxton, *More Than a Labour of Love: Three Generations of Women's Work in the Home* (Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1980), 13; and Bonnie Fox, *Hidden in the Household: Women's Domestic Labour under Capitalism* (Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1980).

3 Vicky Seddon, *The Cutting Edge: Women and the Pit Strike* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1986). See also Sheila Rowbotham, "More Than Just a Memory: Some Political Implications of Women's Involvement in the Miners' Strike, 1984–85," *Feminist Review* 23 (Summer 1986): 407–21; and Jill Liddington, "Gender Authority and Mining in an Industrial Landscape: Anne Lister 1791–1840," *History Workshop Journal* 42 (October 1996): 58–86.

4 See Mary Murphy, *Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte, 1914–41*, Women in American History (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Janet Finn, *Tracing the Veins: Of Copper, Culture, and Community from Butte to Chuquicamata* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Elizabeth Jameson, *All That Glitters: Class, Conflict, and Community in Cripple Creek* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Thomas Miller Klubock, *Contested Communities: Class, Gender, and Politics in Chile's El Teniente Copper Mine, 1904–1951* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998); and Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Louise Morgan, and Nancy Forestell, *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*, Canadian Social History Series (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

5 "All interviewees are given pseudonyms, except those representing specific groups or organizations."

6 Linda Shopes, "Oral History and the Study of Communities: Problems, Paradoxes, and Possibilities," in *The Oral History Reader,* ed. Robert Preks, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2006), 267; and Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

7 Karen Beckwith, "Lancashire Women against Pit Closures: Women's Standing in a Men's Movement," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 21, no. 4 (Summer 1996): 1042.

8 Sharon Gray Pope and Jane Burnham, "Change Within and Without: The Modern Women's Movement in Newfoundland," in *Pursuing Equality: Historical Perspectives on Women in Newfoundland and Labrador*, ed. Linda Kealey (St. John's, NL: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1993), 207.

9 Labrador West Status of Women Council, "Submission to the Employment Practices Commission," 1989.

10 Rick Rennie, *The Dirt: Industrial Disease and Conflict at St. Lawrence, Newfoundland* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2008), 108–12; Ed Hamilton, Buchans Historic Research Group, and Red Indian Lake Development Association, *Khaki Dodgers: The History of Mining and the People of the Buchans Area* (Grand Falls-Windsor, NL: Red Indian Lake Development Association, 1992), 57–59; and Labrador West Status of Women Council, "Submission to the Employment Practices Commission."

11 Arn Keeling, "'Born in an Atomic Test Tube': Landscapes of Cyclonic Development at Uranium City, Saskatchewan," *Canadian Geographer* 54, no. 2 (2010): 228–52.

12 Richard Geren, Blake McCullogh, and Iron Ore Company of Canada, *Cain's Legacy: The Building of Iron Ore Company of Canada* (Sept-Îles, QC: Iron Ore Company of Canada, 1990); Jacqueline Jacques Driscoll, "Development of a Labrador Mining Community: Industry in the Bush" (PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 1984); and Iron Ore Company of Canada, "Historical Data," St. John's, 1967.

13 Elizabeth Andrews, Personal Interview, May 15, 2011; and Nichole Churchill, Personal Interview, May 9, 2011.

14 Nichole Churchill, Personal Interview, May 9, 2011.

15 Linda Ann Parsons, "Labrador City by Design: Corporate Visions of Women," in *Their Lives and Times: Women of Newfoundland and Labrador: A Collage*, eds. Carmelita McGrath, Barbara Neis, and Marilyn Porter (St. John's, NL: Killick Press, 1995), 214–17.

16 Elizabeth Andrews, Personal Interview, May 15, 2011; and Nichole Churchill, Personal Interview, May 9, 2011.

17 Beckwith, "Lancashire Women against Pit Closures," 1996.

18 Valerie Hall, "Differing Gender Roles: Women in Mining and Fishing Communities in Northumberland, England, 1880–1914," *Women's Studies International Forum* 27, no. 5/6 (November 2004): 521–30; Linda Kealey, ed., *Pursuing Equality: Historical Perspectives on Women in Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. John's, NL: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1993); Richard L. Loder, "Changing Familial Patterns in a Newfoundland Mining Town: A Town of Widows and Orphans," paper presented to Professor Louise Charimonte (Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1972); and Rennie Slaney, *More Incredible Than Fiction: The True Story of the Indomitable Men and Women of St. Lawrence, Newfoundland from the Time of Settlement to 1965: History of Fluorspar Mining at St. Lawrence, Newfoundland* (St. John's, NL: Confederation of National Trade Unions, 1975).

19 Elizabeth Andrews, Personal Interview, May 15, 2011.

20 Parsons, "Labrador City by Design," 215.

21 Geren, McCullogh, and Iron Ore Company of Canada, *Cain's Legacy*; Driscoll, "Development of a Labrador Mining Community"; Parsons, "Labrador City by Design," 214–17.

22 Elizabeth Andrews, Personal Interview, May 15, 2011.

23 Ibid.

24 Margaret Carlton, Personal Interview, May 7, 2011.

25 Elizabeth Andrews, Personal Interview, May 15, 2011.

26 Linda Ann Parsons, "Passing the Time: The Lives of Women in a Northern Industrial Town" (MA thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1987), 36–47.

27 John H. Bradbury, "Declining Single-Industry Communities in Quebec-Labrador, 1979–1983," *Canadian Studies* 19, no. 3 (1984): 132–33.

28 Parsons, "Labrador City by Design," 216–20.

29 Ibid.

30 Labrador West Status of Women Council, "Submission to the Employment Practices Commission."

31 The daycare facility was provided by the Women's Centre; however, with limited volunteers, the program ended a few years later and there is no longer daycare available (Noreen Careen, Personal Interview, May 9, 2011).

32 Andrea Locke, Personal Interview, May 8, 2011.

33 Alison Wiseman, Personal Interview, May 15, 2011.

34 Andrea Spracklin, "No Business Like Sew Business (re: Cassell's Sewing Business in Labrador City)," *Downhomer* 14, no. 10 (March 2002): 35.

35 Laura Fewer, Personal Interview, May 13, 2011; individuals who agreed included: Lorraine Carolynn, Personal Interview, May 13, 2011; Ashley Fewer, Personal Interview, May 11, 2011; and Gerard Martin, Personal Interview, May 7, 2011.

36 Laura Fewer, Personal Interview, May 13, 2011.

37 Elizabeth Andrews, Personal Interview, May 15, 2011. Individuals who agreed included: Alison Wiseman, Personal Interview, May 15, 2011; Andrea Locke, Personal Interview, May 8, 2011; and Nichole Churchill, Personal Interview, May 9, 2011.

38 Debbora McDonald, Personal Interview, May 12, 2011.

39 Parsons, "Labrador City by Design," 222–24.

40 This was a common consensus among the interviewees. Some people who specifically focused on this subject included: Ashley Fewer, Personal Interview, May 11, 2011; Lorraine Carolynn, Personal Interview, May 13, 2011;

Gerard Martin, Personal Interview, May 7, 2011; Laura Fewer, Personal Interview, May 13, 2011; and Noreen Careen, Personal Interview, May 9, 2011.

41 Noreen Careen, Personal Interview, May 9, 2011; and Elizabeth Andrews, Personal Interview, May 15, 2011. Ashley Fewer, Personal Interview, May 11, 2011; Lorraine Carolynn, Personal Interview, May 13, 2011; Gerard Martin, Personal Interview, May 7, 2011; Laura Fewer, Personal Interview, May 13, 2011.

42 Paul Rickards, Personal Interview, May 9, 2011.

43 Labrador City Questionnaire, 25 Personal Interviews, May 6–16, 2011.

44 Pope and Burnham, "Change Within and Without," 180.

45 Labrador West Status of Women Council, 1–3; and Pope and Burnham, "Change Within and Without," 180.

46 Pope and Burnham, "Change Within and Without," 180, 185–86, and 198–89.

47 Bobbie Boland, "At a Snail's Pace: The Presence of Women in Trades, Technology, and Operations in Newfoundland and Labrador" (St. John's, NL: Women in Resource Development Committee, April 2005), 15.

48 "NFB of Canada: Too Dirty for a Woman," film (Labrador City, NL: IOC, 2011), and "Labrador City: From Tailings to Biodiversity," film (Labrador City, NL: IOC, 2010).

49 Boland, "At a Snail's Pace," 5.

50 Parsons, "Labrador City by Design," 215.

51 Boland, "At a Snail's Pace," 25.

52 Robert Tobin, Personal Interview, May 12, 2011.

53 Noreen Careen, Personal Interview, May 9, 2011

54 Nichole Churchill, Personal Interview, May 9, 2011.

55 John Shmuel, "Labrador City's Huge Worker Shortage Threatens Small Businesses," *National Post*, December 3, 2012.

56 Ibid.

57 Labrador City Questionnaire, 25 Personal Interviews, May 6–16, 2011; Gerard Martin, Personal Interview, May 7, 2011; Ashley Fewer, Personal Interview, May 11, 2011; and Lorraine Carolynn, Personal Interview, May 13, 2011.

58 Personal Interviews; comparison of Driscoll, "Development of a Labrador Mining Community," and the Labrador West website, http://www.labradorwest.com/default.php?ac=changeSite&sid=1.

59 Personal Interview with Marilyn Currie, the co-chair of J.O.S.H.E. and the United Steelworkers, May 2011.

60 Margaret Carlton, Personal Interview, May 7, 2011, and Personal Interview with Marilyn Currie, the co-chair of J.O.S.H.E. and the United Steelworkers, May 2011.

61 This was a common consensus among the interviewees. The quote was from Margaret Carlton, Personal Interview, May 7, 2011.

62 Andrea Locke, Personal Interview, May 8, 2011.

63 Lorraine Carolynn, Personal Interview, May 13, 2011.

64 See Griselda Carr, *Pit Women: Coal Communities in Northern England in the Early Twentieth Century* (London: Merlin Press, 2001), and Rowbotham, "More Than Just a Memory."

University of Calgary

PRISM: University of Calgary's Digital Repository

University of Calgary Press | University of Calgary Press Open Access Books

2015-11

Mining and communities in Northern Canada : history, politics, and memory

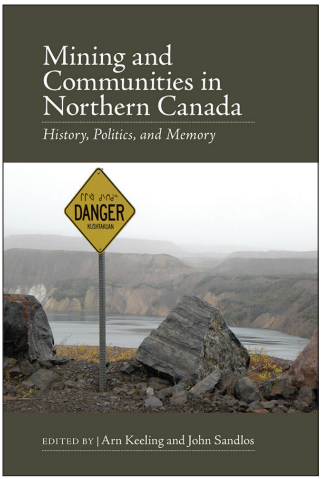
Keeling, Arn; Sandlos, John

University of Calgary Press

Keeling, A., & Sandlos, J. (Eds.). (2015). Mining and Communities in Northern Canada: History, Politics, and Memory. Canada: University of Calgary Press.
http://hdl.handle.net/1880/51021
book

http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/
Attribution Non-Commercial No Derivatives 4.0 International
Downloaded from PRISM: https://prism.ucalgary.ca

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press



MINING AND COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN CANADA: HISTORY, POLITICS, AND MEMORY

Edited by Arn Keeling and John Sandlos

ISBN 978-1-55238-805-1

THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK. It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at ucpress@ucalgary.ca

Cover Art: The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE: This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence. This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY**:

- read and store this document free of charge;
- distribute it for personal use free of charge;
- print sections of the work for personal use;
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY NOT**:

- gain financially from the work in any way;
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
- reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press
press.ucalgary.ca

Acknowledgement: *We acknowledge the wording around open access used by Australian publisher,* **re.press**, *and thank them for giving us permission to adapt their wording to our policy* http://www.re-press.org

"A Mix of the Good and the Bad": Community Memory and the Pine Point Mine

John Sandlos

Mining brings massive transformation to lives and landscapes. Almost inevitably, the people who worked in and lived near historic mines are compelled to tell stories about these changes. Whether it is recollections of hardships and good times within the mining camps, memories of large-scale environmental change, reminiscences of social life within a mining town, or remembrances of work on or under the ground, the process of telling stories can generate multiple and sometimes contested interpretations of local mining heritage within a particular landscape. Was the mine a good place to work? Was the town a good place to raise a family? Did pollution arise from the mine? What kind of landscape changes (open pits, roads, tailings ponds, etc.) did the mine produce, and how well were these physical reminders cleaned up? How did mining change pre-existing forms of natural resources use? The answers to these questions provide rich source material that can help us to understand the

complex social, cultural, and ecological memory and meanings associated with mining activity in small communities that are typically located in remote regions.

This has been particularly true for indigenous communities who must balance the inherently short-term benefits of mining development with long-term residency in particular localities and regions. And indeed, there is a large body of writing on the social, economic, and environmental inequities associated with large-scale mining development in subsistence-oriented indigenous communities throughout the globe.[1] Oral history research methods have sometimes been used as a means to capture these local voices and stories in places where mining has led to environmental injustices such as acute pollution and the exposure of indigenous communities to chemical and radiological toxins.[2] Such community-generated stories can provide a powerful corrective to boosterish histories (often commissioned by companies or published by mining heritage societies) that celebrate mining as a historical gateway for the extension of capital, settlement, and development in remote regions.[3]

Similar to the community-generated stories, the historical narrative of the Pine Point Mine, at first glance, seems to pit the environmental and economic impacts of development against the subsistence economies of First Nations communities. The Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company (later Cominco) operated the mine on the south shore of Great Slave Lake from 1964 to 1988 through a subsidiary company, Pine Point Mines, Ltd. As a massive lead-zinc mine, the Pine Point Mine was also central to the Canadian government's post–World War II colonial agenda in Northern Canada. Government records are replete with references to the mine as a gateway development that would stimulate additional mines throughout the North and quickly catapult northern Aboriginal people from the moribund fur trade economy to more modern forms of industrial wage labour.[4] So great was the political consensus in favour of northern development in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the federal government provided subsidies of nearly $100 million for a railroad, a highway extension, and hydroelectric development to support Pine Point, infrastructure that was meant to kick-start further mineral development and modernization throughout the Northwest Territories.[5]

Even at the early stages of the mine's operating life, however, several critics began to argue that the economic promise of Pine Point for adjacent First Nations communities, particularly for the Chipewyan and Métis community of Fort Resolution roughly sixty kilometres to the east, had gone largely unfulfilled. As early as 1968, the political economist Kenneth Rea invoked Harold Innis's staples theory to criticize Pine Point as another in a long line of export-oriented northern development projects that contributed little to local economic development.[6] Sociologist Paul Deprez's 1973 report for the Winnipeg-based Centre for Settlement Studies adopted much the same tone, highlighting how the federal government's failure to provide local skills training, a viable housing policy for northerners, and an extension of the Pine Point highway further east to Fort Resolution meant the mine workforce was mostly imported and the local economic benefits of the mine severely limited.[7] In 1977, Justice Thomas Berger's report on hearings into the proposed Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline quoted liberally from Fort Resolution testimony, suggesting that Pine Point demonstrated the negative impact of industrial mega-development on local hunting and trapping activities.[8] Almost simultaneously, the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee (CARC—an environmental NGO) released a report highlighting the negative social, economic, and environmental consequences of the mine, particularly for Aboriginal hunters and trappers in Fort Resolution.[9] The sudden closure of the mine in 1988, the subsequent collapse of the town of Pine Point, and the abandonment of the mine's forty-seven open pits in an unremediated state further cemented the idea that Fort Resolution and other nearby First Nations communities had derived little from the mine other than the mess that was left behind.

In recent years, a very different parallel story has begun to emerge about the legacy of Pine Point. In 2011 media artists Michael Simons and Paul Shoebridge released an interactive web documentary about the town of Pine Point through the National Film Board. Inspired by the efforts of former Pine Point resident Richard Cloutier to keep the abandoned and demolished ghost town alive through the web memorial titled "Pine Point Revisited," the remarkable web documentary traces the overwhelmingly positive memories of life in the town of Pine Point. In a broader sense, the Pine Point website and documentary provide a powerful example of what

Figure 1: Abandoned waste rock pile, Pine Point Mine, NWT, 2009.
Photo by John Sandlos.

many historians and geographers have identified as a close identification with local place and landscape in remote mining towns, even after the cessation of mining activity.[10] The Simons and Shoebridge documentary declares (as looped video of a figure-skating performance of the Wizard of Oz at the Pine Point annual winter carnival plays in the background) that "most Pine Pointers think their home town was the best place on earth to have lived."[11] With a close-knit community and seemingly endless recreation activities, the Pine Point experience evokes for many waves of nostalgia for the demolished community.

How are these competing stories—the mine as colonial disruption versus the mine work and the mine town as a near-paradise—interpreted within the First Nations communities adjacent to the Pine Point Mine? A complicated answer can be found in the thirty-nine oral history interviews the Memorial University–based "Abandoned Mines in Northern Canada" project conducted mostly in Fort Resolution, but also

in the largely Slavey K'atl'odeeche First Nation (Hay River Reserve) and among members of the Hay River–based North Slave Métis Alliance.[12] The most striking and surprising feature of these interviews is that they feature parallel stories about Pine Point as a source of economic and environmental disruption, but also memories of Pine Point as a great place to live and work. Negative memories of local racism or environmental change are often juxtaposed *within the same interview*. This mix of positive and negative memories is all the more surprising because other oral history projects on historical large-scale northern mines have suggested unambiguously negative consequences for adjacent First Nations.[13] The process of selecting interviewees—local research assistants largely chose individuals who had spent time living in the town or working at the mine, as opposed to those with no association with the town or mine, who might have been more critical—may have biased comments toward those nostalgic for a past life in Pine Point. Nonetheless, as Emilie Cameron has recently argued, stories about Northern Canada are not always subject to the binary categories—north versus south, mining versus communities, colonial versus indigenous, industrial activity versions traditional economies—that scholars have often chosen to highlight.[14] In the more than two decades since Pine Point has closed, people in adjacent First Nations communities have retained memories that that speak both critically and nostalgically about the mine and the town, a reflection of their ability to accommodate *and* resist that massive changes that that the federal government's development agenda and private capital brought to their region in the 1960s.

SPEAKING OF PINE POINT: THE IMPACTS

A long tradition of testimony and storytelling about the impact of Pine Point exists in nearby Aboriginal communities, and has circulated for decades in public hearings about the mine or other development projects. Beginning with Justice Berger's landmark Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry in the 1970s, residents of Fort Resolution in particular have told an overwhelmingly negative story about the Pine Point Mine. The basic storyline resonates with the descriptions of adverse effects in the

previously mentioned academic literature: local First Nations were never consulted about the mine, they received few economic benefits (including jobs) from the mine, development at the mine severely impacted trapping activities, and the community was left with nothing but the huge mess of abandoned pits and the tailings pond.[15] Chief Robert Sayine, speaking through an interpreter at the Berger Inquiry in 1975, described Fort Resolution's experience with mining development:

> He [Sayine] says you should see our own Pine Point there, he says for about ten miles radius around Pine Point he says you'll never see no green trees around there for about ten miles radius around Pine Point. He says everything is just—all the dead trees, that's all you could see around there.
>
> He says look at that water around there because it never freezes during the winter, and you could smell it even when you are in a car passing through there, you can smell that water.
>
> Yes, he says right at the meeting wherever they're going to have a stockpile for these pipes for the pipeline, he says, you told us there was going to be about 400 people is going to be employed there, and he says that's the same kind of promise we got from Pine Point in 1960 when we sat in the meeting with them. There was going to be lots of jobs for natives there, but what we get today, he says there's nothing for natives over at Pine Point.[16]

Local First Nations' criticism only hardened after the mine closed in 1988, as people realized that Cominco's abandonment and restoration plan did not extend beyond covering the tailings pond with gravel, removing the houses and buildings at Pine Point townsite, and treating remaining water discharge to mitigate zinc discharge. The pits, the roads, and some infrastructure (the power facility) were left as long-term reminders of mining's impacts on the landscape. Speaking for the Fort Resolution Hunters and Trappers Association, Cecil Lafferty testified to local objections to the limited reclamation plan at a Northwest Territories Water Board hearing on renewal of the mine's water licence in 1990:

> Presently the operation may be terminated, except for the retreatment program and minor clean-up, however, we have lost that whole area for future utilization, economically. With the long term lease on the area it would be unworthy to even consider the area in our land selection. This was once a pristine traditional harvesting area for the people of Fort Resolution. The Pine Point Mines Limited have yet to implement an adequate restoration program that will be satisfactory to the people concerned. The operation over a period of twenty years, had numerous open pits that were left as is to fill up with groundwater. The waste dumps were not covered over with soil that could at least enhance growth, and what little land that was not dug up flooded over by the pit dewatering programs, which in turn killed all the trees and surrounding vegetation in the area.
>
> During its short lived operation, Pine Point Mines Limited had also put in hundreds of miles of haul roads that are all about four times as wide as our normal highways. Ironically, these roads impeded proper drainage of the land and therefore flooded . . . The tailings pond with its high level of metal, particularly zinc in a soluble form, is being flushed out annually into the environment . . . We strongly believe that our waters are polluted and that the fish are absorbing the metals.[17]

In 1993, Bernadette Unka, the chief of Fort Resolution's Chipewyan band government, the Deninu K'ue First Nation, summed up the environmental and economic dislocation associated with the mine for a national audience at the hearings of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples:

> Pine Points [*sic*] Mines nor Canada have never compensated the Dene people that used those areas in their hunting, fishing and trapping. They have never been compensated for their loss or for the land devastation. When I say land devastation, if you are to fly over Pine Point Mines you would look down and you would think you were flying over the moon with the craters and open pits that are left open. The people have never been compensated for the hardships and the heartaches induced by mineral

> development. While the company creamed the crop at $53 million during their peak years, we got very little jobs and what we did get were very low-paying jobs.[18]

Although comments such as those above were produced for public consumption, the large volume of public testimony about the negative impacts of the mine on First Nations represents a significant source of oral history recollections about the mine. Taken together, they suggest that feelings about the Pine Point Mine ran raw during the operational phase and in the years after closure, with broken promises of jobs and economic development consistently juxtaposed with the negative impacts on Aboriginal harvesting and fishing, and on the land more generally.

In 2010, many people we interviewed recounted many similar stories describing the extensive impact of the mine.[19] Even before the mine opened, respondents noted, several traplines were destroyed in the area as line cutting and seismic exploration proceeded in the 1950s and early 1960s. As Angus Beaulieu described it, "People were trapping in that area, and they bulldozed people's traplines, and many people lost their traps and everything. Every 900 feet they had a bulldozer go in there in the winter . . . A lot of people lost their traps. People in those days, they didn't say too much."[20] Kevin Fabien remembered, "All the animals disappeared; they went farther away because of all the construction going on and all the equipment running." Other interviewees explained that pollution and habitat change also meant that game animals disappeared in the area. As George Balsillie put it, "The mine killed everything around there."[21]

As with the testimony from earlier sources, several interviewees suggested that these lost opportunities associated with trapping were not replaced with chances to earn a living at the mine. Angus Beaulieu claimed that only an average of eight people from Fort Resolution were hired at Pine Point at any given time in the 1960s and 1970s, a number he claims did not increase dramatically until thirty-eight additional Fort Resolution residents were hired on just prior to Justice Berger arriving to conduct hearings and then subsequently laid off shortly afterwards.[22] For those local Aboriginal people who did get jobs, several interviewees suggested they were often confined to menial low-skilled jobs, particularly cutting

Figure 2: Abandoned mine pit, Pine Point Mine, NWT , 2009. Photo by John Sandlos.

seismic exploration lines in the forest or the repetitive work of shovelling ore in the dusty environment of the loading shed. As Sam Bugghins from K'atl'odeeche First Nation stated in regard to Aboriginal people from Hay River, "mostly they cut lines" when they worked at the mine.[23]

In broad terms, some interviewees resented the lack of consultation and compensation in advance of the mine development, which is now standard practice and takes the form of impact and benefit agreements between mining companies and First Nations. Greg Villeneuve recalls that "they didn't even inform Res [Fort Resolution] about anything that time. Like now, other mines they pay out these, you know, like Res used to get IBA money for everybody, to give it out. And back then, I guess I'm not sure how it worked, but Res never did get a cent out of Cominco. And that's I think where, you know, we lost out on lots in Fort Res. We could'a had lots. It could'a been a rich little town."[24] Lloyd Cardinal claimed that the lack of consultation was possibly the most significant source of local

resentment about the mine in Fort Resolution: "The biggest negative impact that Pine Point brought was that they didn't get our consent."[25] Whether it was a lack of employment and training opportunities or the absence of consultation and other financial benefits, the notion persists that in economic and political terms the mine bypassed nearby Native communities.

Many interviewees noted—in contrast to the ephemeral economic benefits—the more lasting environmental impacts of the mine. Indeed, the abandonment of the open pits and waste rock piles with little attempt at remediation is still a major source of discontent in adjacent Native communities. Leonard Beaulieu's concerns about the landscape changes and safety issues associated with the pits are representative of many interviewees: "Look at the way they left Pine Point. Goddamn place is full of holes, about forty big goddamn holes full of water . . . Yeah, you know, they left the mess like that."[26] In a similar comment, Henry McKay criticized Cominco directly for the lack of remediation at the mine site:

> The way I look at it, those people that make the mill and mine and make all that money and are gone, they don't care. 'Cuz they made their money, and they're gone, and they just leave everything to us. Big holes, you know? We can't look after that. They should make us a promise that they'll do something about it at the end, you know? Like fill out that hole they're makin'. And, you know, why do they leave that big stockpile there? Put it back! It'd be safer for animals. It's only right. They shouldn't be leaving it like that.[27]

In addition to the pits, people continue to have widespread concerns about the health and environmental impacts of water pollution. Roy Fabian, chief of K'atl'odeeche First Nation, claimed that when he was younger his father told him not to drink the water in the area of the mine.[28] K'atl'odeeche resident Harold Moore claimed that the government lied to miners about contaminants in the drinking water supply, and many died after moving to Pine Point.[29]

Leonard Beaulieu summed up local concerns linking the spread of water-borne contaminants from the mine to deformities in fish and the increase of cancer among the local Native population in the 1970s:

Figure 3: Water Treatment Pond, Pine Point Mine, NWT , 2009. Photo by John Sandlos.

Until 1973, all the waste was pumped down the hill into the lake. Poison. All that shit that's sitting in the pond right now. You know, holding back in that dyke? And then, they had two big pits; the X-15 pit right behind the highway, and the W-17 right next to . . . I know all those pits. I used to haul out of there. The waste from the water, from the thing you know, there's always water pumping and pumping. They'd pump that across the highway. Every time you drove by there. In them days you'd get sixty below, up until 1975 you'd get sixty below. And if it freezes . . . stink. Oh shit. It used to run way up into the bush and it'd run through to Paulette Creek, back into my lake. And then people are wondering why there was cancer. Now today they don't know who to blame. They're blaming it on the tar sands. It's not the tar sands . . . Every elder that gets sick: cancer. Cancer. It's the goddamn water! There's no water treatment plant that's going to stop that

> cancer from, you know? That's why us here we don't drink the darn water. I buy water from the store. That has really impacted the lives of the people in the North West Territories; their health. That Cominco Pine Point Mine.[30]

Scientific studies in the 1970s suggested that heavy metals, particularly copper, cadmium, lead, and zinc, were leaking from the tailings pond during spring runoff, but spikes above safe levels were localized in nature. An Environment Canada report from the mid-1990s questioned the methodology of these earlier studies, and claimed that water and fish in the area were generally safe for human consumption.[31] Nonetheless, in our interviews and informal conversations in Fort Resolution and K'atl'odeeche First Nation, people persistently identified water quality and human health issues as one of their biggest concerns associated with the mine and one of the most pressing research needs within the community.

People who spoke with us also highlighted some of the negative social consequences associated with the mine. Some who moved to Pine Point reported difficulty adjusting to the new town, particularly when they experienced incidents of racism. Although only seven years old when she moved to Pine Point, Priscilla Lafferty recalls being "scared" due to the large numbers of outsiders, and remembers that "just because we were Native we were called down and what not."[32] Denise McKay remembered similar fears grounded in the fact that she did not speak much English.[33] Other interviewees reported memories of racial violence and division. Melvin Mandeville recalled, "We used to . . . especially the Newfoundlanders, the Newfies, whatever, we'd fight against them lots, and they'd be callin' us wagon burners and we'd be callin' them Newfielanders or whatever. We fought like that, as kids. The older adults too, they'd be drinkin' and fighting." Mandeville also suggested there was racism in the schools, describing Native children being singled out to read in front of the class when the teacher knew they were not good readers, and being told he could not wear moccasins to school because the teacher did not like the smell.[34] Gord Beaulieu remembered that the police could be rough on Native people living in Pine Point. Obviously, the town of Pine Point was not always the "best place on earth" for some of its residents.[35]

Interviewees suggested that the other major negative social impact was increased exposure to alcohol after a highway extension connected Fort Resolution with Pine Point and the rest of the world in 1972. Ronald McKay told us that Fort Resolution became known as "Little Vietnam" after the highway was extended to the town: "There was shootings, and fighting. Actually, it turned the whole community upside down with the boozing. It was kind of like the end of the road development thing, where boom! Everything just boomed and no rules. People just partied. There was a lot of money, you know."[36] Although interviewees suggested that the situation improved over time, some indicated that the long-term impact of the road was to undermine the close-knit nature of their previously isolated community. Angus Beaulieu recalled, "And it seemed like people were much closer before than after . . . Before it was like one big family, people got along much better. It seemed like about from the time they got that road in, people kind of . . . you know, I don't know how to explain it, but it was not the way it was before Pine Point."[37] Ron McKay similarly claimed that Fort Resolution was "really, really strong" before the road came in, but increased mobility made people more individualistic and less willing to help neighbours.[38] Leander Beaulieu noted that "people used to be more together" before the road and associated changes such as the introduction of electricity and television, but "now they're more in their own little world . . . more distant."[39] In broad terms, Tommy Unka stated that the introduction of the mine, the road, and associated southern influences "kind of dragged me away from my traditional lifestyle."[40] For Fort Resolution residents, the mine was a watershed event in their history, a development project that ultimately fostered closer links with the outside world and a move away from the bush life.

SPEAKING OF PINE POINT: A GREAT PLACE TO LIVE

Stories about the past can unfold in ways that defy our attempts to uncover singular meanings about social and environmental change. Certainly in the case of our interviews about Pine Point, people told us about experiences that challenge previous assessments of the mine as a wholly

negative experience for nearby Native communities. As with non–Native Pine Pointers, there was overwhelming consensus among interviewees that the town of Pine Point offered an exceptional quality of life, that work at the mine often offered tangible monetary reward, and that rather than wholly displacing trapping, work at the mine offered Native people income that supplemented wildlife harvesting practices when fur prices were low. Powerful stories of Pine Point's environmental, political, and social impacts were thus very often tempered with accounts of the positive aspects of the mine. This was particularly true among younger interviewees, people who may be remembering the halcyon days of childhood, but for whom life in the community of Pine Point remained a positive and momentous part of their life histories.

If there was any theme that came through loud and clear in the interviews, even among critics of the mine's environmental and economic legacies, it was the fond memories for the town of Pine Point. Lorraine Mckay, the first child ever to be born at Pine Point, claimed simply that she "loved it there, because I was raised there and knew everybody."[41] Linda McKay asserted that "if that place would have opened up I'd be the first one to move back there . . . Oh, do I ever miss that place man. Sometimes I'd sit there, my mom and I would just sit there and talk; talk about Pine Point."[42] Garvin Lizotte remembers Pine Point as "a picture perfect town," where "every yard had flowers and grass, picket fence. It was a beautiful town." As Lizotte's comments hint, part of the affinity people feel for Pine Point stems from the fact that it resembled a modern suburb, with all the facilities, amenities, and activities one would expect in a southern small town. Citing what he felt were excellent schools and many opportunities for sports and recreation, Lizotte remembered that "it was the best of the best of everything."[43] As Dene and Métis began to visit or move to Pine Point, the quality of life in the more traditional Fort Resolution seemed diminished compared to the ultra-new and modern mining town. Eddy McKay recalled his growing perception of a stark contrast between the two towns:

> I guess it was totally different from Fort Res, as you know. It had a lot of things, you know. Stores, all kinds of stores, and everything was paved, and running water. You know, everything

> was right up to the times. You had the best of pretty much everything for a small community . . ..Oh yeah, there was a lot of sports there. That is where this arena came from. They moved it over here after it closed. The ball field went to Hay River. They had a soccer field right next door to the school. And then the high school had another big field, so there was a lot of green space, I guess, recreational space.[44]

As did McKay, many interviewees cited sports and recreation as the focal point of the town's social life, with memories of baseball tournaments, the Arctic Winter Games, and the Pine Days festival flowing into many of our conversations. Larry Dragon, a Métis from Hay River, described the town as "close knit" because "if you wanted something, like to get into recreation, they had the arena, which Cominco build 99 percent of it . . . You had a curling rink . . . towards the end you had a swimming pool. They had everything there. They had a golf course; the best golf course in the Territories back then."[45] Such testimony suggests that the efforts of federal and territorial governments to create a model northern mining town—a family-oriented community with a high quality of life that contrasted with rough mining camps or divisive company towns—was at least partly successful.

Certainly many interviewees confirmed Dragon's comments about the close social cohesion within the town. Many stated that everybody got along at Pine Point, and even some of those who cited incidents of racism suggested that for the most part outsiders embraced local Native people as friends. Ron McKay, who described racial tension between Aboriginal people and outsiders, also described how "the non-Native people were actually really nice to—like, my dad had some of the greatest friends there that were non-Native. They took care of him and everything, so they were good people."[46] Lorraine Mckay suggested that "growing up they used to get along, everybody from Res or Hay River who'd go to Pine Point, they were always welcome."[47] Several people noted that they had a particular affinity for Newfoundlanders, due to shared interests in hunting and fishing. And for some local people, one of the exciting aspects of moving to Pine Point was the opportunity to meet people from all over the world. As Garvin Lizotte explained, "We had at that mine guys from

Iran, my dad had good friends from Portugal, Argentina, you know, all over. I could just keep on naming them. It was just awesome to live there. Good culture, eh. Just because of the mine, people come in for all different trades. I enjoyed it. Like I lived beside a real Italian family; the mom and dad were both from Italy."[48] Melvin Mandeville likewise recalled that he "found it interesting, because coming from a community where it's all Chipewyan and Native and not too many white people, or Hispanics and coloured and stuff. So it was good in that sense, to meet different people and knowing that the world isn't just here. There's a big world, eh."[49] If the comments of many interviewees suggest that racism was part of the social landscape at Pine Point, other testimony suggests that residents were often able to create a cultural middle ground within the community.

Many people also invoked the idea of successfully accommodating change more broadly when discussing their embrace of southern cultural and economic norms. Ronald Beaulieu described the expanded entertainment and shopping opportunities in Pine Point, suggesting that the culture brought up from the south, "it's different than us, so to us it's exciting. Maybe to them it's a regular thing, but we see it different." Although Beaulieu repeated a common sentiment when he suggested that the new money that accompanied the mining jobs "screwed a lot of people up" with increased alcohol consumption, he and many others also cited the introduction of good-paying jobs as one of the best aspects of the new mining economy.[50] Gord Beaulieu recalls that

> We were working six days on, two days off. And the money was good. It was probably better money at that time than anywhere I've worked since, with the value of money back then. In 1979, '80, you could go to the store, and if you buy a hundred dollars' worth of groceries . . . we couldn't carry it out of the store; it was too much. Nowadays if you buy a hundred dollars' worth of groceries, and you can just walk out carrying it in one hand. So, you know, for the value of the money, and even vehicles were cheap back then. So I made good money. I had fun in Pine Point.[51]

Tommy Beaulieu recalled that many more Fort Resolution people were able to buy vehicles because of mine wages, suggesting in turn that increased mobility opened up the opportunity to buy cheap groceries in

Pine Point.[52] Indeed, many interviewees felt that access to cheaper food was one of the most significant positive impacts of the mine and the eventual road extension to Fort Resolution.

It is tempting to conclude that the introduction of modern wage labour and outside sources of food undermined local patterns of subsistence hunting and commercial trapping in the South Slave region. Many comments from interviewees suggest, however, that Native people in the area took a flexible approach to various economic opportunities, often moving between trapping and mine labour to take advantage of shifting prices and market conditions. Darin Mckay remembered his father's movement between two types of labour:

> I think he did trapping on the side, yeah. He always trapped, all his life he's been a trapper. Like before he moved to the mine here, that's what he did . . . I guess when trapping wasn't the greatest, that was when fur was cheap. And that maybe, five, ten years after we moved there, or maybe five years after we moved to Pine Point, the fur price went up. Just when the mines were shutting down too they were laying off people. And my dad was a trapper, so we moved out of Pine Point because they were shutting down, you know, there was not money I guess in lead and things, startin' to get old. Then we moved to Res and he started trapping again, hunting and old times. Right 'til today he still traps and hunts. And he does trap in that area, Pine Point, right now.[53]

Leonard Beaulieu, who worked off and on at the mine and on the road crew from 1965 to 1974, claimed that trapping "was not worth it" when the mine opened in 1964, but by the mid-1970s lots of people quit their jobs because fur prices were very high. He recalled, "At that time, lynx averaged $400 apiece. Damn right, sport. In two months I made $21,000. Never make that working on a CAT."[54] Some interviewees indicated that settling in Pine Point and taking advantage of the associated wage labour opportunities drew them out of trapping for good. For others, however, movement between trapping and mining labour provided a means to cushion the blow from the international price swings that could cripple local economies associated with both these forms of primary resource production.

For still other interviewees, the transition from life in a modern town back to the more subsistence-oriented Fort Resolution proved difficult after the closure of the mine. Denise McKay said that she did not want to move back because there were no jobs (though she did find a job in the community hall), and her kids were sad to lose their friends at Pine Point.[55] Eddy McKay remembered a period of adjustment to life at the older town:

> I didn't like it at first, cuz, you know, there was no running water, and we had honey buckets I guess, and cramped housing; having to go to the school and shower over there. So it was totally different. And then, I don't know, I got (pauses), what would you say? I guess I accepted it more. And opened myself to the life in Fort Res, and then it wasn't too bad after a little while.[56]

Catherine Boucher similarly recalled that "for them [returning Pine Pointers] it was a big change for the families I guess because, even for me, when I came back it was different. Oh there was no pool table. You know, the things I liked to do when I was in Pine Point." Aside from missing the good life at Pine Point, Boucher suggested that one major source of difficulty for people moving back to Fort Resolution was the fact that there was no housing.[57] As well, according to Melvin Mandeville, the difficulty of adjusting to his return to Fort Resolution was compounded by the fact that many people labelled the Pine Pointers as outsiders.[58] In any case, memories of adjusting to the comparatively poor facilities at Fort Resolution point to a mixed legacy. As many attest, quality of life in Pine Point was quite high for some Native workers lucky enough to find work and housing in the town. But the juxtaposition of a modern town with another that (at the time) lacked basic municipal services also suggests the lack of lasting economic benefits that flowed to Fort Resolution during the life of the Pine Point Mine.

Such a mixed record is reflected in the ambivalent attitude of many Native people to the mine. While we did encounter some unequivocal Pine Point boosters and some who directed only harsh criticism at the mine among the many people we spoke with, most suggested in some way that the mine represented a mixed legacy for Native people in the surrounding communities. As mentioned previously, a remarkable number

Figure 4: Abandoned street, Pine Point, NWT, 2009. Photo by John Sandlos.

of people mixed stories of racism with stories of how the people in Pine Point were friendly, and pointed out how well they got along with many outsiders. Darin Mckay, for example, juxtaposed difficult memories of racism with broader recollections of the very positive social life in the town:

> Yeah, [the town was] a little bit rough. They kinda didn't like Natives, some of them. But lots of them were nice to us, you know, white people. "Come in and have cookies," or something. We had neighbours—yeah there was a few, the ones that didn't like us, I guess, had some kind of beef. But I didn't know; I was a kid, eh? I remember that. It was a good town, to tell you the truth. It was a nice place there; they had lots of good stores, a ball park. They had everything—lots of stuff going on for kids once in a while. They had parades, you know, carnivals. It was pretty good.[59]

Others mixed harsh criticism of the social, environmental, and economic impact of the mine while acknowledging the positive side of life and work at Pine Point. From K'atl'odeeche First Nation, Daniel Sonnefrere (speaking through an interpreter), asserted:

> Some places look bad, some places look good, because it's helped some people to work and there are still people working today. They learned a lot from there. But for us it was bad, because too much drinking . . . It was a good job, good work, you get good pay, you get to keep it. It's too much drinking [and] we had a problem with that.[60]

Tommy Unka maintained a similar perspective on Fort Resolution's experience of the mine:

> Well, like I said, it kinda brought the south to us, you know. So there's that impact, you know. But it was also a lot of good stuff like at Christmas time we had a little more stuff because of Cominco mines, because the stores were there and shit like that, you know. So there's the goods, you know, my family, my Dad had a little more rum and stuff like that. There's a lot of parties, you know, and I was young, so you know, I enjoyed these little perks. But also of course there was always a down side to a good thing. And some of the down side was some of the social problems that happened as the highway came in.[61]

Gord Beaulieu summed up his perception of the mine by stating simply, "There's a lot of good that came with it, but there's a lot of bad too. A lot of negative. I was young back then, and I had a lot of fun. I had fun at Pine Point."[62] A mix of the good and the bad: this idea came through time and time again in the interviews and challenged our initial assumption that Aboriginal communities simply regarded Pine Point as a blot on their collective historical experience.

Such an ambivalent view of Pine Point's history has deeply influenced local opinions on the recent plans of a smaller resource company, Tamerlane Ventures, to reopen the mine (but not the town) and remove the remaining economical deposits of lead and zinc. At environmental

assessment hearings in Fort Resolution in 2008 about the project, people raised concerns about the negative impacts of Pine Point, particularly ongoing environmental concerns and the fact that the community derived little economic benefit from the mine.[63] Our interviewees raised many of the same issues, with many opposed to or ambivalent about the idea of reopening the mine. Catherine Boucher proclaimed an oft-repeated concern for the environmental impacts of new mining activity: "For me, I don't think it'd be good for our land. They've been taking things off our lands for so long; we don't get nothing back."[64] Angus Beaulieu echoed the latter part of Boucher's comments when he interpreted the lack of consultation prior to exploration work as a sign that history was repeating itself: "We're hitting the table so it's never going to happen to us again, and it happened again. These people come in and start drilling without even coming to Fort Res here."[65] Lloyd Cardinal was similarly critical that Tamerlane's bulk sampling and test mining program had proceeded without an impact and benefit agreement, and many in Fort Resolution and at K'atl'odeeche were firm that development should only proceed if the communities received employment, assurances that the site would be remediated, and an IBA.[66] Others juxtaposed environmental concerns with the pressing need for more employment and economic activity in the South Slave region.

Some, however, wholeheartedly welcomed the return of mining at Pine Point. When asked what he thought about the mine opening up again, Garvin Lizotte replied, "Well I'm just waiting. I'm a truck driver, eh. So I'm ready to go to work day one."[67] Gord Beaulieu felt that the community was more prepared than in the 1960s for a second Pine Point project: "So it's not like, if they open up a mine and everybody has all this money, it's not like this whole town is going to go back like it did again, like it did back in the '60s and '70s. We're already used to it, so that part won't change that much. But it will help the economy."[68] Lorraine Mckay claimed that if they did reopen the mine, she would move back and put up a house in the place where she was born.[69] Whether one is a supporter or critic of Tamerlane's Pine Point project, memories of the profound impact of the original mine continue to shape local responses to industrial development in the South Slave region.

CONCLUSION

People's life stories almost always proceed as a series of ups and downs. So why, then, is it important to suggest that Native people's experience with industrial mining in the South Slave region was mixed? Part of the answer lies in the fact that the rich and complex oral history of Pine Point expands beyond the common (though understandable) emphasis in northern oral history projects on preserving traditional stories and accounts of the pre-industrial fur trade and trapping life. Indeed, the Pine Point oral histories offer a rare glimpse, not at long-ago stories passed from generation to generation or the hunting and trapping life that dominated in South Slave communities prior to World War II, but at the various ways that Aboriginal people in the region resisted, accommodated, and in some cases embraced post-war industrial development. Interviewees provided trenchant and perceptive critiques of historical approaches to northern development, but their comments also problematize previous studies suggesting that northern Aboriginal people received no benefit from the mine and associated developments. Personal histories of individuals suggest that the mine did not simply bypass Aboriginal people; nor were they purely the victims of an externally imposed development project. If the oral interviews confirm that, in general, Aboriginal communities in the surrounding area realized very few social and economic benefits while having to live with a lasting legacy of environmental damage in their proverbial backyard, they also suggest that many individuals responded creatively to the social and economic opportunities associated with the mine and the modern community that came with it. Some took advantage of available wage labour opportunities while never completely abandoning hunting and trapping as a potential economic safety net. Others translated their experience working in the mine into employment in other development projects, whether mines, mineral exploration, or work on the road crew. Still others embraced the social life and economic opportunities associated with a modern town.

Acknowledging these stories should not be misinterpreted as an apologia for a development project that largely failed to fulfill the promise of sustained economic development in the South Slave region. Nor is it an attempt to flatten the variety of human responses to Pine Point into

abstract social science concepts such as community resilience and adaptation. Instead, these oral histories should remind us that simple dualistic stories of traditional communities versus modern mines do not necessarily accord with the complex individual experiences of people who shaped, and were shaped by, the massive social, environmental, and economic changes that came with developments like the Pine Point Mine.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to sincerely thank all those in K'atl'odeeche First Nation and Fort Resolution who participated in oral history interviews. Many thanks also to Arn Keeling, Frances Mandeville, and Catherine Boucher, who conducted many of the interviews that formed the basis for this chapter. Finally, thank you to Rosy Bjornson, IMA Coordinator, Deninu Ku'e First Nation, for tremendous help with local logistics and communications. Marsi cho!

NOTES

1 H. Ali Saleem, *Mining, the Environment, and Indigenous Development Conflicts* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003); Subhabrata Bobby Banerjee, "Whose Land Is It Anyway? National Interest, Indigenous Stakeholders, and Colonial Discourses," *Organization & Environment* 13 (March 2000): 3–38; Al Gedicks, *Resource Rebels: Native Challenges to Mining and Oil Companies* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2001); Stuart Kirsch, *Reverse Anthropology: Indigenous Analysis of Social and Environmental Relations in New Guinea* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006); Marcus B. Lane and E. Rickson Roy, "Resource Development and Resource Dependency of Indigenous Communities: Australia's Jawoyn Aborigines and Mining at Coronation Hill," *Society and Natural Resources* 10 (1997): 121–42; Nicholas Low and Brendan Gleeson, "Situating Justice in the Environment: The Case of BHP at the Ok Tedi Copper Mine," *Antipode* 30 (1998): 201–26; Joan Martinez-Alier, "Mining Conflicts, Environmental Justice, and Valuation," *Journal of Hazardous Materials*, 86 no. 1–3 (2001): 153–70.

2 Délı̨nę Uranium Team, *If Only We Had Known: The History of Port Radium as Told by the Sahtúot'ine* (Délı̨nę, NWT: Délı̨nę Uranium Team, 2005); Lianne Leddy, "Cold War Colonialism: The Serpent River First Nation and Uranium

Mining, 1953–1988" (PhD diss., Wilfrid Laurier University, 2011); Lianne Leddy, "Interviewing *Nookomis* and Other Reflections: The Promise of Community Collaboration," *Oral History Forum d'histoire orale* 30 (2010): 1–18; Doug Brugge, Timothy Benally, and Esther Yazzie-Lewis, *The Navajo People and Uranium Mining* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006).

3 Robert Bothwell, *Eldorado: Canada's National Uranium Company* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); Richard Geren, Blake McCullogh, and Iron Ore Company of Canada, *Cain's Legacy: The Building of Iron Ore Company of Canada* (Sept-Îles, QC: Iron Ore Company of Canada, 1990); Ryan Silke, *High-Grade Tales: Stories from the Mining Camps of the Northwest Territories, Canada* (Yellowknife, NWT: Ryan Silke, 2012).

4 John Sandlos and Arn Keeling, "Claiming the New North: Development and Colonialism at the Pine Point Mine, Northwest Territories, Canada," *Environment and History* 18 (2012): 5–34.

5 Peter Clancy, "Working on the Railway: A Case Study in Capital-State Relations," *Canadian Public Administration* 30 (1987): 450–71.

6 Kenneth J. Rea, *The Political Economy of the Canadian North* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968).

7 Paul Deprez, *The Pine Point Mine and the Development of the Area South of Great Slave Lake* (Winnipeg: Center for Settlement Studies, 1973).

8 Thomas Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, Vol. 1* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1977), 123–24.

9 Janet E. Macpherson, "The Pine Point Mine," in *Northern Transitions, Volume I: Northern Resource Use and Land Use Policy Study,* eds. Everett B. Peterson and Janet B. Wright (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1978), 65–110.

10 Richard V. Francaviglia, *Hard Places: Reading the Landscape of America's Historic Mining Districts* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991); Peter Goin and C. Elizabeth Raymond, *Changing Mines in America* (Santa Fe: Center for American Places, 2004); Peter Goin and Elizabeth Raymond, "Living in Anthracite: Mining Landscape and Sense of Place in Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania," *The Public Historian* 23, no. 2 (2001): 29–45; John Harner, "Place Identity and Copper Mining in Sonora, Mexico," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 91, no. 4 (2001): 660–80; Ben Marsh, "Continuity and Decline in the Anthracite Towns of Pennsylvania," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77 (1987): 337–52; William Wyckoff, "Postindustrial Butte," *Geographical Review* 85 (1995): 478–96; David Robertson, *Hard as the Rock Itself: Place and Identity in the American Mining Town* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2006).

11 Paul Shoebridge and Michael Simons, *Welcome to Pine Point* (Montreal: National Film Board, 2011). For the Pine Point website, see "Pine Point Revisited," accessed February 21, 2013, http://pinepointrevisited.homestead.com/.

12 Interviews were conducted in Fort Resolution, Hay River, and K'atl'odeeche First Nation in May 2010 by Catherine Boucher, Arn Keeling, Frances Mandeville, Rosalie Martel, and John Sandlos.

13 Yellowknives Dene First Nation, *Weledeh Yellowknives Dene: A History* (Dettah, NWT: Yellowknives Dene First Nation Council, 1997); Délı̨nę Uranium Team, *If Only We Had Known*. The negative memories associated with these two prominent abandoned mines in the Northwest Territories, the Port Radium radium/uranium/silver mining complex and Giant Mine at Yellowknife, can be explained in part by the simple fact that they produced much more acute pollution than Pine Point. Keeling and Boulter's chapter in this volume suggests that the combination of political critique with a strong mining identity is not unique to communities near Pine Point.

14 Emilie Cameron, "Copper Stories: Imaginative Geographies and Material Orderings of the Central Canadian Arctic," in *Rethinking the Great White North: Race, Nature, and Whiteness in Canada*, eds. Andrew Baldwin, Laura Cameron, and Audrey Kobayashi (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 169–90.

15 Sandlos and Keeling, "Claiming the New North."

16 A transcription of Robert Sayine's comments to the Berger Inquiry in Fort Resolution, October 1975, was found in a file marked DKFN, Cominco File, in the archive of the Deninu K'ue First Nation band office.

17 Cecil Lafferty's testimony was found in the transcript titled Northwest Territories Water Board Public Hearing on Pine Point Mines Limited's Application for Renewal of License N1L3-0035, June 12, 1990. A copy was found in the Deninu K'ue First Nation band office.

18 Presentation by Chief Bernadette Unka of the Deninu K'ue First Nation to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 17 June 1993, Native Law Centre Fonds, RCAP Vol. 167, Box 26, University of Saskatchewan Archives.

19 Interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format, with interviewers suggesting questions or themes for discussion, but also allowing the interviewee to take the lead in the conversation as well. Because of this, the interviews are not really for quantitative analysis in the manner of standardized surveys or focus groups, though some obvious trends are noted in the paper.

20 Angus Beaulieu, interview by John Sandlos and Arn Keeling, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

21 George Balsillie, interview by John Sandlos, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 20, 2010).

22 Angus Beaulieu, interview by John Sandlos and Arn Keeling, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010). These numbers are difficult to corroborate with existing employment data from the 1970s because the numbers do not distinguish between Aboriginal people hired at Fort Resolution and those hired from outside the region in any given year. Macpherson has noted in her report that the number of Aboriginal workers hired from northern Alberta may have been substantial, and the mixing of the two groups in employment data was a major bone of contention in Fort Resolution. See Macpherson, "The Pine Point Mine," 89.

23 Sam Bugghins, interview by Arn Keeling and Rosalie Martel, digital recording (K'atl'odeeche First Nation, NWT, May 20, 2010). Twelve other interviewees mentioned that Native workers were confined to lower-skilled work, or that they had worked as line cutters. Some testimony in the interviews suggests there were more employment opportunities at the mine for Fort Resolution residents in the 1980s, but Aboriginal employment records for the 1980s were not found in the archives.

24 Greg Villeneuve, interview by John Sandlos, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 20, 2010).

25 Lloyd Cardinal, interview by Arn Keeling, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 18, 2010).

26 Leonard Beaulieu, interview by John Sandlos and Arn Keeling, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

27 Henry McKay, interview by Arn Keeling, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

28 Roy Fabian, interview by Arn Keeling and Rosalie Martel, digital recording (K'atl'odeeche First Nation, NWT, May 20, 2010).

29 Harold Moore, interview by Arn Keeling and Rosalie Martel, digital recording (K'atl'odeeche First Nation, NWT, May 20, 2010).

30 Leonard Beaulieu, interview by John Sandlos and Arn Keeling, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

31 Yves Berube et al., "An Engineering Assessment of Waste Water Handling Procedures at the Cominco Pine Point Mine," unpublished report, Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, April 1972; J. N. Stein and M. R. Miller, "An Investigation into the Effects of a Lead-Zinc Mine on the Aquatic Environment of Great Slave Lake," unpublished report, Winnipeg: Resource Development Branch, Fisheries Service, Department of Environment, April 1972; M. S. Evans, L. Lockhart, and J. Klaverkamp, "Metal Studies of Water, Sediments and Fish from the Resolution Bay Area of Great Slave Lake: Studies Related to the Decommissioned Pine Point Mine,"

Environment Canada, National Water Research Institute, Burlington and Saskatoon, NWRI Contribution No. 98-87, July 1998.

32 Priscilla Lafferty, interview by John Sandlos, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

33 Denise McKay, interview by John Sandlos and Frances Mandeville, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

34 Melvin Mandeville, interview by John Sandlos, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 20, 2010).

35 Gord Beaulieu, interview by John Sandlos, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

36 Ron McKay, interview by John Sandlos, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

37 Angus Beaulieu, interview by John Sandlos and Arn Keeling, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

38 Ron McKay, interview by John Sandlos, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

39 Leander Beaulieu, interview by John Sandlos, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 20, 2010).

40 Tom Unka, interview by Arn Keeling, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 20, 2010).

41 Lorraine Mckay, interview by John Sandlos and Frances Mandeville, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 20, 2010).

42 Linda McKay, interview by Arn Keeling, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 20, 2010).

43 Garvin Lizotte, interview by John Sandlos and Frances Mandeville, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

44 Eddy McKay, interview by John Sandlos and Frances Mandeville, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

45 Larry Dragon, interview by John Sandlos, digital recording (Hay River, NWT, May 21, 2010).

46 Ron McKay, interview by John Sandlos, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

47 Lorraine Mckay, interview by John Sandlos and Frances Mandeville, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 20, 2010).

48 Garvin Lizotte, interview by John Sandlos and Frances Mandeville, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

49 Melvin Mandeville, interview by John Sandlos, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 20, 2010).

50 Ron Beaulieu, interview by Arn Keeling and Catherine Boucher, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

51 Gord Beaulieu, interview by John Sandlos and Arn Keeling, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

52 Tommy Beaulieu, interview by John Sandlos, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 20, 2010).

53 Darin Mckay, interview by John Sandlos and Frances Mandeville, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

54 Leonard Beaulieu, interview by John Sandlos and Arn Keeling, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

55 Denise McKay, interview by John Sandlos and Frances Mandeville, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

56 Eddy McKay, interview by John Sandlos and Frances Mandeville, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

57 Catherine Boucher, interview by Frances Mandeville, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 20, 2010).

58 Melvin Mandeville, interview by John Sandlos, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 20, 2010).

59 Darin Mckay, interview by John Sandlos and Frances Mandeville, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

60 Daniel Sonnefrere, interview by Arn Keeling and Rosalie Martel, digital recording (Katlodeeche First Nation, NWT, May 20, 2010).

61 Tom Unka, interview by Arn Keeling, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 20, 2010).

62 Gord Beaulieu, interview by John Sandlos and Arn Keeling, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

63 Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board, Report of Environmental Assessment and Reasons for Decision on Tamerlane Ventures Inc.'s Pine Point Pilot Project, EA-0607-002, February 22, 2008.

64 Catherine Boucher, interview by Frances Mandeville, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 20, 2010).

65 Angus Beaulieu, interview by John Sandlos and Arn Keeling, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

66 Lloyd Cardinal, interview by Arn Keeling, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 18, 2010).

67 Garvin Lizotte, interview by John Sandlos and Frances Mandeville, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

68 Gord Beaulieu, interview by John Sandlos and Arn Keeling, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 19, 2010).

69 Lorraine Mckay, interview by John Sandlos and Frances Mandeville, digital recording (Fort Resolution, NWT, May 20, 2010).

University of Calgary

PRISM: University of Calgary's Digital Repository

University of Calgary Press | University of Calgary Press Open Access Books

2015-11

Mining and communities in Northern Canada : history, politics, and memory

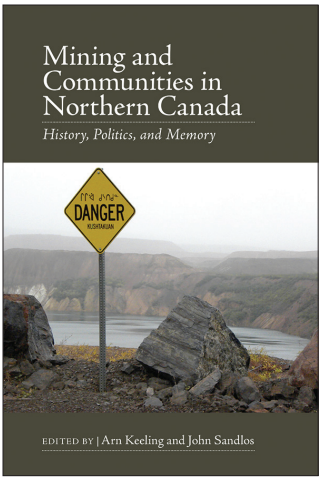
Keeling, Arn; Sandlos, John

University of Calgary Press

Keeling, A., & Sandlos, J. (Eds.). (2015). Mining and Communities in Northern Canada: History, Politics, and Memory. Canada: University of Calgary Press.
http://hdl.handle.net/1880/51021
book

http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/
Attribution Non-Commercial No Derivatives 4.0 International
Downloaded from PRISM: https://prism.ucalgary.ca

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press



MINING AND COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN CANADA: HISTORY, POLITICS, AND MEMORY

Edited by Arn Keeling and John Sandlos

ISBN 978-1-55238-805-1

THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK. It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at ucpress@ucalgary.ca

Cover Art: The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE: This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence. This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY**:

- read and store this document free of charge;
- distribute it for personal use free of charge;
- print sections of the work for personal use;
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY NOT**:

- gain financially from the work in any way;
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
- reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press
press.ucalgary.ca

Acknowledgement: *We acknowledge the wording around open access used by Australian publisher,* **re.press**, *and thank them for giving us permission to adapt their wording to our policy* http://www.re-press.org

The Revival of Québec's Iron Ore Industry: Perspectives on Mining, Development, and History

Jean-Sébastien Boutet

> Tes ancêtres t'ont conduit à moi pour me raconter les images de tes rêves.
>
> —Joséphine Bacon[1]

These words, borrowed from a remarkable Innu poet, introduced the implementation strategy for Québec's northern development plan—initially labeled *Plan Nord*—for the first five-year period (2011–2016). One can emphatically question the pertinence of associating this expression with a technocratic agenda conceived to engineer social, economic, and ecological progress for Québec society. Yet it is possible to ascertain elements of continuity with previous generations of policy-makers who gazed northward and nurtured bold dreams of resource exploitation in

the subarctic hinterland.[2] Through repeated invocations of the necessity for renewal in a changing and more competitive world, the provincial government hoped that "the scope of the Plan Nord will make it in the coming decades what the [hydroelectric] development of La Manicouagan and James Bay were to the 1960s and 1970s."[3] In the realm of northern development, innovative visions for the future thus meet the aspirations of yesteryear; for proponents of the resource industry, past megaprojects are always lurking, never fully erased or forgotten yet often simplified and reformatted to accommodate contemporary priorities.

Subarctic Québec is once again at the heart of a treasure hunt for the control of its "blooming iron ore scene."[4] Targets for the exploitation of major deposits in the Labrador Trough (Fig. 1),[5] a geological region "set to transform into a major force in the iron ore sector" worldwide,[6] point to the revival of a decisive episode in the history of large-scale resource development in the province, a period that in fact predated the harnessing of Québec's most powerful rivers. This new iron ore rush is stimulated, not unlike the first round of mineral activities of the postwar period, by the developing needs of emerging world powers. Known around the globe for their impressive size and good ore content, the vast iron formations of northern Québec on which China and India are hoping to "feast"[7] could comprise the long-term strategic reserves that these countries need in order to meet increasing domestic demand for finished steel. As competition for the control of iron deposits heightens globally, Québec proposes, once again, to hand over its best mineral reserves in the North to interests located outside of the region. At the same time, government administrators aim to integrate—on paper, at least—the virtues of profitable subsurface exploitation with improved environmental protection and substantial economic benefits for local indigenous communities and the province more generally.

This chapter argues that a retrospective synopsis of mineral activities in the Labrador Trough, at Schefferville in this particular case, can and should inform Québec's present ambitions for industrial growth in the north. *Plan Nord*, the province's latest twenty-five-year northern development plan, was formulated without comprehensive citizen engagement (and while bypassing the process of seeking approval from many indigenous communities) in a region that the government continues to treat

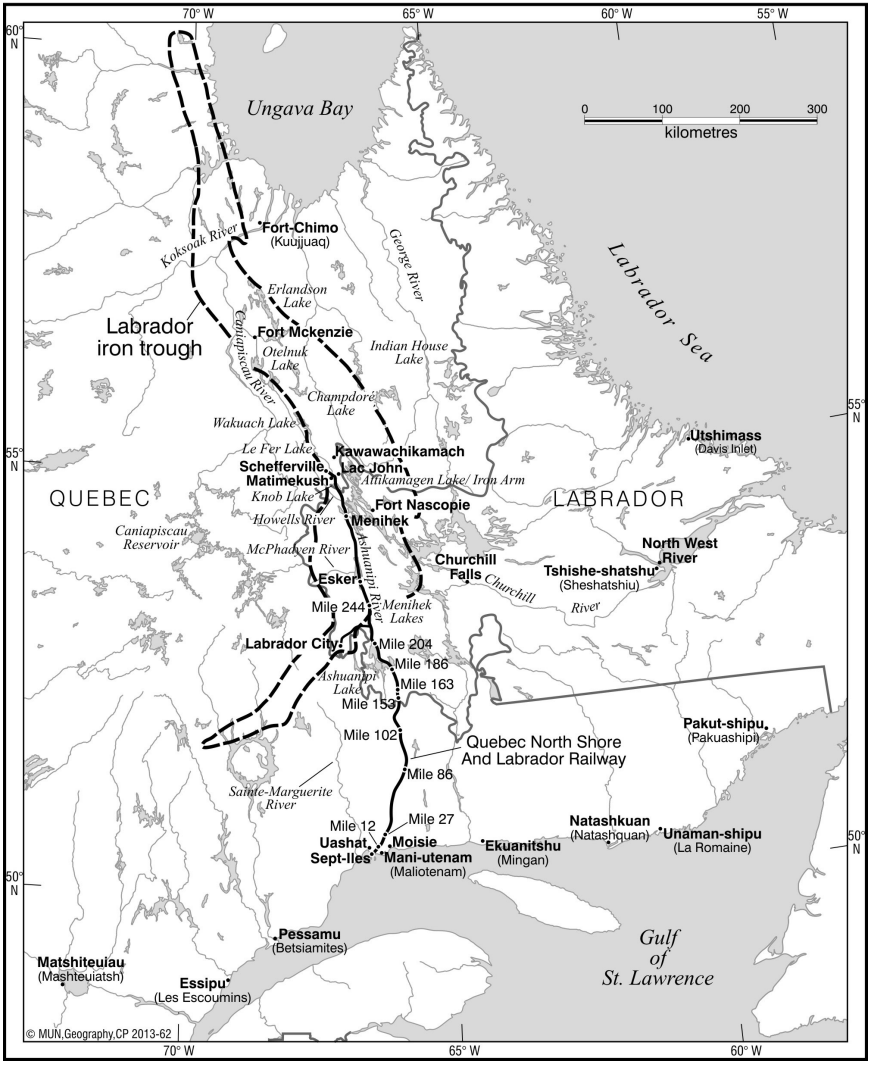


Figure 1: The Québec-Labrador peninsula, with the geological formation of the Labrador Iron Trough. Map by Charlie Conway.

primarily as a "bank" of natural resources where few benefits are derived for the rural peripheries and their inhabitants.[8] The first section adopts a state-corporate historical approach as it recounts the opening of the Ungava region to industrial interests through iron ore exploration (mid-1930s) and the beginning of operations at the Schefferville mine (1954). In the second section, the story of the mine closure shifts the perspective toward Innu and Naskapi individuals, who remember how indigenous and mining worlds ceased to interact after 1982 at Schefferville. Finally, the third section explores the contemporary context and provides an overview of the development projects that currently define the renewed quest for iron ore extraction in the Québec-Labrador borderlands.

The diverse, multi-layered interpretations of the mining past (section 2), understood in conjunction with the historical context that confirms the supremacy of state and corporate interests throughout the period (section 1), show the asymmetrical yet complex nature of the relationship of indigenous groups living in the area with industrial modernity. This relationship continues to be marked, informed, and shaped by the region's deeply contested mining history, a stark reminder for contemporary developers and policy-makers (section 3) that, despite mining's instability and apparent ephemerality, the mining past of the region lives on. Amidst these unresolved legacies, this analysis suggests that mining proponents' assertive guarantees of a durable, prosperous, and equitable industrial future for societies inhabiting the provincial north and the rest of Québec ought to be met with equal scrutiny and skepticism.

THE FIRST PHASE OF IRON MINING IN THE LABRADOR TROUGH

> Les Américains possèdent les capitaux qui nous manquent. Ils mettent nos ressources naturelles en valeur, réveillent une richesse endormie.
>
> —Robert Rumily[9]

During the late interwar years, Québec politicians sought to extract wealth from what they considered to be the subarctic hinterland's dormant mineral assets. In the Ungava region, the provincial administration subjected the geological formation known as the Labrador Trough to a certain preferential treatment, notably by granting exploration permits and large mining concessions to outside interests. However, this bold redefinition of geographical space in favour of foreign corporations collided heavily with the indigenous populations' prior occupation of their homelands.

In 1939, Québec conferred to McKay (Quebec) Explorers (MQEC) an impressive exploration concession of more than 10,000 square kilometres located in the Whale River and Swampy Bay River watersheds. A few years previously, explorers and geologists, typically accompanied by knowledgeable indigenous guides, had identified ore bodies with potential commercial value. At the time, the first government of Québec premier Maurice Duplessis (1936–39) imposed on this concession a modest annual rent of $1,000 and $2,000, for the first two years respectively, which could be renewed at a slightly augmented rate in subsequent years.[10] Following MQEC's failure to develop the concession, Jules Timmins, a prosperous mining entrepreneur heading the Toronto-based Hollinger Consolidated Gold Mines, entered a partnership in December 1943 with the influential American steel magnate George Humphrey, who was at the helm of the Cleveland mining firm M. A. Hanna.[11] Together these veritable "movers and shakers of mining empires"[12] controlled the Hollinger North Shore and Exploration Company (HNSE) and secured their access to the great property located at the heart of the Ungava Peninsula.

The recently formed HNSE venture received additional support from the Québec government via a special law passed in its favour three years later, in 1946.[13] In the course of that year, the legislature introduced the *Loi pour faciliter le développement minier et industriel du Nouveau-Québec*, which defined a "mining exploitation lease valid for eighty years and covering an area of 300 square miles" on the shores of Knob Lake, the future site of the mining town of Schefferville.[14] When shareholders incorporated Iron Ore Company of Canada (IOC) in Delaware in 1949, in order to assemble the capital essential for kick-starting the Schefferville operations, HNSE subleased these mining rights to the newly formed American-led iron and steel conglomerate.[15]

In the world of corporate executives, the region that was traversed by numerous Aboriginal trading and transportation routes remained at the time completely cut off from the large industrial markets and freight networks so crucial to moving the ore riches out of Nouveau-Québec. Knob Lake deposits somehow had to be linked to the St. Lawrence navigational waters (later on, the St. Lawrence Seaway) and thereby to the great manufacturing towns of Baltimore, Detroit, Cleveland, or Philadelphia. The railway engineers' answer to this technical challenge, 575 kilometres of steel rails and wooden ties to be laid over marshland, through mountains, and across forest, presented an enormous logistical and financial puzzle for IOC. Indeed, throughout the construction phase, the economic feasibility of this project often hung in the balance, as the anticipated profits from the mine (projected from identified ore resources) were constantly re-evaluated against the growing upfront capital expended on the infrastructure needed to transport the bulky, heavy, and relatively low-valued iron commodity to manufacturing markets.[16]

In order to support this major transportation program, in March 1951, the provincial government proceeded not through leasing but by means of direct sale of a thin strip of land stretching from Sept-Îles (on the Gulf of St. Lawrence) to Knob Lake. This band of territory, extending hundreds of kilometres deep into the boreal forest and bisecting the Innu homeland, would host the railway to Schefferville, to be built and operated by Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway Company (QNS&L), one of the several subsidiaries formed by IOC. In exchange for $4,000,

the railway company led by Jules Timmins became the "absolute owner" of this piece of land, free of any additional charges.[17]

In addition to guaranteeing the company woodcutting rights along the railroad right-of-way, Québec also conceded to QNS&L a shore lot near the coastal settlement of Sept-Îles for the establishment of a train terminal, a classification yard, and a modern seaport. Through one of its energy subsidiaries, Gulf Power Company, IOC gained control over sections of the Ste Marguerite River and the Menihek Lakes where it installed hydroelectric power plants destined to supply electricity to the terminal in Sept-Îles and the mine and townsite at Schefferville.

Several Innu labourers obtained casual work on these various construction sites, and played an especially crucial role in the resupplying of railway work camps.[18] This labour, if it remained very temporary and seasonal, nonetheless allowed a handful of families to confront the difficult conditions afflicting the trapping economy of the immediate postwar period. In general, however, mining officials engaged in the radical transformation of human and natural landscapes without the explicit consent of local populations. The newly damned Ste Marguerite River, for example, had constituted for decades a vital transportation axis for hunting groups based on the coast of the St. Lawrence who wished to reach the interior of the territory during their long winter hunts. Yet for federal bureaucrats employed by the Indian Affairs agency in Sept-Îles, this land takeover was clearly a matter for optimism. According to the prevalent paternalistic dogma, the employment opportunities that were generated through the development and operation of the Schefferville mine would consecrate the local communities' gradual retreat from the life on the land, thus encouraging a more sedentary lifestyle and the introduction of wage dependency. Going as far as threatening, in a few extreme cases, to suspend aid for families who refused to seek paid employment, the Canadian government urged the Innu residing near Sept-Îles—but in an even more decisive manner, the Naskapi of the Ungava region—to relocate to the town of Schefferville, a booming region that was traditionally part of a number of families' comprehensive harvesting activities and networks. There, federal bureaucrats promised, people would find "better housing, education, and so forth,"[19] with job opportunities "that will last one hundred years."[20]

In Québec City, the provincial government of Maurice Duplessis argued that the new rail link from Schefferville to the coast "opens the Ungava region to commerce and civilization, as well as to the industry."[21] For the premier, Québec's natural resources had for many years remained "underutilized," and this unfortunate state of affairs had engendered substantial losses for the province. By promoting portions of the hinterland to mining interests and welcoming the implementation of modern infrastructure, the government hoped to profit in return from this "marvelous industrial development that will contribute powerfully, not only to the complete valuation of the Nouveau-Québec region, but also to the progress and prosperity of the province in general."[22]

To what extent did the creation of public wealth from iron mines imagined by the Québec state in fact materialize? In general terms, the level of mining revenues flowing to the province—expressed as the percentage of government incomes drawn from the mining sector through taxes, royalties, mining rights and permits over the total value of mineral production—fell by roughly one-fifth during the second Duplessis mandate (1944–59).[23] Notwithstanding improvements of the taxation regime undertaken by the Liberal administration of Jean Lesage in 1965, which successfully increased returns on production to the public, revenues generated through mining rights, particularly in the iron ore sector, remained weak.[24] At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, $2.4 million generated through mining rights in the iron ore sector accrued to the Québec treasury every year; by comparison, the total value of iron production reached nearly $185 million, on average, during the same period, 1967 to 1972.[25] This relatively marginal amount obtained from mining rights was proportionally lower than that registered in the Québec mining industry as a whole, with consequences for government finances given that iron ore was one of the most important mining sectors in the province.[26] Yet at the same time, Hollinger and Hanna Mining were cashing in on substantial revenues received through the transfer of their mining rights (originally granted by the Québec state) to IOC. These monies, according to Paquette, were "worth more than five times that which was drawn [via mining rights] by the owner of the mining domain"[27]—the provincial Crown.

For Duplessis and his administration, engaged in the rhetoric of economic autonomy for Québec, liberalism in mining policy represented a somewhat paradoxical situation closely tied to the evolution of international markets. During the Second World War, the United States became aware of the impending exhaustion of its iron ore supplies located in the Mesabi Range (Minnesota). North American appetite for iron grew steadily as a consequence of the war—consumption increased two and a half times between 1935 and 1945[28]—and its aftermath. But by 1953, as domestic demand grew due to Cold War (and Korean War) militarism and the rise of postwar consumer society, US production was on the decline.[29] Starting in the 1950s, American (but also European and Japanese) steelmakers restructured their commercial operations and sought control over strategic ore deposits worldwide.[30] The American steelmaking industry gained access to some of the most attractive reserves by formalizing financial links with mining companies, thus ensuring a reliable access to iron ore inputs at a cost that it could better regulate. By contrast to its European counterparts, who were "relying mainly on European iron ore producers," American steelmakers were "procuring iron ore from their own captive mines."[31]

In this context, producers and investors saw in the Labrador Trough a good business opportunity, by virtue of the region's advantageous geography—a relative proximity to US steelmaking centres—which complemented the presence of stable political institutions and a favourable fiscal and regulatory environment. Bethlehem Steel and National Steel, in conjunction with four other major American steelmakers, eventually took majority ownership of IOC on February 1, 1962. The beginning of the company's operations, in 1954, had strongly helped to "reshape the Canadian iron ore industry," since merely half of a decade later, Schefferville ore accounted for more than 60 per cent of iron production in the country.[32] Notwithstanding the modest impact of such growth on direct and indirect labour opportunities—in 1966, the effect of economic expansion on employment in the iron ore sector was lower than for each of wood felling, the manufacture of women's garments, and the fabrication of newspaper in the province as a whole[33]—the iron ore region, in Schefferville and elsewhere, never really experienced the development of a diversified, mature industrial economy. The narrow, external linkages

between the mining and steelmaking sectors (exemplified by the IOC venture) instead confined the region to an export-driven enclave of minimally processed iron ore.[34] Located downstream of extractive activities, yet institutionally dissociated from the provincial mines, Québec manufactures could not capture the fiscal benefits typically associated with corporate integration, nor were they in a position to secure primary inputs at a better cost.[35] Ultimately, the exploitation of iron ore did not generate significant multiplier effects for the regional and provincial economies, despite the fact that mineral production underwent a veritable explosion in the immediate postwar period, and even though the added value produced by this sector and the fabrication of primary steel in Québec jumped from $30 million to $188 million during the quarter century 1944 to 1975 dominated by both Unionist and Liberal administrations.[36]

The birth of national steelmaker Sidbec-Normines was in fact engineered to remedy some of the structural deficiencies that plagued the provincial iron ore industry, notably by favouring domestic processing, but the launch of this partially state-owned entity in 1976 turned out to be poorly timed.[37] A crisis was about to hit global steel markets: in the period 1974 to 1977, worldwide production of steel fell by 5 per cent, and the stocks of iron ore began to accumulate (including in the Labrador Trough) as metal prices were depressed.[38] Québec iron operations, incapable of competing with Venezuelan and Brazilian counterparts who exploited higher-grade iron deposits and incurred cheaper labour costs, inevitably felt the effects. In 1985, the subarctic municipality of Gagnon, "*là où la chaleur humaine remplaçait l'astre du jour*,"[39] was bulldozed and effectively erased from the territory. The Schefferville mine, keenly recognized for the quality of its iron ore at the turn of the midcentury, also succumbed to the crisis. On November 2, 1982, IOC president Brian Mulroney announced to employees and authorities that the company would wind down operations,[40] an outcome that clearly showcased the precariousness of the community's reliance on a single export production. Despite their initial desire to shut down the municipality, provincial and federal authorities decided not to condemn Schefferville to the same fate that was about to descend upon Gagnon three years later.[41] Between 1985 and 1998, town lots were in fact amalgamated to the Innu reserve of Matimekush through official Government of Canada purchases of Québec land register.[42]

MEMORIES AND MINING LANDSCAPE AT SCHEFFERVILLE

> The mine closed in 1982. The company packed its bags and took off. Open pits, destruction everywhere; our animals driven away. We made the company rich. Where's my share? Where's my thank you? There was none of that.
>
> —A Naskapi individual[43]

Throughout the operations of the Schefferville mine, between 1954 and 1982, indigenous miners remained confined to very marginal positions within the company hierarchy. Relying on a variety of strategies, these labourers worked to adjust and maintain their own practices in order to combine the labour at the mine with their life on the land. Yet overall, Innu and Naskapi groups could not realize the vision of government agents and utilize their paid employment at the mine as a mechanism to "climb the ladder" of industrial society; nor were they in a position to lay the foundations of a multi-sectorial, diversified regional economy that would outlast the life of the mine and bring about growth and development. This situation would have serious consequences for the viability of these two communities in the post-mining phase.

People's memories of the abandonment phase reveal the shock and the traumatic nature of the mine closure at Schefferville. As the Innu and the Naskapi express their disapproval of government and company actions, which created "a lot of troubles" for them,[44] they also recount, often with nostalgia, how people looked forward and continued to adapt and maintain their own life practices amidst the upheavals that characterized the failure of the modernization project. In view of these diverse interpretations of the past—inextricably linked to the contingency, complexity, and challenges of current everyday life—an intricate picture of local history, of indigenous homelands, and of the legacy of industrial development emerges. At Schefferville, local life stories generally reveal a deep sense of loss underlying Innu and Naskapi perspectives about the mine closure and the mining experience more generally, an experience which, in the final analysis, continues to defy any singular interpretation or meaning.

Several Innu and Naskapi individuals remember the closure and deindustrialization period in terms of severe disruption and the abandonment of their community by IOC and the government. These authorities, in their view, had operated illegitimately on a territory that did not belong to them in the first place. The sudden desertion by the mining company was especially disconcerting, according to people whom I interviewed at Schefferville, considering the immense wealth extracted during the operations years:

> We weren't even told and we didn't even know what they were using the ore for, why it was so precious to them. And years later, once they had distracted our way of life, we learned that the ore was in demand in foreign countries. They just came, took what they needed, and left.[45]

> Back then the company took out much iron from here, a lot of iron, an enormous amount of iron, because for them it was like gold. It brought a lot of money, back then, it was very profitable.[46]

Since the late interwar years, industry proponents had strived to first redefine and then exert control over the Québec-Labrador region in order to appropriate the riches of the subsurface. Now that the process was complete, Innu and Naskapi people were more or less left to pick up the pieces.

During the life of the mine, the somewhat marginal employment opportunities did provide, as some recall, non-negligible compensations for the local residents. This idea is articulated, for instance, by an Innu individual who explains that "according to my own knowledge, it did not bother the Innu to see the company dig holes in the ground and occupy our territory, because the company gave us work."[47] Yet as the company withdrew from Schefferville and wage labour was lost, it left few enduring benefits for the local communities, other than a small pension for a handful of long-time employees. "We got a certain amount from the company," a Naskapi elder recalls. "Certain people worked for so many years, and they received different amounts. But [the IOC managers] didn't care, they just left. They didn't care about us, and all the people, when they left from here. They didn't give any benefits to the people, or

any other contributions."[48] People remember with some resentment that many indigenous workers were not in a position to even receive a pension after the company departed, because they were never employed—by choice or by constraint—as full-time labourers: "We got laid off and on, so some people like me didn't get the full benefits that the company offered after it left. There weren't a lot of benefits from the IOC. No other benefits were given to the people and the communities; it was only them and their money."[49]

Some indigenous people maintain particularly vivid memories of the material removal of municipal buildings and houses in the years that followed that abandonment of the mine. As geographer John Bradbury describes, the relinquishment and destruction of infrastructure, considered by companies "as part of the production sector of the mine or mill," was a common strategy that served to sever a corporation's financial responsibility from the mining town or municipality in the closing phase of large industrial projects.[50] At Schefferville, IOC proceeded, in conjunction with the province, with a series of demolitions in order to dissolve its financial obligations (in addition to servicing all of Schefferville's debt, the company still contributed up to 80 per cent of municipal taxes in the post-closure years of 1984 and 1985).[51] The provincial government led by the Ministère des Affaires municipales was also eager to shed its Schefferville responsibilities and recommended a $6.5-million compensation and demolition plan to shut down the municipality and remove a good portion of the infrastructure,[52] including the local hospital, "for which Indians [were] by far the most frequent users."[53] This particularly dramatic event remains seared in the memory of many Innu and Naskapi individuals who have continued to reside in the vicinity of the once-cherished health facility.

In addition to the loss of town services and infrastructure, as well as shrunken employment and economic development opportunities, the communities near Schefferville have had to live, and continue to live, amidst a deeply scarred landscape. For the Innu and the Naskapi, the post-mining environment acts as an incessant material reminder of three decades of intensive land and resource exploitation by a company that naturally prioritized shareholder dividends and the needs of the American economy during the Cold War period,[54] but generated minimal

Figure 2: Abandoned mine with equipment near Schefferville. Photo by Jean-Sébastien Boutet.

returns for the local population. As a consequence of development, their homeland became littered with tailings piles, industrial wastes, leftover equipment, and pollutants that were abandoned in the wake of the mine closure (Fig. 2), but only marginally remediated many years later, when the IOC undertook a modest clean-up operation in the early 2000s.

At least some people in Schefferville are particularly moved by the former mining pits, which extend hundreds of metres deep over several hundred square kilometres across the subarctic landscape.[55] The removal of trees and other "overburden," the blasting of hilltops, the digging of holes, the large tailing piles and debris, and the oxidizing iron-rich earth have contributed to create a red-coloured, cratered, barren, and dangerous landscape (Figs. 3 and 4), which one Innu resident metaphorically depicts as extraterrestrial scenery. Another hunter and former chief describes the major changes to the Innu territory that resulted from open-pit mining, as he speaks of the unrecoverable beauty of the land near

Figure 3: Abandoned mine near Schefferville. Photo by Jean-Sébastien Boutet.

Schefferville: "We were already coming here before there was a mine. We came here to hunt. It was quite undulated here; there were beautiful mountains, beautiful rivers, beautiful lakes. It was nice here, before the mine."[56] In a similar vein, the same Innu who associates the mine with Martian landscape also emphasizes the profound changes to the territory compared with before industrialism, when people frequented the region for hunting and trapping activities. "When they came here ten years before [the mine], everything was pristine," he suggests. "Ten years later they made large holes. It's something to see the landscape where people hunted, and a decade later they see these big holes. It's something to see all that."[57]

For some individuals, then, the disfigured, deeply altered landscape evokes resentful memories of the company's actions. When probed about the overall record of IOC and its long-term legacy for Schefferville and the region, a few residents simply point to the impressive, scattered mining

Figure 4: Berms with warning sign bordering an abandoned mine near Schefferville. Photo by Jean-Sébastien Boutet.

pits as a kind of self-explanatory evidence for the disruption, the abandonment, and the reckless attitude of the mining managers:

> I would love to go up and show you over there in the mountains, all the holes that are there. I would show you how they left it all like that, and then ran away. It's still like that today.[58]

> They left, and after that the pits were flooded and everything. They just left everything.[59]

By contrast, though not necessarily contradiction, other individuals at times emphasize their awe at this surreal landscape, and even their appreciation of the physical and human immensity encapsulated by such scenes of emptiness (Fig. 5). Driving a truck with his grandson around the old mine, an elder repeatedly evoked his enjoyment of the landscape,

whether we were passing by the rock waste and tailings, the open pits, or the surrounding lakes and rivers meandering through the abandoned sites.[60] Initially, these comments can seriously challenge one's own preconceived notions of another people's relationship with what is often denigrated as a kind of post-apocalyptic industrial wasteland. As an Innu from Matimekush seems to indicate, the mining landscape is indeed largely indicative of the ravage, squander, and unequal appropriation of resources by outside interests. But interestingly, these memories do not lead him to abandon or disdain the Innu territory around Schefferville. Rather, he makes use of powerful imagery and unusual metaphors in relation to the mining panorama to explain his own difficulty of living, as he understands it, "between two cultures"—or, of the struggle in sharing the land and livelihoods with strangers who, in the past, were mostly if not uniquely interested in reaping financial benefits from it.[61] As he set up his white canvas tent in the middle of the mined-out and desolate barrens, he seeks by this occasion to reaffirm his own Innu identity and demonstrate his people's enduring presence on their homeland: "It makes me feel good, to hang out here on the barren mountain. It doesn't discourage me. At least it tells me one thing: that even if I'm on a mountain without vegetation, I am on my territory."[62] Even as some areas of Innu and Naskapi homeland were pretty much obliterated by the mining activities, it does not follow that the territory has become insignificant or worthless for the people who continue to inhabit it and who frequently visit it under various circumstances.[63] Thus, reflecting and sharing stories about Schefferville, for this Innu man there is even a favourite time of the day to revisit the old mining sites. Right before sunset, the light reveals most effectively the scale of destruction and yet the strangely poetic beauty of this continuously modified, tirelessly engineered environment transformed by mine workers over more than a quarter century.

The decrepit industrial landscape, the various townsites (some of them now entirely derelict), and the corresponding diversity of life stories that are shared and kept alive thus interact in complex ways with people's present activities near and around Schefferville to create a fluid repository of interpretations of the longer past that include not only the closure but all phases of historical mining in the region. These place-based understandings do not seem to be strictly reducible to stories of

Figure 5: Abandoned mine near Schefferville. Photo by Jean-Sébastien Boutet.

appropriation, dispossession, destruction, and abandonment by an indifferent, perhaps egotistical, cast of mining characters. Several indigenous residents who continue to move extensively over the degraded territory, for example, do speak regretfully of the hazards associated with winter travels across a territory that was mined out and left virtually unremediated. At the same time, these very individuals may also continue to make use of the old mining roads to access the family cabins for hunting, fishing, or spending time on the land, while some also yearn—in the arduous context of a post-development economy—for the relatively plentiful jobs and active community life that the company once provided. If the dilapidation of the landscape and town continues to inflame people's discontent as they reminisce about the IOC company today, and if feelings of bitterness associated with past exploitation clearly linger (the mining holes are, in many ways, the physical embodiment of the "hit-and-run" model of resource exploitation that struck Schefferville at midcentury),

these attitudes also coexist with subtler affirmations of personal and collective agency and, in some cases, of a vanished mining history that is in a sense still missed today.

The bare territory that typifies the former mine—repulsive, stunning, majestic, or mysterious—as well as certain abandoned areas of the municipality in fact continue to evoke nostalgic sentiments of a more active or entertaining past. When people revisit or come across former workspaces (an old shed, a rotten wooden bridge, a water-filled pit, and an overgrown road) they sometimes are led to share memories of a time when Schefferville was teeming with people and bustling with noise and activities. Such evolving human-material relations, grounded in memories of the changing landscape, do not only refer back to the harsh and unjust working conditions at the mine, the complicated coexistence of mining labour and activities on the land, or the difficult and fluctuating ecological conditions that coincided, according to local perceptions, with a disappearing caribou herd and the overfishing of surrounding lakes by workers brought in from the south. They also speak to an employment period that enabled working families to support their relatives and be involved in various ways with wage employment, and through which Innu and Naskapi employees sometimes nurtured close friendships with their fellow indigenous and even non-indigenous workers. One Innu evokes this sense of loss regarding the lively old days with friends that have either passed on or moved back to southern regions: "I knew many white people with whom I worked. I knew a whole bunch of them. Many of them have probably died. I also knew some bosses; at the end they were almost sixty-five years old. They must be dead today. It's troubling when I think about those I knew. They're almost all dead now."[64]

The abandonment of the town and some of the infrastructure near or on the reserves, as well as the emptiness of the sites that people of a younger generation formerly used for leisure activities, also call to mind sentiments of regret about a time when people actively participated in social and athletic activities. As he encounters the material leftovers dating back to the mining years, an Innu vividly reflects on his more youthful days when the company was in operation:

> When I think about the desolation here in the village, the desolation following the exploitation of the mine, when before the cultural and social life was so lively. It was lively here. My playground was everywhere, all the sidewalks that you see there; that was my playground. The hospital, for me, because it was asphalted, it was nice, there were some nice hills for someone who wanted to bicycle there. I could circulate freely when I lived in Matimekush.[65]

It is not uncommon for people in Schefferville, especially elders who used to work at the mine and befriended other workers, as well as adults who benefited from leisure and organized sport infrastructure in their youth, to remember elements of the social past with melancholy, given that many of these relationships and spaces died out soon after the IOC departure.

Overall, people's interpretations of the closure phase point to the failure of modernization through industrial mining at Schefferville. They also reveal the importance of considering long-term perspectives on the history of resource exploitation and the uneven development that characterized large-scale development in Québec's iron belt. Several individuals who live in the area today recall with much offence and distress the multiple rounds of infrastructure removal and the gradual disappearance of significant social spaces. They remain especially puzzled by the fact that a great number of houses, the cultural centre, and even a hospital were torn down during a period when there were outstanding needs in the domains of health, housing, infrastructure, social life, and youth support in Schefferville. As a former Naskapi leader explained to me, "they demolished the hospital, at a time when people really needed essential services, like health services. . . . Us, the owners of this territory, we were asking the government for more housing while the company that made money was demolishing houses. That scene was not respectful. It was a destructive scene."[66] The people of Schefferville painfully reminisce about the removal or abandonment of the swimming pool, the movie theatre, the bank, a few restaurants and bars, churches, the bowling alley, the town gymnasium, the ski hill infrastructure, and the asphalted roads and sidewalks (practically only the hockey arena was left standing). These mixed emotions of "anger, betrayal, resentment, exasperation and anxiety"[67] are

quite a contrast with the official discourse that accompanied the closure of the mine, at the time largely justified to employees and the population at large in quite narrow technical and economic demonstrations.

For one Innu individual, the demolition exemplified the authorities' familiar paternalism toward indigenous populations, in this case fuelled by the belief that Innu and Naskapi communities could not possibly maintain and administer the buildings and town services without the backing of IOC, the municipality of Schefferville, or other government bureaucracies.[68] But he, as well as many others, believes that at a bare minimum, some of the installations could have been left for the local communities as compensation, and even new infrastructure might have been built for them upon IOC's departure. In the demanding context of the reconstruction years, when local residents attempted to carry on with their lives independently of an industrial economy, many maintain that the company should have been compelled to implement a mitigation program and leave behind some sort of positive legacy in order to offset the heavy social and environmental costs, perhaps in the form of roads to facilitate access to the territory and support hunting activities, financial donations to help out with the expensive airplane outings and especially the caribou hunt, or at the very least a proper rehabilitation and restoration of the mining sites.

DISCUSSION

> Et voilà que, trente ans plus tard, ces gens-là reviennent! C'est drôle, il y a seulement un an ou deux, ma communauté et moi n'existions pas dans le nord du Québec!
>
> —Réal McKenzie[69]

In light of these perspectives on mining, development, and history pertaining to the initial phase of extraction in the Labrador Trough, several concerns arise regarding the legitimacy and the soundness of the mode of industrial expansion favoured by *Plan Nord* and other such bureaucratic plans for the north. Nowadays, a new generation of miners actively looking to revive the historical deposits and bank on new discoveries cannot

completely silence this problematic past,[70] especially the unfortunate period that followed the closing of mining pits and the abandonment of villages and communities like Schefferville in the 1980s. This history is, in a very real, everyday sense, etched into the land, remembered in a manner that, as I have argued, is deeply textured. "Mines," in the words of anthropologist Jamon Alex Halvaksz II, "are not merely extracting minerals, but are also marking time and space with their appearances." They "transform the landscape, but these transformations remain subject to multiple interpretations."[71] But, ready as they may be to turn the page on this story, industrialists of today want to be reassuring about the future, confidently asserting that previous development errors will not be reproduced. As one mining executive explicitly defended, "we cannot underestimate this history, which belongs to the region. We certainly took it into account, to ensure that we do not repeat the same mistakes."[72]

Much as was the case on the eve of the iron ore rush that took place at the midcentury, when federal bureaucrats encouraged Innu and Naskapi societies to adopt industrial livelihoods, nowadays mining-related employment is perceived and marketed—despite of all of its known historical shortcomings—as the device par excellence to engineer social, economic, and ecological progress for the region. According to this view, a new "'home grown' generation of people who will regenerate the mining industry in Quebec" is about to emerge: indigenous peoples inhabiting the region "will now see a brighter future thanks to Plan Nord; especially the grade schoolers who will learn more and more about mining as they continue their education," as well as "all Quebecois [who] will be given a chance to cash in on some of the province's fortunes."[73] While affirming that "women, the Aboriginal peoples and young people living in the territory that the Plan Nord covers are among the target populations to develop qualified local workers who take their place in sectors that are often non-traditional or little known,"[74] government planners nevertheless give little consideration as to how these communities' involvement with other sectors of the economy referred to as "traditional"—typically outside of formal, monetized networks of production and exchange—will be encouraged and supported. This approach in effect disregards the historical strategies used by indigenous groups such as the Schefferville Innu and Naskapi who, as I have explained elsewhere, often adjusted their practices

to harmonize as best as possible their work at the mine with the crucially important life on the land.[75]

As for the contemporary mining industry, it generally sees "the development of Plan Nord [as] a very proactive initiative at the right time,"[76] in particular because of the considerable government resources assigned to the implantation of modern transportation and power networks. In this regard, the province's industrial expansion into the subarctic will be largely financed by Hydro-Québec and the public treasury ($60 billion is expected to be allocated to northern development in the next quarter century). With at least $1.2 billion reserved specifically for infrastructure upgrades and new construction during the initial five-year period (2011–16), "the government will first invest in projects that afford access to areas with the greatest economic development potential" in the domain of mining and energy.[77]

Given that miners never exhausted its ore reserves, it is not surprising that the Labrador Trough still holds much potential provided the economic conditions are favourable. As the region stands on the cusp of becoming "the gateway to northeastern Quebec, helping to play a vital role in Plan Nord,"[78] mining and steel conglomerates are knocking on the door, hoping to redeploy in the area with renewed intensity. Three large mining companies currently control roughly 40 per cent of the iron ore production worldwide and almost 80 per cent of the seaborne export trade; these statistics alone suffice to show the rapid consolidation of the sector, given that this triumvirate, Vale (headquartered in Rio de Janeiro), BHP Billiton (Melbourne–London), and Rio Tinto (London–Melbourne), was responsible for less than half of the seaborne trade in 1997.[79] From this veritable iron cartel emanates a strict control over ore prices, which have surged ninefold since 2000.[80] This phenomenon has created "major cost-inflation pressures"[81] and is a source of irritation for governments and steelmakers, whose leverage dwindles with growing demand for base metals in China—a country that now produces nearly half of the global crude steel output.[82]

From the perspective of the steelmaking industry—never entirely powerless thanks to enormous capital resources, a high level of corporate concentration, and the fact that, in the final analysis, the dependency relationship with the mining industry is reciprocal—a clever solution can

serve to counter this hegemony: the vertical integration of enterprises. For the Labrador Trough, this ownership of upstream supplier firms by downstream producers represents an interesting return to a bygone era, since the period that preceded the iron crisis of the 1980s in Nouveau-Québec was in effect characterized, as the first section indicated, by the systematic acquisition of captive mining sites by large American steel interests. As the mining and steel industries formalize their integration, a restructuring of the industry is clearly looming on the horizon (if in fact it hasn't already begun, in particular among state-owned Chinese steelmakers[83]). It cannot be ruled out that, as a result of these companies consolidating their hold on the territory and the ore reserves, the Labrador Trough may once again be closely tied to the progress of distant urbanization and global consumer society.

Certainly the most prominent actors have changed over the course of sixty years. Bethlehem Steel and National Steel closed their doors at the turn of the twenty-first century and have been replaced by new multinational producers. The arrival of ArcelorMittal (Luxembourg), one of the leading steel-mining conglomerates in the world,[84] in the region of Fermont is symptomatic of this evolution. Already in command of the largest mine in Québec, with operations set up at the historical deposits of Mont-Wright and Fire Lake, the company recently divulged a massive expansion program evaluated at more than $2 billion. Forecasting a "breakneck" pace of development, ArcelorMittal seeks to increase substantially the capacity of its processing plant and magnify by a factor of two its ability to move ore and waste, notably with the support of an impressive fleet of 400-ton Caterpillar 797 trucks, the largest available on the market.[85] According to a company manager, "the commitment of the Quebec government" to the reindustrialization of Nouveau-Québec was a decisive factor in ArcelorMittal's decision to allocate this capital to the Mont-Wright expansion, making it clear that without Plan Nord, "the money might have gone to the United States, Mexico, Brazil or any of a number of African and European operations."[86]

At the earlier stages of both embryonic production and advanced exploration, Indian multinational Tata Steel (Mumbai) is a second potentially important player on the Québec portion of the iron ore trough. This Asian steelmaker, which figures among the ten largest producers in the

world, is looking to secure "strategic captive iron ore" to supply its transformation operations in Europe.[87] In partnership with Calgary-based New Millennium Iron (NML), Tata Steel owns 80 per cent of a direct shipping ore project already in production near Schefferville,[88] a development that proposes to reactivate existing historical deposits, notably in the Timmins area which straddles both sides of the Québec–Labrador border.[89] Pursuing a long tradition of appropriating Innu and Naskapi territory in the name of corporate interests, NML recently renamed the geological formation stretching over more than two hundred kilometres west of Schefferville the *Millennium Iron Range*, "a huge iron ore district" over which the company now claims "control."[90] Tata is also studying the possibility of formalizing other investment partnerships with NML, with the goal of exploiting the much more imposing taconite deposits—these veritable company builders that rank among the largest iron deposits in the world, according to NML[91]—of Lac Harris (KéMag) and Howells River (LabMag). Pending the outcome of the ongoing feasibility study, the two partners hope to make use of the same railway installations constructed by QNS&L in the early 1950s, in addition to envisaging the laying of a 600- to 700-kilometre-long slurry "ferroduct" designed to transport fine grained concentrate to the port of Sept-Îles.[92] Necessary upgrades intended to transform the port installations into state-of-the-art shipping facilities are expected to be financed by a public-private partnership (several companies, including NML and Tata, are involved as part of an investment consortium) supported by the recently launched Atlantic Gateway and Trade Corridor Strategy, a federal initiative meant to "provide a quick, reliable, and secure transportation network between North American markets and markets in Europe, the Caribbean, Latin America, and Asia."[93]

A third steel giant is presently deploying its operations in the region. Already active as a minority partner on the Newfoundland side of the southern Labrador Trough, at the Bloom Lake mine and concentrator, WISCO International Resources Development & Investment (WISCO), a subsidiary of Chinese steelmaker Wuhan Iron & Steel Corporation, is at the helm of a longer-term, more ambitious project, also at the advanced exploration stage, which "centres on a huge iron deposit."[94] With the objective of exploiting the Lac Otelnuk formation 170 kilometres north of

Schefferville, the steelmaker entered a joint venture with Toronto-based junior miner Adriana Resources, and together they expect "to make the Otelnuk project nothing less than the biggest mine in Canadian history."[95] To justify the enormous investments required, Adriana's president and chief economic officer has suggested that "if we're right in our estimates, the mine life will be in excess of 100 years,"[96] an expectation echoed by the Québec government.[97]

Alerted by these clear echoes of past mining discourses in the region, obvious questions come to mind: To what extent have things effectively changed? Are observers and local communities confident that similar development mistakes will not be repeated? After all, Québec's *Plan Nord* assures that, in contrast with the previous phase of northern development, benefits will materialize "for all Quebecers" this time around, thanks in part to the creation of many new employment opportunities, particularly for indigenous labourers.[98] In order to fill these positions locally, "the objective is to ensure that the workers are ready to work when the projects are launched," which means that "Aboriginal and local communities [must] participate rapidly in the process that leads to the acquisition of the desired skills."[99] This government strategy mirrors the approach favoured by mining companies, who strive not only to hire Aboriginal individuals already settled near industrial sites, since this allows them to save "a lot of money"; but also, in light of the unfolding "cultural revolution" of corporate responsibility that is taking place in the industry, to secure a social licence to develop and operate mines in the region.[100] As to distant Asian and European steelmakers, they find themselves in need of "Canadian management" and administrators who "are used to dealing with Aboriginals, [who are] used to working in the north,"[101] in order to help them navigate the complexities inherent to the establishment of a mine in remote and isolated indigenous territories.

Apart from technical accounting discussions regarding modest alterations to royalty regimes, public officials, industry representatives, and Québec civil society have generally not engaged, however, in a fundamental rethinking of the business model—the common "dig-and-sell" paradigm[102]—that has guided, and continues to guide, mining development in the provincial north. If the means to carry out this overhaul remain to be invented and implemented, some industry observers, authors, and

critics have theorized and in some cases empirically examined possible alternatives.[103] In economic terms, they have proposed:

- the creation of a resource rent tax and an associated sovereign wealth fund;
- revenue sharing with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit groups on whose land mineral development is occurring;
- regional economic diversification, in particular through the establishment and support of a balanced industrial base and smaller scale, revenue-generating ventures;
- the development of local and/or state-owned manufacture industries;
- a more careful examination and potential veto over foreign mergers and takeovers;
- government and/or Aboriginal control over the number, size, and scale of concurrent mining projects, and the staggering of operations over longer time horizons;
- transparency and systematic publishing of statistical information pertaining to industrial mining operations, including financial agreements and corporate taxes paid;
- support and development of the land-based and social economies of the north.

In the environmental realm, analysts have argued for:

- supervision of the weakly regulated mineral exploration industry and in particular, replacement of the free entry licensing system;
- stricter environmental permitting and the implementation of cumulative impact assessments and follow-up monitoring;

- close evaluation of rehabilitation and restoration plans, posting of steeper financial assurances, and more stringent auditing and certification processes related to mine closure;
- greater government oversight over land permits, implementation of integrated land management, and creation of zones of exclusion from development;
- comprehensive recycling, energy efficiency, and consumption reduction programs, including the fight against planned obsolescence.

Finally, in the social and political domains, experts have highlighted the potential for adapted work and training programs such as job-sharing arrangements for indigenous workers and, perhaps most importantly, active and meaningful participation of communities not only at the notification and assessment stages but also through the prospection, exploration, design, construction, implementation, monitoring, follow-up, and remediation, and also the partial ownership of industrial projects that have secured local support. These policy proposals have not really garnered serious considerations from regulatory authorities or the industry, which are generally intent on exploiting the region as rapidly and efficiently as possible so long as the social licence has been obtained.

CONCLUSION

By the mid-twentieth century, the "exploration" and gradual abrogation of indigenous homelands situated north of the forty-ninth parallel was already a long-standing phenomenon in the Québec-Labrador peninsula. These territories were travelled as early as 1578 by European crews looking for the Northwest Passage, before being visited, between the seventeenth and nineteenth century, by a series of missionaries, English and French traders, and, toward the end of that period, exploration parties assigned to diverse scientific and geological duties. As we have seen, the colonial process accelerated through the mining boom of the postwar period, when powerful American mining and steel interests formed

corporate alliances, under the auspices of a generally proactive, interventionist state, to lay their hands onto the strategic iron ore reserves in the Labrador Trough. The end result turned out to be deleterious for the regional economy at large and for the well-being of local indigenous populations.

The initial search for valuable iron deposits in the interwar years led to the opening of the Ungava region to intensive mineral development, in part thanks to the provincial government's espousal of a liberal economic program that limited the ability or willingness of the state to sustain an endogenous manufacturing sector linked to primary extractive activities.[104] But, contradicting their own laissez-faire principles, government administrators adopted a hands-on approach to produce a mineral policy largely favourable to corporate interests. This state-sanctioned support of industry facilitated the incursion of massive foreign capital into the North, with the launching of modern infrastructure projects, notably in the domains of energy, mechanical transportation, and urban planning, and the consequent appropriation of indigenous homelands.

In the early 1980s, the development of the resource-dependent, mature mining municipality of Schefferville, located at the heart of the Labrador Trough, went tumbling to a sudden yet brutal crash. Despite the challenges thrown at the local communities to survive the death of their unique industry, many people, including most members of Schefferville's two indigenous groups, resolved to pursue their lives in this economically frail region. As authorities worked rather ineptly to promote alternatives to mineral production that could rescue the regional economy, Innu and Naskapi residents were forced to reorganize their livelihoods through the region's deindustrialization phase.

The post-closure phase did not come without immense obstacles and uncertainties, as one of the main sources of employment for the Innu and the Naskapi in Schefferville vanished virtually overnight. Indigenous residents remember with particular bitterness the difficulties associated with mine closure, holding both IOC and government authorities responsible for the failure to deliver on their promises of long-term prosperity for their communities. Notwithstanding their very real grievances and misfortunes, the dismantling of a wage economy at Schefferville implied that people had to find, much as during the preceding development

and production years, alternate ways to make a living—only this time around, literally outside of an evanescent mining world that, for better or for worse, stopped exerting its overwhelming influence on the local people, their economies, and their environments.

In this chapter, I suggest that the mine's influence never fully disappeared from the memories, the imagination, and even the lived experiences of Innu and Naskapi residents. At Schefferville the past is certainly made, as Halvaksz illustrates in a different context, of the more constructive "aesthetic qualities of mineral extraction (the attractive constructions of town life, mining equipment, roads, etc.)."[105] Yet the mine also exhibits, to borrow an evocative metaphor from Sandlos and Keeling, a zombie-like character, where the industrial sites "continue to exert some sort of malevolent effect during their afterlife."[106] I contend that the undead nature of the mine is a powerful legacy of industrial extraction in the region.

Indeed, the past figured prominently in the minds of the Innu individuals who erected mine and rail barricades in Schefferville in the summer of 2010, contesting the redevelopment of the nearby iron deposits. For Innu leader Réal McKenzie, the lessons and details of this history were a central motivation to this action, as people engaged in the protest asserted that they did not "want to live the IOC story again."[107] In addition to physical blockades, the Innu communities of Matimekush–Lac John (Schefferville) and Uashat mak Mani-utenam (Sept-Îles) have launched a $900 million lawsuit against IOC/Rio Tinto to seek financial compensation for historical and ongoing damages resulting from the "colonization and dispossession" of their ancestral territories.[108] Through this judicial action, the Innu are hoping to recoup some of the profits earned by the IOC since 1954, thanks in part to company infrastructure such as the QNS&L railway, which, according to the Innu groups who filed the proceedings, continue to "violate their ancestral rights."[109] This prosecution should serve as an unambiguous reminder that, at the dawn of a new mining cycle and amidst the resource boom, these past mining developments continue to represent a deep historical wound for some societies that are about to experience the revival of the iron ore industry in Québec. In contrast with the dominant optimism that has seized the region, one Innu from Schefferville anticipates the future in his community

in rather cautious terms, guided by his long experience with mining activities: "What do I see in twenty-five years? . . . I see the closure of this mine that is opening today. Then we will live through a second closure. They will say: 'Schefferville, goodbye.'"[110] By failing to engage the public and indigenous communities in a comprehensive consultation process and mineral policy overhaul, it is precisely this multifarious story (of colonization and dispossession) that public officials and corporate executives have not heard while planning to reindustrialize subarctic Québec.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the Innu and Naskapi individuals from the regions of Sept-Îles and Schefferville who agreed to participate in the interviews and helped out with the project; as well as the Social Economy Research Network of Northern Canada, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, and the Abandoned Mines Project led by Arn Keeling and John Sandlos.

NOTES

1 "Your ancestors have led you here to recount the images of your dreams." Québec, "Plan Nord: Building Northern Québec Together, The Project of a Generation" (Ministère des Ressources naturelles et de la Faune, 2011), xv. All translations from French to English are mine.

2 See, for example, Caroline Desbiens, "Défricher l'espace de la nation: lieu, culture et développement économique à la baie James," *Géographie et cultures* 49 (2004): 87–104.

3 Ibid., 6.

4 Alisha Hiyate, "The New Normal," *Mining Markets* 4, no. 3 (September 2011): 5.

5 In this chapter, I am concerned primarily with mineral developments occurring on the Québec portion of the Labrador Iron Trough.

6 Ocean Equities, "Iron Ore: The Labrador Trough" (London: Ocean Equities, January 18, 2013), 1.

7 David Ebner and Brenda Bouw, "Tata Joins Race for Canada's Iron Ore," *Globe and Mail*, March 8, 2011.

8 According to Markey, Halseth, and Manson, the concept of "resource bank" refers "to the practice of using the vast resource wealth of the hinterland for the purposes of either province building or supporting infrastructure and service spending within the metropolitan core" ["Challenging the Inevitability of Rural Decline: Advancing the Policy of Place in Northern British Columbia," *Journal of Rural Studies* 24 (2008): 412]. This situation "rarely results in significant investments in those regions from which resources were extracted" [Matthew Tonts, Kirsten Martinus, and Paul Plummer, "Regional Development, Redistribution and the Extraction of Mineral Resources: The Western Australian Goldfields as a Resource Bank," *Applied Geography* 45 (2013): 366].

9 "Americans own the capital that we lack. They enhance the value of our natural resources, awakening the sleeping wealth." Cited in Pierre Paquette, *Les mines du Québec, 1867–1975: une évaluation critique d'un mode historique d'industrialisation nationale* (Outremont: Carte blanche, 2000), 270.

10 Richard Geren and Blake McCullogh, *Cain's Legacy: The Building of Iron Ore Company of Canada* (Sept-Îles: Iron Ore Company of Canada, 1990), 31.

11 Ibid., 39.

12 Donna Yoshimatsu, "The Legacy of the Rail Lives On, But Could It Be Built Today?" *Canadian Mining Journal* 130, no. 5 (June/July 2009): 8.

13 Paquette, *Les mines du Québec*, 133, 143; Henri Dorion and Jean-Paul Lacasse, *Le Québec: territoire incertain* (Sillery: Les éditions du Septentrion, 2011), 326.

14 Paquette, *Les mines du Québec*, 133. In metric terms, the exploitation lease was equivalent to close to 777 square kilometres.

15 Up to 1958, IOC shareholders consisted of mining companies Hanna Mining (17.48%), Hollinger North Shore Exploration (12.62%), Hollinger (8.09%), M. A. Hanna (8.09%), and Labrador Mining & Exploration (6.47%); and steel companies Republic (16.18%), National (12.95%), Armco (6.47%), Youngstown (6.47%), and Wheeling-Pittsburgh (5.18%) (Geren and McCullogh, *Cain's Legacy*, 339).

16 See, for example, "Dépense initiale de 200 millions: 'Fortune' dit que l'on devra dépenser cette somme avant de retirer une tonne de minerai," *Action Catholique* (November 26, 1948), Fonds Ministère des Travaux publics et de l'Approvisionnement, file 52.1 (1947–65), E25, S105, SS1, SSS2, box 1960-01-41/704, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.

17 Québec deed of sale number 5851 executed before John P. Rowat, Notary (Montréal, March 22, 1951), Fonds Ministère des Travaux publics et de l'Approvisionnement, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.

18 Daniel Vachon, *L'histoire montagnaise de Sept-Îles* (Québec: Éditions Innu, 1985), 42–43.

19 Personal communication (Kawawachikamach, 2009: N-23a). Each Innu and Naskapi interviewee is anonymously identified with a unique numerical value that is consistent with other related works. The author conducted the interviews in the Schefferville region in the fall of 2009.

20 Personal communication (Kawawachikamach, 2009: N-25b).

21 Maurice Duplessis, cited in Évènement Journal, "Dès 1953 un train pour l'Ungava!," October 25, 1952, Fonds Ministère des Travaux publics et de l'Approvisionnement, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.

22 Québec, *Arrêté en Conseil numéro 222 concernant le développement du Nouveau-Québec, et le progrès de la province*, Chambre du Conseil exécutif (March 7, 1951), Fonds Ministère des Travaux publics et de l'Approvisionnement, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.

23 This percentage averaged 1.60 per cent for the pre-Schefferville decade 1945–1955 and 1.26 per cent for the following ten-year period, 1955–1965 (Paquette, *Les mines du Québec*, 177).

24 Ibid., 173, 190.

25 Ibid., 190.

26 In 1970, the value of iron ore production accounted for roughly one-sixth of the total value of production in Québec; by that measure it was over five times more important than gold production and about two-thirds as valuable as copper, the leading sector in the provincial mining economy. By 1975, iron ore was the leading sector in terms of value of output (Ibid., 14).

27 Ibid., 191.

28 Ibid., 66.

29 J. D. Jorgenson, "Challenges Facing the North American Iron Ore Industry" (Reston, VA: US Geological Survey, 2006), Open-File Report 2006-1061; Canada, "Iron Ore in Canada, 1886–1986," Mineral Policy Sector, Internal Report, MRI 88/2, ca. 1988, 3. I am indebted to John Thistle (Memorial University) for the latter reference.

30 John H. Bradbury, "Some Geographical Implications of the Restructuring of the Iron Ore Industry, 1950–1980," *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 73, no. 5 (1982): 295.

31 Paul Sukagawa, "Is Iron Ore Priced as a Commodity? Past and Current Practice," *Resources Policy* 35, no. 1 (March 2010): 54. Sukagawa makes this characterization for the period that led to the late 1960s and the development of the Pilbara iron mines in Australia.

32 Canada, "Iron Ore in Canada, 1886–1986," 3.

33 Paquette, *Les mines du Québec*, 204.

34 In terms of this commodity, between the years 1955 and 1975 Québec exported "the totality of its production outside of its borders," 70 per cent of which shipped to the United States (ibid., 137–38).

35 Ibid., 258.

36 Ibid., 250. In 1944, the added value in the iron ore and steel industries accounted for 20 per cent of the country's total, with 9,760 jobs linked to the sector; by 1975, it had dropped to 11 per cent and 9,517 jobs.

37 In association with British Steel Corporation and Quebec Cartier Mining (an entity held by US Steel), Sidbec formed the company Sidbec-Normines, a half-state entity whose goal was to exploit and process the rich iron deposits of Fire Lake located near the municipality of Gagnon.

38 Bradbury, "Some Geographical Implications," 301–2.

39 *La ville de Gagnon*, directed by Christian Sénéchal and Hélène Brown (Plate-Formes-Prods, 2008), film, 19 min. 11 s.

40 Michel Nadeau, "Iron Ore ferme à Schefferville," *Le Devoir*, November 2, 1982, Fonds Cercle de presse de Sept-Îles, Le Soleil-Ouellet-Fessou (1960–85), P15, S2, dossiers 138 à 150.6.2, contenant 1982-11-002/3, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.

41 Marie Tison, "Dossier de la fermeture de Schefferville: les Montagnais blâment Québec et Ottawa," *Le Soleil*, April 13, 1988, Fonds Cercle de presse de Sept-Îles, Le Soleil-Ouellet-Fessou (1960–85), P15, S2, dossiers 138 à 150.6.2, contenant 1982-11-002/3, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.

42 Natural Resources Canada, Legal Surveys Division, *Historical Review–Matimekosh* (undated), 86–87, accessed December 1, 2014, http://clss-satc.nrcan-rncan.gc.ca/data-donnees/publications/indlanhisque-hisfonterindque/matimekosh_ang.pdf.

43 Personal communication (Kawawachikamach, 2009: N-23a).

44 Personal communication (Matimekush, 2009: I-17b).

45 Personal communication (Kawawachikamach, 2009: N-23a).

46 Personal communication (Matimekush, 2009: I-17a).

47 Personal communication (Schefferville, 2009: 1-29b).

48 Personal communication (Kawawachikamach, 2009: N-25a).

49 Ibid.

50 John H. Bradbury, "Towards an Alternative Theory of Resource-Based Town Development in Canada," *Economic Geography* 55, no. 2 (April 1979): 155.

51 André Bourbeau, "Projet de mémoire portant sur l'opportunité de la fermeture de la ville de Schefferville," report to Conseil des ministres (Québec,

March 4, 1986), Fonds Cercle de presse de Sept-Îles, Le Soleil-Ouellet-Fessou (1960–85), P15, S2, files 138 to 150.6.2, box 1982-11-002/3, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.

52 Ibid.

53 Marc St-Pierre, "Fermer Schefferville: une question d'argent," May 14, 1986, Fonds Cercle de presse de Sept-Îles, Le Soleil-Ouellet-Fessou (1960–85), P15, S2, dossiers 138 à 150.6.2, contenant 1982-11-002/3, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.

54 See Paquette, *Les mines du Québec*, 127.

55 Richard Laforest, Jacques Frenette, Robert Comtois, and Michel Mongeon, "Occupation et utilisation du territoire par les Montagnais de Schefferville" (Rapport au Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais, Village des Hurons, 1983), B74.

56 Personal communication (Schefferville, 2009: I-28a).

57 Personal communication (Matimekush, 2009: I-16a).

58 Personal communication (Matimekush, 2009: I-17b).

59 Personal communication (Kawawachikamach, 2009: N-24c).

60 Personal communication (Matimekush, 2009: I-18a).

61 Personal communucation (Matimekush, 2009: I-16a).

62 Cited in *Une tente sur mars*, directed by Martin Bureau and Luc Renaud (Productions Thalie and Les Films, March 3, 2009), film, 58 min. 06 s.

63 See Laura Cameron, *Openings: A Meditation on History, Method, and Sumas Lake* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 18. In the context of large industrial projects that contributed to the destruction of a socially and culturally significant lake in British Columbia, Cameron seeks to grapple with the complicated array of local interpretations related to these developments: "Yes, Sumas Lake had been drained, but that hardly proved that it and the surrounding floodlands were valueless to all the people who lived there."

64 Personal communication (Matimekush, 2009: I-28c).

65 Personal communication (Matimekush, 2009: I-15a).

66 Personal communication (Kawawachikamach, 2009: N-23a).

67 I borrow this expression from Pini, Mayes, and McDonald, who use it in the context of the January 2009 closure of the Ravensthorpe nickel mine in Western Australia. The authors argue that "for the participants of our study the mine's end was a highly emotional event," which was "marked by a palpable sense of loss," despite the fact that it "was primarily represented as an economic and industrial issue" ["The Emotional Geography of a Mine Closure: A Study of the Ravensthorpe Nickel Mine in Western Australia," *Social & Cultural Geography* 11, no. 6 (September 2010): 570].

68 Personal communication (Matimekush, 2009: I-15a).

69 "And now, 30 years later, these people are coming back! It's funny, only one year or two ago, my community and I did not exist in northern Québec!," Réal McKenzie, "En finir avec la discrimination," *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 41, no. 1 (2011): 73.

70 "Ahead of the Curve: Working with Aboriginal Partners in the Race for Canada's Iron Ore," *Canadian Mining Journal* 133, no. 3 (April 2012): 26–27.

71 Jamon Alex Halvaksz II, "Whose Closure? Appearances, Temporality, and Mineral Extraction in Papua New Guinea," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14 (2008): 21–22.

72 Cited in Raymond St-Pierre and Dominique Landry, "Schefferville: les défis humains du Plan Nord," *Radio-Canada*, television, April 17, 2012.

73 Russel B. Noble, "La hommage [*sic*] au 'Plan Nord,'" *Canadian Mining Journal* 133, no. 3 (April 2012): 5.

74 Québec, "Plan Nord," 38.

75 See, for example, Jean-Sébastien Boutet, "Développement ferrifère et mondes autochtones au Québec subarctique, 1954–1983," *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 40, no. 3 (2010): 35–52.

76 Vice president of an exploration company, cited in Fred McMahon and Miguel Cervantes, "Fraser Institute Annual Survey of Mining Companies, 2011/2012" (Vancouver: The Fraser Institute, February 2012), 43.

77 Québec, "Plan Nord," 111.

78 Correy Baldwin, "Future Growth Built on Iron Ore Legacy," *CIM Magazine* 6, no. 2 (2011): 42.

79 Baffinland Iron Mines, "Iron Ore Industry Trends and Analysis" (August 31, 2009), 7, 18.

80 Jeffrey D. Wilson, "Chinese Resource Security Policies and the Restructuring of the Asia-Pacific Iron Ore Market," *Resources Policy* 37, no. 3 (September 2012): 331. Depending on the conditions, these dominant companies are also able, through overproduction and market flooding, to depress prices enough to stamp out competition from small iron producers.

81 Ibid.

82 World Steel Association, "Crude Steel Production 2013," accessed December 1, 2014, http://worldsteel.org/statistics/crude-steel-production.html.

83 See Wilson, "Chinese Resource Security Policies."

84 ArcelorMittal, "Core Strengths, Sustainable Returns: Annual Report 2011" (Luxembourg, April 2012), 7, 15.

85 Marilyn Scales, "Big Money: Mont-Wright Expansion to Pump $2.1 Billion into Quebec," *Canadian Mining Journal* 133, no. 3 (April 2012): 14–15.

86 Ibid., 13–14.

87 Dean Journeaux, "Breaking New Ground in the Labrador Trough," *Northern Exposure* presentation (St. John's, NL, January 22–24, 2013), 8.

88 In October 2010, Tata Steel (80%) and New Millennium Iron (20%) formed the Tata Steel Minerals Canada (TSMC) joint venture. The "Canadian" company "is part of Tata Steel Group of companies" headquartered in Mumbai (Tata Steel Minerals Canada, "Welcome to Tata Steel Minerals Canada Limited," accessed December 1, 2014, http://www.tatasteelcanada.com).

89 This site should not be confused with the Timmins mining district of northeastern Ontario; new reserves are also being identified in the area.

90 Journeaux, "Breaking New Ground," 6.

91 "New Millennium: Advancing the New Millennium Iron Range," *The International Resource Journal* 6, no. 3 (June 2011): 123.

92 New Millennium Iron, "On the Path to Production," corporate presentation (September 2011), 68.

93 Canada, "Speaking Notes for the Honourable Denis Lebel, Minister of Transport, Infrastructure and Communities" (annual conference of the Association of Canadian Port Authorities, Sept-Îles, QC, August 8, 2011).

94 Québec, "Plan Nord," 63.

95 Ibid. In 2011, the project was listed as the most expansive mining endeavor on the planet, all commodities considered [Magnus Ericsson and Viktoriya Larsson, "E&MJ's Annual Survey of Global Mining Investment," *Engineering and Mining Journal* (January 2012): 6].

96 Cited in D'Arcy Jenish, "Destined for Grandeur: Chinese Steel Giant Invests Heavily in Quebec Ore Property," *Canadian Mining Journal* 133, no. 3 (April 2012): 16.

97 Québec, "Plan Nord," 63.

98 Ibid., 117.

99 Ibid., 36.

100 St-Pierre and Landry, "Schefferville."

101 Robert Martin, chairman of the Strategic Advisory Committee of the Board of Directors, NML, cited in Ebner and Bouw, "Tata Joins Race."

102 See Timothy Prior, Damien Giurco, Gavin Mudd, Leah Mason, and Johannes Behrisch, "Resource Depletion, Peak Minerals and the Implications for Sustainable Resource Management," *Global Environmental Change* 22, no. 3 (2012): 585.

103 Ugo Lapointe, "L'héritage du principe de *free mining* au Québec et au Canada," *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 40, no. 3 (2010): 9–25; Ciaran O'Faircheallaigh and Ginger Gibson, "Economic Risk and Mineral Taxation on Indigenous Lands," *Resources Policy* 37, no. 1 (2012): 10–18; Prior et al.,

"Resource Depletion, Peak Minerals," 577–87; Vérificateur général du Québec, "Report of the Auditor General of Québec to the National Assembly for 2008–2009," Volume 2, April 1, 2009. This list is non-exhaustive.

104 See, for example, Paquette, *Les mines du Québec*, 271.

105 Halvaksz II, "Whose Closure?," 26.

106 John Sandlos and Arn Keeling, "Zombie Mines and the (Over)burden of History," *Solutions Journal* 4, no. 3 (June 2013): 81.

107 McKenzie, "En finir avec la discrimination," 72.

108 Radio-Canada, "Côte-Nord: des Innus poursuivent IOC pour 900 millions," March 20, 2013, accessed December 1, 2014, http://www.radio-canada.ca/regions/est-quebec/2013/03/20/010-ioc-innus-poursuite.shtml. See also the IOC/Rio Tinto "Pay the rent" campaign website (http://www.paytherent.info/). In 2000, Rio Tinto became the principal shareholder of IOC.

109 Sylvain Laroque, "Des Innus poursuivent IOC pour 900 millions," *La Presse*, March 20, 2013, accessed December 1, 2014, http://affaires.lapresse.ca/economie/energie-et-ressources/201303/20/01-4633042-des-innus-poursuivent-ioc-pour-900-millions.php.

110 Essimeu Tite McKenzie, cited in Bureau and Renaud, *Une tente sur Mars*.

University of Calgary

PRISM: University of Calgary's Digital Repository

University of Calgary Press | University of Calgary Press Open Access Books

2015-11

Mining and communities in Northern Canada : history, politics, and memory

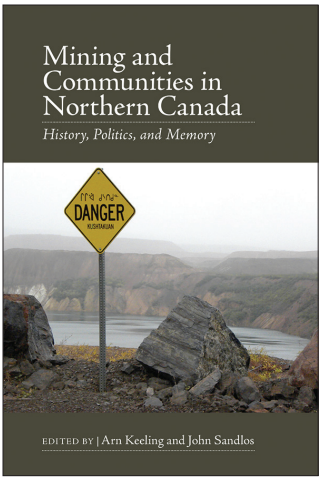
Keeling, Arn; Sandlos, John

University of Calgary Press

Keeling, A., & Sandlos, J. (Eds.). (2015). Mining and Communities in Northern Canada: History, Politics, and Memory. Canada: University of Calgary Press.
http://hdl.handle.net/1880/51021
book

http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/
Attribution Non-Commercial No Derivatives 4.0 International
Downloaded from PRISM: https://prism.ucalgary.ca

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press



MINING AND COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN CANADA: HISTORY, POLITICS, AND MEMORY

Edited by Arn Keeling and John Sandlos

ISBN 978-1-55238-805-1

THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK. It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at ucpress@ucalgary.ca

Cover Art: The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

COPYRIGHT NOTICE: This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence. This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY**:

- read and store this document free of charge;
- distribute it for personal use free of charge;
- print sections of the work for personal use;
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY NOT**:

- gain financially from the work in any way;
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
- reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press
press.ucalgary.ca

Acknowledgement: *We acknowledge the wording around open access used by Australian publisher,* **re.press**, *and thank them for giving us permission to adapt their wording to our policy* http://www.re-press.org

Conclusion

Arn Keeling and John Sandlos

Mining controversies are not new. The noted late-medieval scholar Georgius Agricola opened his classic text, *De Re Metallica* (1556), with an extensive defence of mining against critics who cited its environmental impact, hazardous work conditions, and economic instability. But he also suggested that opinions on mining had long been divergent: "There has always been the greatest disagreement amongst men concerning metals and mining, some praising, others utterly condemning them."[1] In a period when large-scale mining was just beginning to exploit the riches beneath indigenous lands in the New World, there remained no consensus on the relative value of minerals when weighed against the social and environmental costs of development.

The issues Agricola discussed nearly half a millennium ago continue to resonate throughout the world's mining regions. In Canada, there has always been a particular intensity and longevity to debates about mineral development, perhaps matched only by environmental battles over clear-cut logging in British Columbia in the 1980s and 1990s. Conflicts over mining past and present are often uniquely polarized, with miners derided as profiteers and despoilers of the earth, while mining critics are

branded as "anti-development" types who would "lock up" resources in the name of environmental protection. Like all caricatures, there are uncomfortable elements of truth in these accusations, and presumably one can find extreme examples of each in the historical record (not to mention the daily news).

The case histories of mineral development presented in this volume prompt a more reflective examination of these positions, in light of the complex historical experience of communities adjacent to, or founded by, mining activities in the North. The Abandoned Mines project began as an attempt to understand the role of mineral development in the industrialization of Northern Canada, the impacts of mining in hitherto largely undisturbed northern environments, and the social and cultural changes experienced by local communities, particularly Aboriginal people, in the wake of these developments. What the many contributors to this volume discovered, however, was more than a simple tale of despoliation and decline rooted in the "bad old days" of lax regulation and industrial disregard for people and nature. Certainly the economic instability, community collapse, and environmental impacts associated with northern mining suggests the industry delivered far less in terms of social and economic development than the boosters of northern development in government and business promised time and time again. For some communities, however, mining presented an important economic stopgap against price shocks and resource declines in other sectors of the northern Aboriginal economy, especially hunting and trapping. Perhaps the most remarkable of our collective findings is the ability of many northern Aboriginal communities and individuals to accommodate and assimilate mine work, culture, and communities, while simultaneously engaging in a profound critique of mineral-intensive development strategies. Stories of northern mining encompass widely varying historical experiences of economic dislocation and opportunity, community development and collapse, memories that continue to shape widely divergent local attitudes to northern mineral development in the present day.

But even as the authors in this book reflect on the complexity of individual and local experiences, they by no means reject a critical examination of the industry and its social, environmental, and economic impacts. While never a historical source of violent conflict in Northern Canada

(as it has been elsewhere in the world), mineral development has often reinforced the inequities associated with settler colonialism in the region. The injustices experienced by Aboriginal northerners associated with mineral development documented in these chapters range from territorial dispossession and social and economic marginalization to toxic contamination and degradation of important local environments. These injustices are best understood in connection with the broader suite of federal government neocolonial policies aimed at "modernizing" Aboriginal people and territories in the region in the twentieth century. There is also a strong link between these past experiences and the deep suspicion felt today by many toward the industry (and its promoters in federal and territorial governments). Signs of the physical changes wrought by mining, from open pits to toxic sites to industrial ruins on the landscape, remain potent material reminders of the mining experience, legacies that continue to haunt both the memories and the biophysical environments of local communities. These experiences, memories, and material conditions continue to inform present debates about the costs and benefits of mineral development today, as mining is touted as the economic salvation of supposedly dependent northern communities. Contemporary developments in the vicinity of abandoned mines may threaten to reawaken or reproduce the injustices associated with past developments, regardless of the goodwill of companies or the improvement of regulatory oversight. As several of the chapters also show, attending to the history of mining can raise uncomfortable questions about the persistence of colonial legacies and institutions in the region, even in this era of land claims, impact and benefit agreements, and corporate social responsibility.

Ultimately, we think that a better understanding of the scope and impacts of historical mineral development in the North, as well as its many ongoing legacies, can contribute to wider debates about resources and sustainability in Canada, and beyond. Historically, the goal of mining has only been tangentially (and at times only rhetorically) about the modernization and development of northern communities. Rather, the main aim of mining companies and their government promoters has been to fulfill the insatiable demand for minerals (and profits) in Southern Canada and for export markets. Thus, the story of mining in Northern Canada is one that connects all Canadians, whether consumers of mineral products or

holders of mining stocks in investment portfolios, to the remote, often poorly understood northern places, people, and environments affected by mining. As seen in debates around bitumen development in northern Alberta, southern Canadians (and urbanites in particular) have often been willing to ignore the environmental and public health burdens associated with our material- and energy-intensive lifestyles. Perhaps a better understanding of the historical and contemporary impacts of mining can help lead to a better reckoning of the how the costs and benefits of resource extraction have been distributed among local communities, highly mobile capital, and distant consumers. Certainly the ephemeral local benefits that stem from northern mining— the historical boom and bust cycle that is emblematic of the industry—force Canadians to face the difficult question of what a sustainable economy might look like in the North and in the country as whole.

These histories also highlight the problem of who bears the long-term financial consequences of abandoned mines—in Canada, typically taxpayers have been left on the hook for billions in environmental liabilities associated with cleaning up past industrial developments. These long-term environmental legacies and financial liabilities—the "zombies" that stalk northern mine sites and communities—illustrate the fundamentally unsustainable nature of extractive industries such as mining. Based as they are on finite resources, extractive sites like mines must ultimately decline as deposits are exhausted or, more likely, as the costs of extraction begin to exceed the market value of the product. There is no renewable "resource cycle" associated with minerals, though technological change and market conditions can lead to the revaluation of formerly closed sites or unworked deposits. But as many of the chapters show, the cessation of extractive activity does not necessarily end the costs and controversies associated with mineral development. Toxic contaminants, ecological changes, and the collapse of local resource-dependent economies may resonate for decades or longer after the end of mining, scarring the landscape and displacing communities. Even in cases where some remediation has been undertaken, many of the financial costs associated with these impacts are borne not by the industry, but by the public, individually and collectively. Under new forms of environmental regulation, companies are often required to post financial security during the

life of a mine to cover closure and clean-up costs, though time will tell if today's estimates match the actual cost of cleanup. What cannot be recovered from industry, however, is the massive cost of historic abandoned mines. Despite frequent calls from industry and recent calls from the Canadian government to cut regulatory red tape to speed the pace of northern resource development, the environmental liabilities associated with historic abandoned mines provide a potent reminder of the need for strict environmental assessment, public oversight, and regulation of new northern mineral projects in all phases of their operation.

In broader historical terms, there can be little doubt that mining was one of the most important drivers of social, cultural, and economic change in Northern Canada. This book has attempted to reckon with the precise meaning of these changes, and how they intersected with the broader suite of social, cultural, and economic changes sweeping the region in the twentieth century. In doing so we discovered histories of resource projects that were too often focused narrowly on mineral extraction to the exclusion of social development and environmental issues in adjacent Aboriginal (and in a few cases non-Aboriginal) communities. In some cases these communities responded creatively to the sudden social, economic, and environmental changes associated with northern mineral development. At other times the adjustments to new patterns of work, settlement, and economic exchange proved painful, as did environmental changes that brought toxic exposure, sickness, and sometimes death. As we enter a new era of promises and unbridled optimism about northern development based on minerals and offshore oil, all Canadians would do well to reflect on the opportunities and challenges these types of megaprojects have presented to northern communities in the past, and what kind of issues they might raise for them in the future.

NOTE

1 Georgius Agricola, *De Re Metallica*, trans. Herbert Clark Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1950 [1556]), 4.

Notes on Contributors

PATRICIA BOULTER is an MA graduate from Memorial University of Newfoundland. She studied environmental history, focusing primarily on the socio-economic and cultural impacts of mining in Canada's Arctic regions. When she is not out hiking, you can find her in a classroom, where she shares her passion for the environment and history with her students.

JEAN-SÉBASTIEN BOUTET holds a master's degree in geography from Memorial University. He now works as a mining policy analyst for the Nunatsiavut Government (Newfoundland and Labrador).

EMILIE CAMERON is an assistant professor in the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at Carleton University. She is the author of *Far Off Metal River: Inuit Lands, Settler Stories, and the Making of the Contemporary Arctic* (UBC Press, 2015). Her current research focuses on geographies of resource extraction, empire, and labour in the contemporary North.

SARAH M. GORDON earned her PhD in folklore at Indiana University and her MA in comparative literature at University College London. Her major research interests include cultural adaptability in colonized communities, with an emphasis on performance theory as it pertains

to oral traditions, folk narratives, and personal experience narratives. She has in the past collaborated with the Délı̨nę Knowledge Project in Délı̨nę, Northwest Territories, Canada, and Traditional Arts Indiana in Bloomington, Indiana, USA.

HEATHER GREEN is a doctoral student in the Department of History and Classics at the University of Alberta. She studies social, environmental, and indigenous history of Northern Canada, specifically mining and indigenous communities. Her dissertation examines the Klondike gold rush as a practice in economic colonialism that brought long-term environmental change to the landscape of the central Yukon and created lasting consequences for the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in in the period 1895 to 1945.

JANE HAMMOND completed her work on Labrador while pursuing her master's degree in the Department of History at Memorial University of Newfoundland. She is currently completing her PhD in the Department of Geography at Western University in Ontario.

JOELLA HOGAN is Manager of Heritage, Culture, and Language with the First Nation of Na-Cho Nyäk Dun in Mayo, Yukon. Her mandate is the preservation, protection, and promotion of Northern Tutchone language, culture, and heritage. She has degrees in environmental planning (UNBC) and Native and rural development (UAF). Her research interests are in the relationships between the natural environment and cultural identity. She has worked on projects in the Circumpolar North and is passionate about preservation of her Northern Tutchone language and culture.

ARN KEELING is a historical-cultural geographer and associate professor at Memorial University in Newfoundland. His research and publications focus on the historical and contemporary encounters of northern indigenous communities with large-scale resource developments, domestic and industrial pollution, and environmental politics, as well as on the history of the conservation/environmental movement.

TYLER LEVITAN is a graduate of the Institute of Political Economy at Carleton University, where his research focused on the political economy of northern resource extraction and indigenous–state relations. He is currently working as the coordinator of a Canadian-based human rights organization.

HEREWARD LONGLEY is a PhD student at the University of Alberta, studying indigenous and environmental histories of hydrocarbon extraction in northeastern Alberta. Hereward's research examines how changing economic and political conditions shaped the development of the oil sands industry, and how bitumen extraction has changed human relationships with nature by recreating northeastern Alberta as a resource extraction zone. Hereward holds an MA in history from Memorial University of Newfoundland where he worked with the Abandoned Mines in Northern Canada project. Hereward also works as a research analyst with Willow Springs Strategic Solutions Inc. conducting traditional land use studies for indigenous communities affected by resource extraction and infrastructure projects in northern Alberta.

SCOTT MIDGLEY is a graduate from the Department of Geography at Memorial University of Newfoundland. His thesis examined the political economy of High Arctic mining and mine closure in Canada and Norway.

KEVIN O'REILLY has resided in Yellowknife, NWT, since 1985, working for Aboriginal, federal, and territorial government agencies on land use planning, environmental assessment, and resource management. He was the research director for the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee from 1995 to 2005. He now serves as the executive director for an independent environmental oversight body on Canada's first diamond mine. He is a founding board member for MiningWatch Canada, established in 1998, and he helped to form Alternatives North, a Yellowknife-based social justice group, in 1993. He served on the Yellowknife City Council from 1997 to 2006, during the time that the Giant Mine went into receivership. Kevin led the intervention by Alternatives North on the Mackenzie Gas Project and the environmental assessment of the Giant Mine. He holds a BES in environmental studies and an MA in urban

and regional planning from the University of Waterloo. He received the Queen's Diamond Jubilee medal in July 2012 for his work on environmental issues, especially on Giant Mine.

ANDREA PROCTER is a post-doctoral fellow at the Labrador Institute, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Her work focuses on the relationships between resource development, indigenous autonomy, and settler colonialism, and she is a co-author of *Settlement, Subsistence, and Change among the Labrador Inuit: The Nunatsiavummiut Experience* (University of Manitoba Press, 2012).

JOHN SANDLOS is an associate professor of history at Memorial University of Newfoundland. His research addresses the historical politics of resource development and management in Northern Canada. He has written on the subjects of mining history, wildlife conservation, and human exclusions from national parks in Canada. With Arn Keeling, he has directed the Abandoned Mines in Northern Canada project, as well as a community-based project on the commemoration of arsenic contamination at Yellowknife's Giant Mine.

ALEXANDRA WINTON is a master's degree candidate in the Department of Geography at Memorial University of Newfoundland, where she has studied the impact of mine development and closure on northern communities. Her thesis explores the recurring closure and redevelopment of the Yukon's Keno Hill silver mine and the reactions of the communities of Mayo, Keno, and the First Nation of Na-Cho Nyäk Dun. Being from a mining community herself, she is fascinated with how communities reinvent themselves during times of economic and social change, how mineral development shapes the image of a community, and how people share these stories.

Bibliography

Abel, Kerry. *Drum Songs: Glimpses of Dene History*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.

———. History and Provincial Norths: An Ontario Example." In *Northern Visions: New Perspectives on the North in Canadian History*, edited by Kerry Abel and Ken S. Coates, 127–40. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2001.

Abel, Kerry, and Ken S. Coates. "The North and the Nation." In *Northern Visions: New Perspectives on the North in Canadian History*, edited by Kerry Abel and Ken S. Coates, 7–21. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2001.

Abele, Frances. "Canadian Contradictions: Forty Years of Northern Political Development." *Arctic* 40 (1987): 310–20.

———. "Urgent Need, Serious Opportunity: Towards a New Social Model for Canada's Aboriginal People." *Canadian Policy Research Papers*. Ottawa, 2004. Accessed February 4, 2014. http://cprn.org/documents/28340_en.pdf.

Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada. Contaminants and Remediation Directorate. "Contaminated Sites Remediation: What's Happening in the Sahtu?" March 2009. http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2010/ainc-inac/R1-27-2009-eng.pdf.

———. "History of Giant Mine." Accessed January 31, 2014. http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100027388/1100100027390.

———. "Joanna Ankersmit, Opening Remarks at the Giant Mine Remediation Project Environmental Assessment Public Hearing." Hearing

Transcript for September 10, 2012, 25. Accessed February 11, 2013. http://www.reviewboard.ca/upload/project_document/EA0809-001_Giant_Mine_hearing_transcripts_-_September_10__2012.PDF.

———. Major Mineral Projects and Deposits North of 60 Degrees. http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-INTER-HQ/STAGING/texte-text/mm_mmpd-ld_1333034932925_eng.html

———. Northern Contaminants Program. Last updated August 15, 2012. http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100035611.

Absolon, Kathy, and Cam Willett. "Putting Ourselves Forward: Location in Aboriginal Research." In *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-oppressive Approaches*, edited by Leslie Allison Brown and Susan Strega, 97–126. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press/Women's Press, 2005.

Agricola, Georgius. *De Re Metallica*. Translated by Herbert Clark Hoover and Lou Henry Hoover. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1950 [1556].

Aho, Aaro E. *Hills of Silver: The Yukon's Mighty Keno Hill Mine*. Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 2006.

Alberta Environment. "Reclaiming Alberta's Oil Sands." Government of Alberta. Accessed April 5, 2013. http://www.environment.alberta.ca/02012.html.

Alberta Health and Wellness. "Alberta Oil Sands Community Exposure and Health Effects Assessment Program (HEAP) Summary Report." Edmonton: Health Surveillance, Alberta Health and Wellness, Government of Alberta, 2000.

Albo, Greg. "Neoliberalism, the State, and the Left: A Canadian Perspective." *Monthly Review* 54, no. 1 (2002): 46–55.

Alexco Resource Corporation. Alexco Implements Cost Savings Measures. News Release. Vancouver: Alexco Resource Corporation, 2013.

Alfred, Taiaiake. *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Ali, Saleem H. *Mining, the Environment, and Indigenous Development Conflicts*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003.

Alternatives North. "Technical Report Giant Mine Remediation Project." Submitted to the Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board, July 2012. Accessed February 11, 2013. http://www.reviewboard.ca/upload/project_document/EA0809-001_AN_Giant_Mine_EA_Technical_Report__Final_.PDF.

Andersen, William, III. "Address by William Andersen III at the Opening of Land Claims Negotiations, 22 January 1989." *Northern Perspectives* 18, no. 2 (1990): 4–5.

Andrews, Thomas G. *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.

ArcelorMittal. "Core Strengths, Sustainable Returns: Annual Report 2011." Luxembourg (Grand Duchy of Luxembourg), April 2012.

Asch, Michael. "From Calder to Van der Peet: Aboriginal Rights and Canadian Law, 1973–1996." In *Indigenous Peoples' Rights in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand*, edited by P. Havemann, 428–46. Auckland, NZ: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Athabasca Tribal Council v. Amoco Petroleum Co. Supreme Court of Canada. December 4–5, 1980, and June 22, 1981.

Atwood, Margaret. *Strange Things: The Malevolent North in Canadian Literature*. London: Virago Press, 2004 [1995].

———. *Survival.* Toronto: House of Anansi Press Ltd., 1972.

Aurora Energy Ltd. "Aurora Community Newsletter." Vol. 4 (July 2008). Accessed February 5, 2014. http://aurora-energy.ca/sites/default/files/newsletter/AXU_Community_Newsletter_V4_July_2008_Eng.pdf

Austin, John L. *How to Do Things with Words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Baffinland Iron Mines. "Iron Ore Industry Trends and Analysis." August 31, 2009.

Baldwin, Correy. "Future Growth Built on Iron Ore Legacy." *CIM Magazine* 6, no. 2 (2011): 38–42.

Banerjee, Subhabrata Bobby. "Whose Land Is It Anyway? National Interest, Indigenous Stakeholders, and Colonial Discourses." *Organization & Environment* 13 (March 2000): 3–38.

Barnes, Trevor. "Borderline Communities: Canadian Single Industry Towns, Staples, and Harold Innis." In *B/ordering Space*, edited by Henk van Houtum, Olivier Thomas Kramsch, and Wolfgang Zierhofer. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2005.

Barnes, Trevor, Roger Hayter, and Elizabeth Hay. "Stormy Weather: Cyclones, Harold Innis, and Port Alberni, BC." *Environment and Planning* A 33 (2001): 2127–47.

Barnett, Clive. "Critical Review: The Consolidations of 'Neoliberalism.'" *Geoforum* 36, no. 1 (2005): 7–12.

Barrett, J. E. "Employment of the Inuit at Polaris, Little Cornwallis Island: A Feasibility Study Requested by Arvik Mines Ltd." 1973.

Barrett, J. E., and Associates. "The Polaris Project and the Inuit: An Assignment Concerned with Involving the Inuit in the Polaris Mine Development Requested by Arvik Mines Ltd." 1976.

Barrie, L. A. "The Fate of Particulate Emissions from an Isolated Power Plant in the Oil Sands Area of Western Canada." *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 338 (1980): 434–52.

Bastedo, Jamie. *Shield Country: The Life and Times of the Oldest Piece of the Planet*. Komatik Series 4. Arctic Institute of North America, 1994.

BC Research. "Lethal and Sublethal Bioassays on Tailing from Nanisivik Mine Ore." Prepared for Strathcona Mineral Services, Project 1552, Progress Report No. 3, 1975.

BCG Engineering. "Engineering Design of Surface Reclamation Covers." 2003. Accessed January 2012. ftp://nunavutwaterboard.org/1%20PRUC/1%20INDUSTRIAL/1A/1AR%20-%20Remediation/1ARNAN0914/3%20TECH/10%20A%20and%20R%20(G)(J)/2004/G3%20Final%20Closure%20Plan/2004%20Final%20AR%20plan/G.4%20Cover%20Report/G.4%20Report/G.4%20Cover%20Report%20Final.pdf.

Bebbington, Anthony, Leonith Hinojosa, Denise Humphreys Bebbington, Maria Luisa Burneo, and Ximena Warnaars. "Contention and Ambiguity: Mining and the Possibilities of Development." *Development and Change* 39, no. 6 (2008): 965–92.

Beckwith, Karen. "Lancashire Women against Pit Closures: Women's Standing in a Men's Movement." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 21, no. 4 (1996): 1034–68.

Bell, J. Mackintosh. "Report on the Topography and Geology of Great Bear Lake and of a Chain of Lakes and Streams Thence to Great Slave Lake." In Annual Report. Ottawa: Geological Survey of Canada, 1901.

Bell, Lindsay A. "Economic Insecurity as Opportunity: Job Training and the Canadian Diamond Industry." In *Humanizing Security in the Arctic*, edited by Michelle Daveluy, Francis Lévesque, and Jenanne Ferguson, 293–304. Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 2011.

Ben-Dor, S. *Makkovik: Eskimos and Settlers in a Labrador Community*. St. John's, NL: ISER, 1966.

Berger, Thomas. *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry*. Vol. 1. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1977.

Berland, Jody. "Space at the Margins: Critical Theory and Colonial Space after Innis." In *Harold Innis in the New Century*, edited by Charles R. Acland and William J. Buxton. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999.

Bernauer, Warren. "Uranium Mining, Primitive Accumulation, and Resistance in Baker Lake, Nunavut: Recent Changes in Community Perspectives." MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 2011.

Berube, Yves et al. "An Engineering Assessment of Waste Water Handling Procedures at the Cominco Pine Point Mine." Unpublished report. Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1972.

Bethell, Graeme. "Preliminary Inventory of the Environmental Issues and Concerns Affecting the People of Fort MacKay, Alberta." Brentwood Bay, BC: Bethell Management Ltd., May 1985.

Bielawski, Ellen. *Rogue Diamonds: Northern Riches on Dene Land*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2003.

Bielawski, Ellen (in collaboration with the community of Lutsel k'e). "The Desecration of Nanula Kué: Impact of the Talston Hydroelectric Development on Dene Soline." Unpublished report for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, December 1993.

Blaser, Mario, Harvey Feit, and Glenn McRae. "Indigenous Peoples and Development Processes: New Terrains of Struggle." In *In the Way of Development: Indigenous Peoples, Life Projects, and Globalization*, edited by Mario Blaser, Harvey Feit, and Glenn McRae, 1–25. London: Zed Books, 2004.

Bleiler, Lynette R., Christopher Robert Burn, and Mark O'Donoghue. *Heart of the Yukon: A Natural and Cultural History of the Mayo Area*. Mayo, YT: Village of Mayo, 2006.

Bleiler, Lynette R., and Linda E. T. MacDonald. *Gold and Galena: A History of the Mayo District, with Addendum*. Mayo, YT: Mayo Historical Society, 1999.

Blondin, George. *When the World Was New: Stories of the Sahtú Dene*. Yellowknife, NWT: Outcrop, 1990.

Blondin-Perrin, Alice. *My Heart Shook Like a Drum: What I Learned at the Indian Mission Schools, Northwest Territories*. Ottawa: Borealis Press Ltd., 2009.

Blow, Peter. "Village of Widows." 52 min. Toronto: Lindum Films Inc., 1999.

Boland, Bobbie. "At a Snail's Pace: The Presence of Women in Trades, Technology, and Operations in Newfoundland and Labrador." St. John's, NL: Women in Resource Development Committee, April 2005.

Bothwell, Robert. *Eldorado: Canada's National Uranium Company*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

Boulter, Patricia J. "The Survival of an Arctic Boom Town: Socio-economic and Cultural Diversity in Rankin Inlet, 1956–63." MA major paper, Memorial University, 2011.

Boutet, Jean-Sébastien. "Développement ferrifère et mondes autochtones au Québec subarctique, 1954–1983." *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 40, no. 3 (2010): 35–52.

———. "An Innu-Naskapi Ethnohistorical Geography of Industrial Iron Mining Development at Schefferville, Québec." MA thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2011.

———. "Opening Ungava to Industry: A Decentring Approach to Indigenous History in Subarctic Québec, 1937–54." *Cultural Geographies* 21, no. 1 (2014): 79–97. doi: 10.1177/1474474012469761.

Bouthillier, P. H. "A Review of the GCOS Dyke Discharge Water." In *Great Canadian Oil Sands Dyke Discharge Water*. Edmonton: Alberta Department of the Environment, August 1977.

Bowen, Lynne. *Boss Whistle: The Coal Miners of Vancouver Island Remember*. Rev. ed. Nanaimo, BC: Rocky Point Books, 2002.

Bowes-Lyon, Léa-Marie. "Comparison of the Socio-economic Impacts of the Nanisivik and Polaris Mines: Sustainable Development Case Study." MSc thesis, University of Alberta, 2006.

Bowes-Lyon, Léa-Marie, Jeremy P. Richards, and Tara M. McGee. "Socio-Economic Impacts of the Nanisivik and Polaris Mines, Nunavut, Canada." In *Mining, Society, and a Sustainable World*, edited by Jeremy P. Richards, 371–96. Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 2009.

Boyd, David R. *Unnatural Law: Rethinking Canadian Environmental Law and Policy*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003.

Brack, D. M., and D. McIntosh. "Keewatin Mainland Area Economic Survey and Regional Appraisal." Report for Industrial Division, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, March 1963.

Bradbury, John H. "Declining Single-Industry Communities in Quebec-Labrador, 1979–1983." *Canadian Studies* 19, no. 3 (1984): 125–39.

———. "The Impact of Industrial Cycles in the Mining Sector: The Case of the Quebec-Labrador Region in Canada." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 8 (1984): 311–31.

———. "Some Geographical Implications of the Restructuring of the Iron Ore Industry, 1950–1980." *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 73, no. 5 (1982): 295–306.

———. "Towards an Alternative Theory of Resource-Based Town Development in Canada." *Economic Geography* 55, no. 2 (1979): 147–66.

Bradbury, John H., and Isabelle St.-Martin. "Winding Down in a Quebec Mining Town: A Case Study of Schefferville." *Canadian Geographer* 27, no. 2 (1983): 128–44.

Brannstrom, Christian. "What Kind of History for What Kind of Political Ecology?" *Historical Geography* 32 (2004): 71–88.

Brantenberg, Terje. "Ethnic Commitments and Local Government in Nain, 1969–76." In *The White Arctic: Anthropological Essays on Tutelage and Ethnicity*, edited by Robert Paine, 376–410. St. John's, NL: ISER, 1977.

———."Ethnic Values and Ethnic Recruitment in Nain." In *The White Arctic: Anthropological Essays on Tutelage and Ethnicity*, edited by Robert Paine, 326–43. St. John's, NL: ISER, 1977.

Brazen, Stephen, and Tony Thirlwall. *Deindustrialzation*. Oxford: Heinemann Educational Books, 1992.

Breakwater Resources. "Letter from Breakwater to NWB regarding security bond arrangements." 2002. Accessed April 2011. ftp://nunavutwaterboard.org/1%20PRUC/1%20INDUSTRIAL/1A/1AR%20-%20Remediation/1AR-NAN0914/Admin#/hearings/hearings/2002 hearing/post hearing submissions/BWR.

Brechin, Gray. *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Breen, David H. *Alberta's Petroleum Industry and the Conservation Board*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1993.

Brice-Bennett, Carol. *Reconciling with Memories: A Record of the Reunion at Hebron Forty Years after Relocation*. Nain, NL: Labrador Inuit Association, 2000.

———. "The Redistribution of the Northern Labrador Inuit Population: A Strategy for Integration and Formula for Conflict." *Zeitschrift fur Kanada-Studien* Nr. 2, Band 26 (1994): 95–106.

———, ed. *Our Footprints Are Everywhere: Inuit Land Use and Occupancy in Labrador*. Nain, NL: Labrador Inuit Association, 1977.

Bridge, Gavin. "Contested Terrain: Mining and the Environment." *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 29 (2004): 205–59.

———. "Material Worlds: Natural Resources, Resource Geography and the Material Economy." *Geography Compass* 3, no. 3 (2009): 1217–44.

———. "Resource Triumphalism: Postindustrial Narratives of Primary Commodity Production." *Environment and Planning A 33* (2001): 2149–73.

Bridge, Gavin, and Tomas Frederiksen. "'Order Out of Chaos': Resources, Hazards, and the Production of a Tin-Mining Economy in Northern Nigeria in the Early Twentieth Century." *Environment and History* 18, no. 3 (2012): 367–94.

Brodie Consulting. "Nanisivik Mine: Reclamation Cost Estimate." Prepared for Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Water Resources Division, June 2002. Accessed April 2011. ftp://nunavutwaterboard.org/1%20PRUC/1%20INDUSTRIAL/1A/1AR%20-%20Remediation/1ARNAN0914/2%20ADMIN/3%20SUBMISSIONS/2002%20Renewal/DIAND/.

Brosnan, Kathleen A. *Uniting Mountain and Plain: Cities, Law, and Environment along the Front Range*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.

Brownlie, Robin, and Mary-Ellen Kelm. "Desperately Seeking Absolution: Native Agency as Colonialist Alibi?" *Canadian Historical Review* 24, no. 4 (December 1994): 543–56.

Brubacher & Associates. "The Nanisivik Legacy in Arctic Bay: A Socio-economic Impact Study." Prepared for the Department of Sustainable Development, Government of Nunavut, 2002.

Brugge, Doug, and R. Goble. "The History of Uranium Mining and the Navajo People." *American Journal of Public Health* 92 (2002): 1410–19.

Brugge, Doug, Timothy Benally, and Esther Yazzie-Lewis. *The Navajo People and Uranium Mining*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006.

Bullen, Warwick, and Malcolm Robb. "Socio-Economic Impact of Gold Mining in the Yellowknife Mining District." 2002. Accessed February 11, 2013. http://www.miningnorth.com/docs/Socio-Economic%20Impacts%20of%20Gold%20Mining%20in%20Yellowknife%202002.pdf.

Bureau, Martin, and Luc Renaud (dir.). "Une tente sur mars." 58 min. 06 s. Productions Thalie et Les Films, March 3, 2009.

Caine, Ken, and Naomi Krogman. "Powerful or Just Plain Power-Full? A Power Analysis of Impact and Benefit Agreements in Canada's North." *Organization & Environment* 23, no. 1 (2010): 76–98.

Cameco spot price. Accessed February 5, 2014. http://www.cameco.com/investors/markets/uranium_price/spot_price_5yr_history/.

Cameron, Emilie. "Copper Stories: Imaginative Geographies and Material Orderings of the Central Canadian Arctic." In *Rethinking the Great White North: Race, Nature, and Whiteness in Canada*, edited by Andrew Baldwin, Laura Cameron and Audrey Kobayashi, 169–90. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Cameron, Emilie, and Warren Bernauer. "Accumulation, Dispossession and Self-Determination: Wage Labour and the Expansion of Industrial Resource Extraction in Nunavut." Presentation at the Association of American Geographers Conference, New York, NY, February 26, 2012.

Cameron, Laura. "Listening for Pleasure." *Native Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (1996): 109–29.

———. *Openings: A Meditation on History, Method, and Sumas Lake*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.

Canada. "Iron Ore in Canada, 1886–1986." Mineral Policy Sector, Internal Report, MRI 88/2, ca. 1988.

———. "Speaking Notes for the Honourable Denis Lebel, Minister of Transport, Infrastructure and Communities." Annual conference of the Association of Canadian Port Authorities, Sept-Îles, QC, August 8, 2011. Accessed August 10, 2013. http://www.tc.gc.ca/eng/mediaroom/speeches-sept-iles-6413.htm.

Canada and Government of Alberta. "Joint Canada-Alberta Implementation Plan for Oil Sands Monitoring." Accessed February 7, 2014. http://environment.gov.ab.ca/info/library/8704.pdf.

Canada-Délı̨nę Uranium Table. "Canada Délı̨nę Uranium Table Final Report." Délı̨nę: Délı̨nę First Nation, 2005.

———. "Final Report Concerning Health and Environmental Issues Related to the Port Radium Mine." Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2005.

Canadian Institute of Resource Law. Independent Review of the BHP Diamond Mine Process. Calgary: CIRL, 1997.

Canadian Public Health Association. "Final Report." Yellowknife, NWT: Canadian Public Health Association Task Force on Arsenic, 1977.

CanZinco. "Final Closure and Reclamation Report." 2004. Accessed January 2012. ftp://nunavutwaterboard.org/1%20PRUC/1%20INDUSTRIAL/1A/1AR%20-%20Remediation/1ARNAN0914/3%20TECH/10%20A%20and%20R%20(G)(J)/2004/G3%20Final%20Closure%20Plan/2004%20Final%20AR%20plan/G.4%20Cover%20Report/G.4%20Report/.

Carlson, Hans. *Home Is the Hunter: The James Bay Cree and Their Land*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008.

Carr, Griselda. *Pit Women: Coal Communities in Northern England in the Early Twentieth Century*. London: Merlin Press, 2001.

Carreau, Bob. "Nunavut Water Board Final Closure and Reclamation of the Nanisivik Mine." Nunavut Water Board Official Public Hearing Transcripts, June 2004, 13–16. Accessed April 2011. ftp://nunavutwaterboard.org/1%20PRUC/1%20INDUSTRIAL/1A/1AR%20-%20Remediation/1AR-NAN0914/2%20ADMIN/4%20HEARINGS/2%20HEARING/2004/.

Castree, Noel. "From Neoliberalism to Neoliberalisation: Consolations, Confusions, and Necessary Illusions." *Environment and Planning* D 38 (2006): 1–6.

———. "Neoliberalism and the Biophysical Environment 1: What 'Neoliberalism' Is, and What Difference Nature Makes to It." *Geography Compass* 2, no. 12 (2010): 1725–33.

Cater, Tara, and Arn Keeling. "'That's where our future came from': Mining, Landscape, and Memory in Rankin Inlet, Nunavut." *Études/Inuit/Studies* 37, no. 2 (2013): 59–82.

Chastko, Paul. *Developing Alberta's Oil Sands: From Karl Clark to Kyoto*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004.

CIRL. Independent Review of the BHP Diamond Mine Process. Calgary, 1997.

City of Yellowknife. "City Receives Status Report on Royal Oak Mines." Press Release. April 7, 1999.

———. "News Release." November 18, 1999.

Clancy, Peter. "Working on the Railway: A Case Study in Capital-State Relations." *Canadian Public Administration* 30 (1987): 450–71.

Coates, Ken. *Best Left as Indians: Native-White Relations in the Yukon Territory, 1840–1973*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.

Coates, Ken, and William Morrison. *Forgotten North: A History of Canada's Provincial Norths*. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1992.

Cominco Report. "An Outline of the 'Arvik' Development for Discussions with the Government of Canada." March 1973.

Conference Board of Canada. "The Future of Mining in Northern Canada." Ottawa, January 2013.

———. "Mapping the Economic Potential of Canada's North." Ottawa, December 2010.

Connolly, James, ed. *After the Factory: Reinventing America's Industrial Small Cities*. Toronto: Lexington Books, 2010.

"Consensus Draft, Northwest Territories Lands and Resources Devolution Agreement." March 11, 2013. Accessed March 29, 2013. http://devolution.gov.nt.ca/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/NWT-DevolutionAgreement-March_11-2013.pdf.

"Cooperation Agreement Respecting the Giant Mine Remediation Project." Between Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada as Represented by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and the Government of the Northwest Territories as Represented by the Minister of Resources, Wildlife, and Economic Development. March

15, 2005. Accessed February 10, 2013. http://db.maca.gov.nt.ca/resources/Cooperation_Agreement_Giantmine_remediation.pdf.

Cornell, Stephen. "Indigenous Peoples, Poverty, and Self-Determination in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States." In *Indigenous Peoples and Poverty: An International Perspective*, edited by Robyn Eversole, John-Andrew McNeish, and Alberto Cimadamore, 199–225. London: Zed Books, 2005.

Cowie, Jefferson, and Joseph Heathcott, eds. *Beyond the Ruins: The Meaning of Deindustrialization*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Cronon, William. "Kennecott Journey: The Paths out of Town." In *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*, edited by William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin. New York: W. W. Norton, 1992.

Cruikshank, Julie. *Do Glaciers Listen? Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, and Social Imagination* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005.

———. *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991.

———."Nature and Culture in the Field: Two Centuries of Stories from Lituya Bay, Alaska." In *Research in Science and Technology Studies: Knowledge and Technology Transfer*, edited by Marianne de Laet. Knowledge and Society 13. Oxford: Elsevier Science, 2002.

———. *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

Dailey, Robert C., and Lois Dailey. "The Eskimo of Rankin Inlet: A Preliminary Report." Ottawa: Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, June 1961.

Damas, David. *Arctic Migrants, Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.

de Leeuw, Sarah, Margo Greenwood, and Emilie Cameron. "Deviant Constructions: How Governments Preserve Colonial Narratives of Violence and Mental Health to Intervene into the Lives of Indigenous Children and Families in Canada." *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction* 8, no. 2 (2009): 282–95.

Délı̨nę Uranium Team. *If Only We Had Known: The History of Port Radium as Told by the Sahtúot'ı̨nę*. Délı̨nę, NWT: Délı̨nę Uranium Team, 2005.

DeLyser, Dydia. "Authenticity on the Ground: Engaging the Past in a California Ghost Town." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89, no. 4 (1999): 602–32.

Dempsey, Jessica, Kevin Gould, and Juanita Sundberg. "Changing Land Tenure, Defining Subjects: Neoliberalism and Property Regimes on Native

Reserves." In *Rethinking the Great White North: Race, Nature, and Whiteness in Canada*, edited by Andrew Baldwin, Laura Cameron, and Audrey Kobayashi. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.

Dene Nation. "Dene Declaration." In *Dene Nation: The Colony Within*, edited by Mel Watkins. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975.

Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. "North of 60: Mines and Mineral Activities 1976." Mining Division, Northern Non-Renewable Resources Branch, 1976.

Deprez, Paul. *The Pine Point Mine and the Development of the Area South of Great Slave Lake*. Winnipeg: Center for Settlement Studies, 1973.

Desbiens, Caroline. "Défricher l'espace de la nation: lieu, culture et développement économique à la baie James." *Géographie et cultures* 49 (2004): 87–104.

———. "Producing North and South: A Political Geography of Hydro Development in Quebec." *Canadian Geographer* 48, no. 2 (2004): 101–18.

Dickerson, Mark O. *Whose North?: Political Change, Political Development, and Self-Government in the Northwest Territories*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992.

Dillon Consulting Limited. "Arsenic Trioxide Management Feasibility Study." Prepared for Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, October 6, 1997.

———. "Dillon Consulting Final Assessment." 2003. Accessed April 2011. ftp://nunavutwaterboard.org/1%20PRUC/1%20INDUSTRIAL/1A/1AR%20-%20Remediation/1AR-NAN0914/Admin#/General/2003/.

———. "Giant Mine Arsenic Trioxide Management Technical Meeting Proceedings." Prepared for Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, October 1997.

Drache, Daniel, ed. *Staples, Markets, and Cultural Change: Selected Essays*. Innis Centenary Series. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.

Driscoll, Jacqueline Jacques. "Development of a Labrador Mining Community: Industry in the Bush." PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 1984

Dublin, Thomas. *When the Mines Closed: Stories of Struggle in Hard Times*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Dunn, Lawrence. "Negotiating Cultural Identity: Conflict Transformation in Labrador." PhD diss., Syracuse University, 2002.

EBA Engineering Consultants Ltd. "Soil Sampling Program Report." 2002. Accessed April 2011. ftp://nunavutwaterboard.org/1%20PRUC/1%20INDUSTRIAL/1A/1AR%20-%20Remediation/1AR-NAN0914/

Admin#/hearings/hearings/2002hearing/posthearingsubmissions/GN.

Ebner, David, and Brenda Bouw. "Tata Joins Race for Canada's Iron Ore." *Globe and Mail*, March 8, 2011.

Elberling, Bo. "Environmental Controls of the Seasonal Variation in Oxygen Uptake in Sulfidic Tailings Deposited in a Permafrost-Affected Area." *Water Resources Research* 37, no. 1 (2001): 99–107.

———. "Temperature and Oxygen Control on Pyrite Oxidation in Frozen Mine Tailings." *Cold Regions Science and Technology* 41 (2005): 121–33.

Ellis, Derek V., and Jack L. Littlepage. *Feasibility Study for Marine Disposal of Tailings at the Polaris Mine-Site*. Victoria, BC: University of Victoria, 1974.

Environment Canada. "Workshop on Controlling Arsenic Releases into the Environment in the Northwest Territories, Final Workshop Report." October 1997.

Environmental Assessment Board. "Report of the Environmental Assessment Board, Brinex Kitts-Michelin Uranium Project." St. John's, NL: EAB, 1980.

Ericsson, Magnus, and Viktoriya Larsson. "E&MJ's Annual Survey of Global Mining Investment." *Engineering and Mining Journal* (January 2012): 2–7.

Evans, M. S., L. Lockhart, and J. Klaverkamp. "Metal Studies of Water, Sediments, and Fish from the Resolution Bay Area of Great Slave Lake: Studies Related to the Decommissioned Pine Point Mine." Burlington and Saskatoon: Environment Canada, National Water Research Institute, NWRI Contribution No. 98–87, 1998.

Evans, Peter. "Abandoned and Ousted by the State: The Relocations from Nutak and Hebron, 1956–1959." In *Settlement, Subsistence, and Change among the Labrador Inuit: The Nunatsiavummiut Experience*, edited by D. Natcher, L. Felt, and A. Procter. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012.

Evenden, Matthew. "The Northern Vision of Harold Innis." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 34 (1999): 162–86.

Farish, Matthew, and P. Whitney Lackenbauer. "High Modernism in the Arctic: Planning Frobisher Bay and Inuvik." *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009): 517–44.

Feit, Harvey. "Neoliberal Governance and James Bay Cree Governance: Negotiated Agreements, Oppositional Struggles, and Co-governance." In *Indigenous Peoples and Autonomy: Insights for a Global Age*, edited

by M. Blaser, R. de Costa, D. McGregor, and W. Coleman, 49–79. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.

Fidler, Courtney, and Michael Hitch. "Impact and Benefit Agreements: A Contentious Issue for Environmental and Aboriginal Justice." *Environments Journal* 35, no. 2 (2007): 45–69.

———. "Used and Abused: Negotiated Agreements." Paper presented at the Rethinking Extractive Industry: Regulation, Dispossession and Emerging Claims conference, York University, Toronto, 2009.

Finn, Janet L. *Tracing the Veins: Of Copper, Culture, and Community from Butte to Chuquicamata*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Flanagan, Tom. *First Nations? Second Thoughts*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2000.

Flanagan, T., and C. Alcantara. "Individual Property Rights on Canadian Indian Reserves." Fraser Institute Occasional Paper 60, 2002.

Fong, Linda. "An Overview of Some of the Issues, Attitudes, and Events Concerning the Proposed Uranium Development in the Kitts-Michelin Area of Labrador." Happy Valley, NL: Labrador Resources Advisory Council, 1977.

Fort McKay Group of Companies LP. "Corporate Information." Accessed June 15, 2013. www.fortmckaygroup.com.

Fort McKay Indian Band. "From Where We Stand." Fort McMurray, AB: Fort McKay Indian Band, 1983.

———. "An Issues Assessment for Concerns Regarding Ongoing Oil Sands Developments and the Community of Fort McKay." Fort McKay, AB: Fort McKay Indian Band, 1986.

Foster, Terry, and Ronne Heming, eds. *Yellowknife Tales: Sixty Years of Stories from Yellowknife*. Yellowknife, NWT: Outcrop, 2003.

Foucault, Michel, and Michel Senellart. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France, 1978–79*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Fox, Bonnie. *Hidden in the Household: Women's Domestic Labour under Capitalism*. Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1980.

Fox, Michael G. "The Impact of Oil Sands Development on Trapping with Management Implications." MA thesis, University of Calgary, 1977.

Francaviglia, Richard V. *Hard Places: Reading the Landscape of America's Historic Mining Districts*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991.

Fraser, Nancy. *Justice Interruptus: Critical Reflections on the "Postsocialist" Condition*. New York: Routledge Press, 1997.

Frickel, Scott, and William R. Freudenburg. "Mining the Past: Historical Context and the Changing Implications of Natural Resource Extraction." *Social Problems* 43, no. 4 (1996): 444–66.

Fumoleau, René. *As Long as This Land Shall Last*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975.

Galbraith, Lindsay. "Understanding the Need for Supraregulatory Agreements in Environmental Assessment: An Evaluation from the Northwest Territories, Canada." MA thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2005.

Galbraith, Lindsay, Ben Bradshaw, and Murray Rutherford. "Towards a New Supraregulatory Approach to Environmental Assessment in Northern Canada." *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal* 25, no. 1 (2007): 27–41.

Gallagher, Nuala, ed. "New Millennium: Advancing the New Millennium Iron Range." *International Resource Journal* 6, no. 3 (June 2011): 116–25.

Gallup, D. N. "Impact Assessment of Discharge." In *Great Canadian Oil Sands Dyke Discharge Water*. Edmonton: Alberta Department of the Environment, August 1977.

Garbutt, Gordon C. *Uranium in Canada*. Ottawa: Eldorado Mining and Refining Ltd., 1964.

Gedicks, Al. *Resource Rebels: Native Challenges to Mining and Oil Companies*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2001.

Geren, Richard, Blake McCullogh, and Iron Ore Company of Canada. *Cain's Legacy: The Building of Iron Ore Company of Canada*. Sept-Îles, QC: Iron Ore Company of Canada, 1990.

Gibson, Ginger, and Ciaran O'Faircheallaigh. *IBA Community Toolkit: Negotiation and Implementation of Impact and Benefit Agreements*. Toronto: Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation, 2010.

Gibson, Ginger, and Jason Klinck. "Resilient North: The Impact of Mining on Aboriginal Communities." *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health* 3, no. 1 (2005): 115–39.

Gibson, Robert. "The Strathcona Sound Mining Project: A Case Study in Decision Making." Science Council of Canada, No. 42, 1978.

Gibson, Virginia Valerie. "Negotiated Spaces: Work, Home, and Relationships in the Dene Diamond Economy." PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2008.

Gogal, Sandra, Richard Reigert, and JoAnn Jamieson. "Aboriginal Impact and Benefit Agreements: Practical Considerations." *Alberta Law Review* 43, no. 1 (2006): 129–58.

Goin, Peter, and C. Elizabeth Raymond. *Changing Mines in America*. Santa Fe: Center for American Places, 2004.

———. "Living in Anthracite: Mining Landscape and Sense of Place in Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania." *The Public Historian* 23, no. 2 (2001): 29–45.

Goodall, Heather. "Indigenous Peoples, Colonialism, and Memories of Environmental Injustice." In *Echoes from the Poisoned Well: Global Memories of Environmental Injustice*, edited by Sylvia Hood Washington, Paul C. Rosier, Heather Goodall, 74–75. Oxford: Lexington Books, 2006.

Gordon, Todd, and Jeffery R. Webber. "Imperialism and Resistance: Canadian Mining Companies in Latin America." *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (2008): 63–87.

Gosselin, Pierre, Steve E. Hrudey, M. Anne Naeth, Andre Plourde, Rene Therrien, Glen Van Der Kraak, and Zhenghe Xu. "Environmental and Health Impacts of Canada's Oil Sands Industry: The Royal Society of Canada Expert Panel Report." Ottawa: The Royal Society of Canada, 2010.

Government of Alberta. "Regulatory Enhancement Project." Accessed October 10, 2012. http://www.energy.alberta.ca/initiatives/regulatoryenhancement.asp.

Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. "Land Claims Policy." St. John's, NL: Intergovernmental Affairs Secretariat, Native Policy Unit, 1987.

———. "Statement by Premier A. Brian Peckford on the Question of Native Land Claims in the Province." Telecommunication to Toby Andersen, President of LRAC, Happy Valley, Labrador, October 10, 1980.

Government of the Northwest Territories. Approach to Regulatory Improvement. March 2009.

———. "An Investigation of Atmospheric Emissions from the Royal Oak Giant Yellowknife Mine." Department of Renewable Resources, June 1993.

Grace, Sherrill. *Canada and the Idea of North*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.

Graham, Katherine. *The Development of the Polaris Mine*. Eastern Arctic Study 3. Kingston, ON: Institute of Local Government, 1982.

Grant, Shelagh. *Sovereignty Or Security?: Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936–1950*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988.

Grygier, Pat Sandiford. *A Long Way from Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic among the Inuit*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.

Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Minister of Forests), 2004. S.C.J. No. 70.

Hale, Charles. "Neoliberal Multiculturalism: The Remaking of Cultural Rights and Racial Dominance in Central America." *PoLAR* 28, no. 1 (2005): 10–28.

Hall, Rebecca. "Diamond Mining in Canada's Northwest Territories: A Colonial Continuity." *Antipode* 45, no. 2 (2013): 376–93.

Hall, Valerie. "Differing Gender Roles: Women in Mining and Fishing Communities in Northumberland, England, 1880–1914." *Women's Studies International Forum* 27, no. 5/6 (November 2004): 521–30.

Halvaksz, Jamon Alex, II. "Whose Closure? Appearances, Temporality, and Mineral Extraction in Papua New Guinea." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14 (2008): 21–37.

Hamilton, Ed, Buchans Historic Research Group, and Red Indian Lake Development Association. *Khaki Dodgers: The History of Mining and the People of the Buchans Area*. Grand Falls-Windsor, NL: Red Indian Lake Development Association, 1992.

Hamilton, Paula, and Linda Shopes. "Introduction: Building Partnerships Between Oral History and Memory Studies." In *Oral History and Public Memories*, edited by Paula Hamilton, vii–xvii. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2008.

Hamlet of Arctic Bay Working Group. "Submission to the Nunavut Water Board." 2002. Accessed April 2011. ftp://nunavutwaterboard.org/1%20PRUC/1%20INDUSTRIAL/1A/1AR%20-%20Remediation/1AR-NAN0914/2%20ADMIN/4%20HEARINGS/2%20HEARING/2002%20Renewal/Exhibits%20Undertakings/020726NWB1NAN9702%20Exhibit11-Submission%20of%20Hamlet%20AB%20Wrkg%20Group-English.pdf.

Hare, F. Kenneth. "The Labrador Frontier." *Geographical Review* 42, no. 3 (July 1952): 405–24.

Harner, John. "Place Identity and Copper Mining in Sonora, Mexico." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 91, no. 4 (2001): 660–80.

Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford, 2005.

Hatfield, C. T. and G. L. Williams. "A Summary of Possible Environmental Effects of Disposing Mine Tailings into Strathcona Sound, Baffin Island." Hatfield Consultants Limited Arctic Land Use Research Program, 1976.

Haysom, V. "Labrador Inuit Land Claims: Aboriginal Rights and Interests vs. Federal and Provincial Responsibilities and Authorities." *Northern Perspectives* 18, no. 2 (1990).

Hayter, Roger, and Trever Barnes. "Neoliberalization and Its Geographic Limits: Comparative Reflections from Forest Peripheries in the Global North." *Economic Geography* 88, no. 2 (2012): 197–221.

Heath, Bill. "Exhibit 1: Opening Remarks by Bill Heath, Vice-President of CanZinco." Public Meeting at Arctic Bay, 2002. Accessed April 2011. ftp://nunavutwaterboard.org/1%20PRUC/1%20INDUSTRIAL/1A/1AR%20-%20Remediation/1AR-NAN0914/2%20

ADMIN/4%20HEARINGS/2%20HEARING/2002%20Renewal/Exhibits%20Undertakings/.

Heber, Robert Wesley. "Indigenous Knowledge, Resources Use, and the Dene of Northern Saskatchewan." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 26 (2005): 247–56.

Hefferton, S. J. (Minister of Public Welfare, Government of Newfoundland). "Letter to Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, 26 March 1959." In Government of Newfoundland (Department of Public Welfare), 1964, The Administration of Northern Labrador Affairs, Appendix 1: 97–98.

Helin, Calvin. *Dances with Dependency: Indigenous Success through Self-Reliance.* Vancouver: Orca Spirit Publishing and Communications, 2006.

Henningson, David. "Somba Ke: The Money Place." 45 min. 2006.

Hickling-Partners Inc. "Evaluation of the Nanisivik Project." Canada Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1981.

High, Steven. *Industrial Sunset: The Making of North America's Rust Belt, 1969–1984.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.

High, Steven, and David Lewis. *Corporate Wasteland: The Landscape and Memory of Deindustrialization.* Toronto: Between the Lines, 2007.

Hipwell, William, Katy Mamen, Viviane Weitzner, and Gail Whiteman. "Aboriginal People and Mining in Canada: Consultation, Participation and Prospects for Change: Working Discussion Paper." Ottawa: North-South Institute, 2002.

Hitch, M. "Impact and Benefit Agreements and the Political Ecology of Mineral Development in Nunavut." PhD diss., University of Waterloo, 2005.

Hiyate, Alisha. "The New Normal." *Mining Markets* 4, no. 3 (September 2011): 5.

Holden, William, Kathleen Nadeau, and R. Daniel Jacobson. "Exemplifying Accumulation by Dispossession: Mining and Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 93, no. 2 (2011): 141–61.

House of Commons Standing Committee on Environment and Sustainable Development. "It's about Our Health! Towards Pollution Prevention, CEPA Revisited." Report, June 1995.

Howitt, Richard. *Rethinking Resource Management: Justice, Sustainability, and Indigenous Peoples.* London: Routledge, 2001.

Howlett, Cathy, Monica Seini, Diana Mcallum, and Natalie Osborne. "Neoliberalism, Mineral Development and Indigenous People: A

Framework for Analysis." *Australian Geographer* 42, no. 3 (2011): 309–23.

Hrudey, S. E. "Characterization of Wastewaters from the Great Canadian Oil Sands Bitumen Extraction and Upgrading Plant." Ottawa: Water Pollution Control Section, Environmental Protection Service, Northwest Region, Environment Canada, 1975.

Humpage, Louise. "Tackling Indigenous Disadvantage in the Twenty-First Century: 'Social Inclusion' and Maori in New Zealand." In *Indigenous Peoples and Poverty: An International Perspective*, edited by Robyn Eversole, John-Andrew McNeish, and Alberto Cimadamore, 158–84. London: Zed Books, 2005.

"IBA Research Network." Accessed November 30, 2012. http://www.impactandbenefit.com/IBA_Database_List/.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC). "Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement." Ottawa: INAC, 2005.

———. "Mine Site Reclamation Policy for Nunavut." Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Ottawa: INAC, 2002.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, and Government of the Northwest Territories. "Giant Mine Remediation Project Developers' Assessment Report." October 2010. Accessed February 11, 2013. http://www.reviewboard.ca/upload/project_document/EA0809-001_Giant_DAR_1328896950.PDF.

Innis, Harold Adams. *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History.* Rev. ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956.

———. *The Problems of Staple Production in Canada*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1933.

———. *Settlement and the Mining Frontier.* Toronto: Macmillan, 1936.

Irlbacher-Fox, Stephanie. *Finding Dashaa: Self-Government, Social Suffering, and Aboriginal Policy in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009.

Isaac, Thomas, and Anthony Knox. "Canadian Aboriginal Law: Creating Certainty in Resource Development." *University of New Brunswick Law Journal* 53, no. 3 (2004): 3–42.

Isenberg, Andrew C. *Mining California: An Ecological History*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2005.

Jackson, Jason Baird. "The Story of Colonialism, or Rethinking the Ox-Hide Purchase in Native North America and Beyond." *Journal of American Folklore* 126, no. 499 (2013): 31–54.

Jackson, Susan, ed. *Yellowknife, NWT: An Illustrated History*. Yellowknife, NWT: Nor'West Publishing, 1990.

Jameson, Elizabeth. *All That Glitters: Class, Conflict, and Community in Cripple Creek*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998.

Jenish, D'Arcy. "Destined for Grandeur: Chinese Steel Giant Invests Heavily in Quebec Ore Property." *Canadian Mining Journal* 133, no. 3 (April 2012): 16–18.

John, Angela. *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Women Workers at Victorian Coal Mine*s. London: Croom Helm, 1980.

Jorgenson, J. D. "Challenges Facing the North American Iron Ore Industry." Reston, VA: US Geological Survey, 2006. Open-File Report 2006-1061.

Journeaux, Dean. "Breaking New Ground in the Labrador Trough." Presentation at Northern Exposure, St. John's, NL, January 22–24, 2013.

Jules, Manny. "Foreword." In *Beyond the Indian Act: Restoring Aboriginal Property Rights*, edited by Tom Flanagan, Chris Alcantara, and Andre Le Dressay. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012.

Justus, Roger, and Joanne Simonetta. "Major Resource Impact Evaluation, Prepared for the Cold Lake Band and the Indian and Inuit Affairs Program." Vancouver: Justus-Simonetta Development Consultants Limited, December 1979.

Kalin, M. "Ecological Engineering for Gold and Base Metal Mining Operations in the Northwest Territories." *Environmental Studies*, no. 59 (1987).

Kealey, Linda, ed. *Pursuing Equality: Historical Perspectives on Women in Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's, NL: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1993.

Keeling, Arn. "'Born in an Atomic Test Tube': Landscapes of Cyclonic Development at Uranium City, Saskatchewan." *Canadian Geographer* 54, no. 2 (2010): 228–52.

———. "The Rancher and the Regulator: Public Challenges to Sour-Gas Industry Regulation in Alberta 1970–1994." In *Writing Off the Rural West: Globalization, Governments, and the Transformation of Rural Communities*, edited by Roger Epp and Dave Whitson, 279–300. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001.

Keeling, Arn, and John Sandlos. "Environmental Justice Goes Underground? Historical Notes from Canada's Mining Frontier." *Environmental Justice* 2 (2009): 117–25.

———. "Shooting the Archives: Document Digitization for Historical-Geographical Collaboration." *History Compass* 9, no. 5 (May 2011): 423–32.

Keeping, Janet. "Local Benefits and Mineral Rights Disposition in the Northwest Territories: Law and Policy." In *Disposition of Natural Resources: Options and Issues for Northern Lands*, edited by Monique Ross and John Owen Saunders. Calgary: Canadian Institute of Resources Law, 1997.

———. "Thinking about Benefits Agreements: An Analytical Framework." Prepared for Canadian Arctic Resource Committee, 1998.

Kelly, Erin N., David W. Schindler, Peter V. Hodson, Jeffrey W. Short, Roseanna Radmanovich, and Charlene C. Nielsen. "Oil Sands Development Contributes Elements Toxic at Low Concentrations to the Athabasca River and Its Tributaries." *PNAS Environmental Sciences* 107, no. 37 (2010): 16178–83.

Kennedy, John. "Aboriginal Organizations and Their Claims: The Case of Newfoundland and Labrador." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 19, no. 2 (1987): 13–25.

———. "The Changing Significance of Labrador Settler Ethnicity." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 20, no. 3 (1988): 94–111.

———. *Holding the Line: Ethnic Boundaries in a Northern Labrador Community*. St. John's, NL: ISER, 1982.

———. "Local Government and Ethnic Boundaries in Makkovik, 1972." In *The White Arctic: Anthropological Essays on Tutelage and Ethnicity*, edited by Robert Paine, 359–75. St. John's, NL: ISER, 1977.

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

Kennett, Steven. *Issues and Options for a Policy on Impact and Benefit Agreements for the Northern Territories*. Calgary: Canadian Institute of Resource Law, 1999.

King, Thomas. *The Truth about Stories: A Native Narrative*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

Kirsch, Stuart. *Reverse Anthropology: Indigenous Analysis of Social and Environmental Relations in New Guinea*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Klubock, Thomas Miller. *Contested Communities: Class, Gender, and Politics in Chile's El Teniente Copper Mine, 1904–1951*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998.

Kovach, Margaret. "Emerging from the Margins: Indigenous Methodologies." In *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-oppressive Approaches*, edited by Leslie A. Brown and Susan Strega, 19–36. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press/Women's Press, 2005.

———. *Indigenous Methodologies – Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

Kulchyski, Peter K., and Frank Tester. *Kiumajut (Talking Back): Game Management and Inuit Rights, 1900–1970*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.

Kuokkanen, Rauna. "From Indigenous Economies to Market-Based Self-Governance: A Feminist Political Economy Analysis." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 2 (2011): 275–97.

Kupsch, W. O. "From Erzgebirge to Cluff Lake – A Scientific Journey through Time." *The Musk-Ox* 23 (1978): 7–87.

Kurek, Joshua, Jane L. Kirk, Derek C. G. Muir, Xiaowa Wang, Marlene S. Evans, and John P. Smol. "Legacy of a Half Century of Athabasca Oil Sands Development Recorded by Lake Ecosystems." Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (2013).

Kyhn, Curt, and Bo Elberling. "Frozen Cover Actions Limiting AMD from Mine Waste Deposited on Land in Arctic Canada." *Cold Regions Science and Technology* 32 (2001): 133–42.

———. "Port Radium: The Story of Its Beginnings." *The Refiner*, 1960.

Labrador Institute of Northern Studies. *Labrador in the 90s*. Happy Valley–Goose Bay, Labrador, NL: October 29–November 1, 1990, 56.

Labrador West Status of Women Council. "Submission to the Employment Practices Commission," 1989.

Lackenbauer, P. Whitney, and Matthew Farish, "The Cold War on Canadian Soil: Militarizing a Northern Environment." *Environmental History* 12, no. 4 (2007): 920–50.

Laforest, Richard, Jacques Frenette, Robert Comtois, and Michel Mongeon. "Occupation et utilisation du territoire par les Montagnais de Schefferville." Rapport au Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais, Village des Hurons, 1983.

Lalonde, Marc. "The National Energy Program," edited by Department of Energy and Natural Resources. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1980.

Lane, Marcus B., and E. Rickson Roy. "Resource Development and Resource Dependency of Indigenous Communities: Australia's Jawoyn Aborigines and Mining at Coronation Hill." *Society and Natural Resources* 10 (1997): 121–42.

Lapointe, Ugo. "L'héritage du principe de *free mining* au Québec et au Canada." *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 40, no. 3 (2010): 9–25.

Larner, Wendy. "Neo-liberalism: Policy, Ideology, Governmentality." *Studies in Political Economy* 63, no. 1 (2000): 5–26.

Lawrence, Daina. "Canadian Government Fostering Arctic Exploration." *Resource World* 11 (December 2011/January 2012): 82–83.

LeCain, Timothy J. "The Limits of 'Eco-Efficiency': Arsenic Pollution and the Cottrell Electric Precipitator in the U.S. Copper Smelter Industry." *Environmental History* 5 (2000): 336–51.

———. *Mass Destruction: The Men and Giant Mines That Wired America and Scarred the Planet*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009.

Leddy, Lianne. "Cold War Colonialism: The Serpent River First Nation and Uranium Mining, 1953–1988." PhD diss., Wilfrid Laurier University, 2011.

———. "Interviewing Nookomis and Other Reflections: The Promise of Community Collaboration." *Oral History Forum d'histoire orale* 30 (2010): 1–18.

Legros, Dominique. "Oral History as History: Tutchone Athapaskan in the Period 1840–1920." Occasional Papers in Yukon History No. 3 (2). Whitehorse: Yukon Cultural Services Branch, 2007.

Levitan, Tyler. "Impact and Benefit Agreements in Relation to the Neoliberal State: The Case of Diamond Mines in the Northwest Territories." MA thesis, Carleton University, 2012.

Li, Tania. "Governmentality." *Anthropologica* 49, no. 2 (2007): 275–81.

Liddington, Jill. "Gender Authority and Mining in Industrial Landscape: Anne Lister 1791–1840." *History Workshop Journal* 42 (1996): 58–86.

Lim, Tee W. "Inuit Encounters with Colonial Capital: Nanisivik – Canada's First High Arctic Mine." MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 2013.

Loder, Richard L. "Changing Familial Patterns in a Newfoundland Mining Town: A Town of Widows and Orphans." Paper presented to Professor Louise Charimonte. Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1972.

Loo, Tina. "Disturbing the Peace: Environmental Change and the Scales of Justice on a Northern River." *Environmental History* 12 (October 2007): 895–919.

Low, Nicholas, and Brendan Gleeson. *Justice, Society, and Nature: An Exploration of Political Ecology*. London: Routledge, 1998.

———. "Situating Justice in the Environment: The Case of BHP at the Ok Tedi Copper Mine." *Antipode* 30 (1998): 201–26.

Lowenthal, David. *The Past Is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Luxton, Meg. *More Than a Labour of Love: Three Generations of Women's Work in the Home*. Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1980.

Lynch, Martin. *Mining in World History*. London: Reaktion, 2002.

Maaka, R., and A. Fleras. *The Politics of Indigeneity: Challenging the State in Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand*. Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago Press, 2005.

MacDonald, Fiona. "Indigenous Peoples and Neoliberal 'Privatization' in Canada: Opportunities, Cautions, and Constraints." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 2 (2011): 257–73.

Mackay, W. C. "Toxicity of GCOS Tailings Pond Dyke Discharge." In *Great Canadian Oil Sands Dyke Discharge Water*. Edmonton: Alberta Department of the Environment, August 1977.

Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board. "Report of Environmental Assessment and Reasons for Decision on Giant Mine Remediation Project EA0809-0001." June 20, 2013. Accessed July 1, 2013. http://www.reviewboard.ca/upload/project_document/EA0809-001_Giant_Report_of_Environmental_Assessment_June_20_2013.PDF.

Macpherson, Janet E. "The Pine Point Mine." In *Northern Transitions, Volume I: Northern Resource Use and Land Use Policy Study*, edited by Everett B. Peterson and Janet B. Wright, 65–110. Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1978.

Mahon, Rianne. "Canadian Public Policy: The Unequal Structure of Representation." In *The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power*, edited by L. Panitch, 165–98. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

Markey, Sean, Greg Halseth, and Don Manson. "Challenging the Inevitability of Rural Decline: Advancing the Policy of Place in Northern British Columbia." *Journal of Rural Studies* 24 (2008): 409–21.

Marsh, Ben. "Continuity and Decline in the Anthracite Towns of Pennsylvania." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77, no. 3 (1987): 337–52.

Martinez-Alier, Joan. "Mining Conflicts, Environmental Justice, and Valuation." *Journal of Hazardous Materials* 86, no. 1–3 (2001): 153–70.

McAllister, Mary Louise. "Shifting Foundations in a Mature Staples Industry: A Political Economic History of Canadian Mineral Policy." *Canadian Political Science Review* 1 (June 2007): 73–90.

McCarthy, James. "First World Political Ecology: Lessons from the Wise Use Movement." *Environment and Planning* A 34 (2002): 1281–1302.

McCormack, Patricia A. *Fort Chipewyan and the Shaping of Canadian History, 1788–1920s: "We Like to Be Free in This Country."* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.

McCrank, Neil. *Road to Improvement: The Review of the Regulatory Systems across the North*. Ottawa: Canada, Minster of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2008.

McKenzie, Réal. "En finir avec la discrimination." *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 41, no. 1 (2011): 71–76.

McMahon, Fred, and Miguel Cervantes. "Fraser Institute Annual Survey of Mining Companies, 2011/2012." Vancouver: Fraser Institute, February 2012.

McPherson, Kathryn, Cecilia Louise Morgan, and Nancy Forestell. *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*. Canadian Social History Series. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.

McPherson, Robert. *New Owners in Their Own Land: Minerals and Inuit Land Claims*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003.

Metheny, Karen Bescherer. *From the Miner's Doublehouse: Archaeology and Landscape in a Pennsylvania Coal Company Town*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007.

Mochoruk, Jim. *Formidable Heritage: Manitoba's North and the Cost of Development, 1870 to 1930*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2004.

Moehring, Eugene. *Urbanism and Empire in the Far West, 1840–1890*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2004.

Momaday, N. Scott. *The Man Made of Words*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Montrie, Chad. *To Save the Land and People: A History of Opposition to Surface Coal Mining in Appalachia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Morse, Kathryn. *The Nature of Gold: An Environmental History of the Klondike Gold Rush*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003.

Murphy, Mary. *Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte, 1914–41*. Women in American History series, edited by Anne Firor Scott, Nancy A. Hewitt, and Stephanie Shaw. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

Myers, Heather. *Uranium Mining in Port Radium, N.W.T: Old Wastes, New Concerns*. Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, August 1982.

Nadasdy, Paul. *Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003.

Nanisivik Mine. "Letter from Nanisivik mine to Thomas Kudloo of NWB regarding final submissions." 2002. Accessed April 2011. ftp://nunavutwaterboard.org/1%20PRUC/1%20INDUSTRIAL/1A/1AR%20-%20Remediation/1AR-NAN0914/2%20ADMIN/4%20HEARINGS/2%20HEARING/2002%20Renewal/Post%20Hearing%20Submissions/BWR/English/.

———. "Letter from Nanisivik mine to Thomas Kudloo of NWB regarding public hearing outcomes." 2002. Accessed April 2011. ftp://nunavutwaterboard.org/1%20PRUC/1%20INDUSTRIAL/1A/1AR%20-%20Remediation/1AR-NAN0914\Admin#\hearings\hearings\2002 hearing\post hearing submissions\BWR.

NASA Earth Observatory. "World of Change: Athabasca Oil Sands." NASA Goddard Space Flight Centre. Accessed April 5, 2013. http://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/Features/WorldOfChange/athabasca.php?all=y.

Nash, June. *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us: Dependency and Exploitation in Bolivian Tin Mines*. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

Natural Resources Canada. "Canada: A Diamond-Producing Nation." Accessed January 31, 2014. http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/minerals-metals/business-market/3630.

Natural Resources Canada, Legal Surveys Division. Historical Review – Matimekosh (undated). Accessed August 10, 2013. http://clss-satc.nrcan-rncan.gc.ca/data-donnees/publications/indlanhisque-hisfonterindque/matimekosh_ang.pdf.

Neale, Stacy. "The Rankin Inlet Ceramics Project: A Study in Development and Influence." MA thesis, Concordia University, 1997.

Neil, Cecily, Markku Tykklainen, and John Bradbury, eds. *Coping with Closure: An International Comparison of Mine Town Experiences*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Neufeld, David. "Parks Canada, The Commemoration of Canada, and Northern Aboriginal Oral History." In *Oral History and Public Memories*, edited by Paula Hamilton, 26–48. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2008.

New Millennium Iron. "On the Path to Production." Corporate presentation, September 2011.

Newman, Peter C. "Gilbert Labine: Adventurous Bushwhacker." *The Beaver* (1959): 48–53.

Nikiforuk, Andrew. *Saboteurs: Wiebo Ludwig's War against Big Oil*. Toronto: Macfarlane Walter and Ross, 2001.

———. *Tar Sands: Dirty Oil and the Future of a Continent*. Vancouver: Greystone Books, 2010.

Noble, Russell B. "La hommage [sic] au 'Plan Nord.'" *Canadian Mining Journal* 133, no. 3 (April 2012): 5.

———, ed. "Ahead of the Curve: Working with Aboriginal Partners in the Race for Canada's Iron Ore." *Canadian Mining Journal* 133, no. 3 (April 2012): 26–27.

Northern Regulatory Improvement Initiative. Submission by the Northwest Territories and Nunavut Chamber of Mines, the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada, and the Mining Association of Canada to Neil McCrank, 2008.

Northwest Territories Mining Heritage Society. "The Gold Mines Built Yellowknife." Accessed February 28, 2012. http://www.nwtminingheritage.com/files/frontend-static mininghistory/The%20 Gold%20Mines%20Built%20Yellowknife.pdf.

Notzke, Claudia. *Aboriginal Peoples and Natural Resources in Canada*. North York, ON: Captus University Publications, 1994.

NRCan. "Agreements between Mining Companies and Aboriginal Communities or Governments." Accessed February 4, 2014. https://www.nrcan.gc.ca/mining-materials/aboriginal/14694.

Nunavummiut Makitagunarningit. "Discussion Paper – Kiggavik Draft Socioeconomic Impact Statement." June 2012. Accessed November 10, 2012. http://makitanunavut.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/makita-socioeconomic-discussion-paper.pdf.

———. "Submission to the Study of the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples on Extractive and Energy Industries in and near Indigenous Territories." April 1, 2013. Accessed May 9, 2013. http://makitanunavut.files.wordpress.com/2013/04/2013-04-01-makita-to-james-anaya1.pdf.

Nunavut Water Board. "Final Closure and Reclamation of the Nanisivik Mine." Nunavut Water Board Official Public Hearing Transcripts, June 2004. Accessed April 2011. ftp://nunavutwaterboard.org/1%20PRUC/1%20 INDUSTRIAL/1A/1AR%20-%20Remediation/1AR-NAN0914/2%20 ADMIN/4%20HEARINGS/2%20HEARING/2004/.

———. "Nanisivik Mine Type A Water License Renewal and Amendment Application." Nunavut Water Board Official Public Hearing Transcripts, February 2009. Accessed April 2011. ftp://nunavutwaterboard.org/1%20PRUC/1%20INDUSTRIAL/1A/1AR%20

-%20Remediation/1AR-NAN0914/2%20ADMIN/4%20 HEARINGS/2%20HEARING/2008%20Hearing/.

———. "Public Hearing Meeting Notes." 2004. Accessed April 2011. ftp://nunavutwaterboard.org/1%20PRUC/1%20INDUSTRIAL/1A/1AR%20 -%20Remediation/1AR-NAN0914/2%20ADMIN/4%20 HEARINGS/0%20GENERAL/2004/.

———. "Public Hearing Minutes." Nunavut Water Board Official Public Hearing Transcripts, July 2002. Accessed April 2011. ftp://nunavutwaterboard.org/1%20PRUC/1%20INDUSTRIAL/1A/1AR%20-%20 Remediation/1AR-NAN0914/2%20ADMIN/4%20HEARINGS/2%20 HEARING/2002%20Renewal/PH%20July%2022-24,%202002/.

NWT and Nunavut Chamber of Mines. *Sustainable Economies: Aboriginal Participation in the NWT Mining Industry, 1990–2004*. Yellowknife, NWT, 2004.

Obed, Enoch. *Kinatuinamut Ilingajuk*. Nain, August 10, 1979.

Ocean Equities. "Iron Ore: The Labrador Trough." London: Ocean Equities, January 18, 2013.

O'Faircheallaigh, Ciaran. "Aboriginal – Mining Company Contractual Agreements in Australia and Canada: Implications for Political Autonomy and Community Development." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 3, nos. 1–2 (2010): 69–86.

O'Faircheallaigh, Ciaran, and Ginger Gibson. "Economic Risk and Mineral Taxation on Indigenous Lands." *Resources Policy* 37, no. 1 (2012): 10–18.

Offen, Karl. "Historical Political Ecology: An Introduction." *Historical Geography* 32 (2004): 7–18.

Office of the Auditor General. "2002 Report of the Commissioner of the Environment and Sustainable Development," Chapter 3, *Abandoned Mines in the North*. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Services, 2002. Accessed March 10, 2013. http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_cesd_200210_03_e_12409.html.

———. "Spring 2012 Report of the Commissioner of the Environment and Sustainable Development," Chapter 3, *Federal Contaminated Sites and Their Impact*. Accessed March 10, 2013. http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/docs/parl_cesd_201205_03_e.pdf.

———. "Fall 2012 Report of the Commissioner of the Environment and Sustainable Development," Chapter 2, *Financial Assurances for Environmental Risk*. Accessed February 11, 2013. http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/docs/parl_cesd_201212_02_e.pdf.

O'Hara, Paul. "Model Cities, Mill Towns, and Industrial Peripheries: Small Industrial Cities in Twentieth-Century America." In *After The Factory:*

Reinventing America's Industrial Small Cities, edited by James Connolly, 19–48. Toronto: Lexington Books, 2010.

O'Reilly, Kevin. "Giant Mine, Giant Legacy." *Northern Public Affairs* 1, no. 2 (2012): 50–53.

O'Reilly, Kevin, and Erin Eacott. "Aboriginal Peoples and Impact and Benefit Agreements: Summary of a National Workshop." *Northern Perspectives* 25, no. 1 (1999).

O'Rourke, J. C. "Comments on Public Hearings." In *Summary of Kitts-Michelin Hearings*, 1–4. St. John's, NL: Brinex Ltd., 1979.

Overton, James. "Progressive Conservatism? A Critical Look at Politics, Culture, and Development in Newfoundland." In *Ethnicity in Atlantic Canada*. Social Science Monograph Series 5. Saint John: University of New Brunswick, 1985.

Pamack-Jeddore, Rosina. "What Confederation Has Meant to the Labrador Eskimo." *Decks Awash* 3, no. 5 (1974): 6–7.

Panitch, Leo, and Sam Gindin. *The Making of Global Capitalism: The Political Economy of American Empire*. London: Verso, 2012.

Papillon, Martin. "Les peuples autochtones et la citoyenneté: quelques effets contradictoires de la gouvernance néolibérale." éthique publique 14, no. 1 (2012).

Paquette, Pierre. *Les mines du Québec, 1867–1975: une évaluation critique d'un mode historique d'industrialisation nationale*. Outremont, QC: Carte blanche, 2000.

Parsons, Linda Ann. "Labrador City by Design: Corporate Visions of Women." In *Their Lives and Times: Women of Newfoundland and Labrador: A Collage*, edited by Carmelita McGrath, Barbara Neis, and Marilyn Porter. St. John's, NL: Killick Press, 1995.

———. "Passing the Time: The Lives of Women in a Northern Industrial Town." MA thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1987.

Pasternak, Shiri. "How Capitalism Will Save Colonialism: Hernando De Soto, the Settler Colony of Canada, and the Privatization of Reserve Lands." Presentation at the Association of American Geographers Conference, New York, NY, February 25, 2012.

Peck, Jamie. "Neoliberalizing States: Thin Policies/Hard Outcomes." *Progress in Human Geography* 25, no. 3 (2001): 445–55.

Peck, Jamie, and Adam Tickell. "Neoliberalizing Space." *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (2002): 380–404.

Pini, Barbara, Robyn Mayes, and Paula McDonald. "The Emotional Geography of a Mine Closure: A Study of the Ravensthorpe Nickel Mine in

Western Australia." *Social & Cultural Geography* 11, no. 6 (September 2010): 559–74.

Piper, Liza. *The Industrial Transformation of Subarctic Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009.

———. "Innis, Biss, and Industrial Circuitry in the Canadian North, 1921–1965." In *Harold Innis and the North: Appraisals and Contestations*, edited by William J. Buxton, 127–48. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013.

———. "Subterranean Bodies: Mining the Large Lakes of North-West Canada, 1921–1960." *Environment and History* 13, no. 2 (2007): 155–86.

Plaice, Evelyn. "'Making Indians': Debating Indigeneity in Canada and South Africa." In *Culture Wars: Context, Models, and Anthropologists' Accounts*, edited by Deborah James, Evelyn Plaice, and Christina Toren. New York: Berghahn Books, 2010.

———. "Response to Kuper's Return of the Native." *Current Anthropology* 44, no. 3 (2003): 396–97.

Poloski, Murray. "Minutes of Public Meeting." Makkovik, NL: Labrador Resources Advisory Council, July 27–28, 1976.

Pope, Sharon Gray, and Jane Burnham. "Change Within and Without: The Modern Women's Movement in Newfoundland." In *Pursuing Equality: Historical Perspectives on Women in Newfoundland and Labrador*, edited by Linda Kealey. St. John's, NL: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1993.

Povinelli, Elizabeth. *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.

Power, Rosemary. "'After the Black Gold': A View of Mining Heritage from Coalfield Areas of Britain." *Folklore* 119 (2008): 160–81.

Pratt, Larry. *The Tar Sands: Syncrude and the Politics of Oil*. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1976.

Price, Richard, ed. *The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties*. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1979.

Prior, Timothy, Damien Giurco, Gavin Mudd, Leah Mason, and Johannes Behrisch. "Resource Depletion, Peak Minerals, and the Implications for Sustainable Resource Management." *Global Environmental Change* 22, no. 3 (2012): 577–87.

Prno, Jason. "Assessing the Effectiveness of Impact and Benefit Agreements from the Perspective of Their Aboriginal Signatories." MA thesis, University of Guelph, 2007.

Prno, J., B. Bradshaw, and D. Lapierre. "Impact and Benefit Agreements: Are They Working?" Paper presented at the Canadian Institute of Mining, Metallurgy, and Petroleum Annual Conference, Vancouver, BC, May 11, 2010.

Prno, Jason, and Scott D. Slocombe. "Exploring the Origins of 'Social License to Operate' in the Mining Sector: Perspectives from Governance and Sustainability Theories." *Resources Policy* 37, no. 3 (2012): 346–57.

Purcell, M. *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalization and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Québec. "Plan Nord: Building Northern Québec Together, The Project of a Generation." Ministère des Ressources naturelles et de la Faune, 2011.

Quiring, David. "CCF Colonialism." In *Northern Saskatchewan: Battling Parish Priests, Bootleggers, and Fur Sharks*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.

R. v. Suncor Inc. 1983. Alberta Court of Appeal, 219. Appeal #16352. September 15, 1983.

Rea, Kenneth J. *The Political Economy of the Canadian North*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.

Reedyk, S. "Profiles of Baffin Communities Affected by Closure of the Nanisivik Mine and a Summary of the Impact of Closure on the Communities." Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Mining Management and Infrastructure Division, 1987.

Regional Aquatics Monitoring Program. "Joint Community Update 2008 Reporting Our Environmental Activities to the Community." Fort McMurray, AB: Regional Aquatics Monitoring Program (RAMP), Wood Buffalo Environmental Association (WBEA), Cumulative Environmental Management Association (CEMA), 2008.

Rennie, Rick. *The Dirt: Industrial Disease and Conflict at St. Lawrence, Newfoundland*. Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing, 2008.

Resource Futures International. "Socio-Economic Analysis of Three Management Options to Reduce Atmospheric Emissions of Arsenic from Gold Roasting." September 9, 1996.

Richards, John, and Larry Pratt. *Prairie Capitalism: Power and Influence in the New West*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1979.

Ritchie, Donald A. *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Robbins, Paul. *Political Ecology: A Critical Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.

Roberts, Leslie. "Living on Radium." *Collier's Weekly*, June 5, 1937.

Robertson, David. *Hard as the Rock Itself: Place and Identity in the American Mining Town*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2006.

Rodon, Thierry, ed. *Teach an Eskimo How to Read . . .: Conversations with Peter Freuchen Ittinuar*. Iqaluit, NU: Nunavut Arctic College, 2008.

Rollwagen, Katharine. "When Ghosts Hovered: Community and Crisis in a Company Town, Brittania Beach, British Columbia, 1957–1965." *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine* 35, no. 2 (2007): 25–36.

Rompkey, William. *The Story of Labrador*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2003.

Rowbotham, Sheila. "More Than Just a Memory: Some Political Implications of Women's Involvement in the Miners' Strike, 1984–85." *Feminist Review* 23 (1986): 407–21.

Royal Oak Mines and EBA Engineering Limited. "Arsenic Trioxide Surface Storage and Handling Project Scoping Document." December 1997.

Sabin, Jerald, and Frances Abele. *State and Society in a Northern Capital: Yellowknife's Social Economy in Hard Times*. Ottawa: Carleton Centre for Community Innovation, 2010.

Salverson, Julie. "They Never Told Us These Things." *Maisonneuve*, August 12, 2011.

Sandlos, John. *Hunters at the Margin: Native People and Wildlife Conservation in the Northwest Territories*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.

Sandlos, John, and Arn Keeling. "Claiming the New North: Development and Colonialism at the Pine Point Mine, Northwest Territories, Canada." *Environment and History* 18, no. 1 (2012): 5–34.

———. "Giant Mine: Historical Summary, Report Submitted to the Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board," August 12, 2012. Accessed February 11, 2013. http://www.reviewboard.ca/upload/project_document/EA0809-001_Giant_Mine__History_Summary.PDF.

———. "Zombie Mines and the (Over)burden of History." *Solutions Journal* 4, no. 3 (June 2013): 80–83.

Satzewich, Vic, and Terry Wotherspoon. *First Nations: Race, Class, and Gender Relations*. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 2000.

Scales, Marylin. "Big Money: Mont-Wright Expansion to Pump $2.1 Billion into Quebec." *Canadian Mining Journal* 133, no. 3 (April 2012): 13–15.

Schroeder, Richard A., Kevin St. Martin, and E. Albert Katherine. "Political Ecology in North America: Discovering the Third World Within?" *Geoforum* 37 (2006): 163–68.

Searle, John R. *Expression and Meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Searles, Edmund. "Anthropology in an Era of Inuit Empowerment." In *Critical Inuit Studies: An Anthology of Contemporary Arctic Ethnography*, edited by Pamela Stern and Lisa Stevenson, 89–101. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.

Seddon, Vicky. *The Cutting Edge: Women and the Pit Strike*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1986.

Sénéchal, Christian, and Hélène Brown (dir.). "La ville de Gagnon." 19 min. 11 s. Plate-Formes-Prods, 2008. Accessed August 10, 2013. http://parolecitoyenne.org/gagnon-le-film-documentaire?dossier_nid=20476.

Shoebridge, Paul, and Michael Simons. *Welcome to Pine Point*. Montreal: National Film Board, 2011.

Shopes, Linda. "Oral History and the Study of Communities: Problems, Paradoxes, and Possibilities." In *The Oral History Reading*, edited by Robert Preks. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2006.

Shore, Cris, and Susan Wright. "Policy: A New Field of Anthropology." In *Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*, edited by Cris Shore and Susan Wright, 3–42. London: Routledge, 1997.

Siebenmorgen, P. "Developing an Ideal Mining Agenda: Impact and Benefit Agreements as Instruments of Community Development in Northern Ontario." MA thesis, Guelph University, 2009.

Silke, Ryan. *High-Grade Tales: Stories from the Mining Camps of the Northwest Territories*. Yellowknife, NWT: Ryan Silke, 2012.

Slaney, Rennie. *More Incredible Than Fiction: The True Story of the Indomitable Men and Women of St. Lawrence, Newfoundland from the Time of Settlement to 1965: History of Fluorspar Mining at St. Lawrence Newfoundland*. St. John's, NL: Confederation of National Trade Unions, 1975.

Slowey, Gabrielle. *Navigating Neoliberalism: Self-Determination and the Mikisew Cree First Nation*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008.

Smith, Allan. "The Myth of the Self-Made Man in English Canada, 1850–1914." *Canadian Historical Review* 59, no. 2 (1978): 189–219.

Smith, Dale, ed. *Keewatin Journal*. Rankin Inlet, NU: Dale Smith, 1979.

Smith, Duane A. *Mining America: The Industry and the Environment, 1800–1980*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. "The Native and the Neoliberal Down Under: Neoliberalism and 'Endangered Authenticities.'" In *Indigenous Experience Today*, edited by Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn, 333–52. Oxford: Berg, 2007.

Smith, Philip. *Brinco: The Story of Churchill Falls*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1975.

Solodzuk, W., N. R. Morgenstern, N. L. Iverson, E. J. Klohn, M. A. J. Matich, B. D. Prasad, and I. H. Anderson. "Report on Great Canadian Oil Sands Tar Island Tailings Dyke." Design Review Panel, Alberta Environment, February 1977.

Sosa, Irene, and Karyn Keenan. "Impact Benefit Agreements between Aboriginal Communities and Mining Companies: Their Use in Canada." Calgary: Canadian Environmental Law Association, 2001.

Spracklin, Andrea. "No Business like Sew Business (re: Cassell's Sewing Business in Labrador City)." *Downhomer* 14, no. 10 (March 2002): 35.

Standing Committee on Environment and Sustainable Development. "Evidence of Meeting #122." May 11, 1995. Accessed January 27, 2013. http://www.parl.gc.ca/content/hoc/archives/committee/351/sust/evidence/122_95-05-11/sust-122-cover-e.html.

———. "Evidence of Meeting #123." May 11, 1995. Accessed January 27, 2013. http://www.parl.gc.ca/content/hoc/archives/committee/351/sust/evidence/123_95-05-11/sust-123-cover-e.html.

Stein, J. N., and M. R. Miller. "An Investigation into the Effects of a Lead-Zinc Mine on the Aquatic Environment of Great Slave Lake." Unpublished report. Winnipeg: Resource Development Branch, Fisheries Service, Department of Environment, 1972.

Steinbock, Bernd. *Social Memory in Athenian Public Discourse: Uses and Meanings of the Past*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013.

Stern, Pamela. "Upside-Down and Backwards: Time Discipline in a Canadian Inuit Town." *Anthropologica* 45, no. 1 (2003): 147–61.

Stevenson, D. S. "Problems of Eskimo Relocation for Industrial Employment: A Preliminary Study." Northern Science Research Centre report, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, May 1968.

Stiller, David. *Wounding the West: Montana, Mining, and the Environment*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000.

Sukagawa, Paul. "Is Iron Ore Priced as a Commodity? Past and Current Practice." *Resources Policy* 35, no. 1 (March 2010): 54–63.

Sumi, Lisa, and Sandra Thomsen. *Mining in Remote Areas: Issues and Impacts*. Ottawa: MiningWatch Canada, 2001.

Summerby-Murray, Robert. "Interpreting Personalized Industrial Heritage in the Mining Towns of Cumberland County, Nova Scotia: Landscape Examples From Springhill and River Hebert." *Urban History Review* 35, no. 3 (2007): 51–59.

Syncrude. "Biophysical Impact Assessment for the New Facilities at the Syncrude Canada Ltd. Mildred Lake Plant." Calgary: Syncrude Canada Ltd., 1984.

Tanner, Adrian, John C. Kennedy, Susan McCorquodale, and Gordon Inglis. "Aboriginal Peoples and Governance in Newfoundland and Labrador." A Report for the Governance Project, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, St. John's, NL, 1994.

Tata Steel Minerals Canada. "Welcome to Tata Steel Minerals Canada Limited." Accessed August 10, 2013. http://www.tatasteelcanada.com.

Taussig, Michael T. *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Taylor, Mary Josephine. "The Development of Mineral Policy for the Eastern Arctic, 1953–1985." MA thesis, Carleton University, 1985.

Terriplan Consultants. "Giant Mine Underground Arsenic Trioxide Management Alternatives. Draft Workshop Summary Report, January 14–15, 2003." Prepared for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, March 2003.

———. "Giant Mine Underground Arsenic Trioxide Management Alternatives, Moving Forward: Selecting a Management Alternative, Draft Summary Workshop Report." May 26–27, 2003. Prepared for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Tester, Frank, and Chris Flannelly. "The Rankin File: Public Responsibility, Private Provision, and Health Care at the Edge of the Canadian Liberal Welfare State." Paper presented at the ArcticNet Annual Scientific Meeting, Ottawa, ON, December 14–17, 2010.

Tester, Frank, and Peter Kulchyski. *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939–63*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994.

Thomson, Alistair. "Four Paradigm Transformations in Oral History." *Oral History Review* 34, no. 1: 49–70.

Tompkins, Edward. "Pencilled Out: Newfoundland and Labrador's Native People and Canadian Confederation, 1947–1954." Report written for Jack Harris, MP. Ottawa: House of Commons, 1988.

Tonts, Matthew, Kirsten Martinus, and Paul Plummer. "Regional Development, Redistribution, and the Extraction of Mineral: The Western Australian Goldfields as a Resource Bank." *Applied Geography* 45 (2013): 365–74.

Tough, Frank. *As Their Natural Resources Fail: Native People and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870–1930*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997.

Trigger, David S. "Mining, Landscape and the Culture of Developmental Ideology in Australia." *Cultural Geographies* 4, no. 2 (1997): 161–80.

Vachon, Daniel. *L'histoire montagnaise de Sept-Îles*. Québec: Éditions Innu, 1985.

Valdivia, Gabriela. "On Indigeneity, Change, and Representation in the Northeastern Ecuadorian Amazon." *Environment and Planning* A 37 (2005): 285–303.

Vallee, F.G. *Kabloona and the Eskimo in the Central Keewatin*. Ottawa: Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, 1962.

van Wyck, Peter C. *The Highway of the Atom*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.

———. "The Highway of the Atom: Recollections Along a Route." *Topia* 7 (2002): 99–115.

Vérificateur général du Québec. "Report of the Auditor General of Québec to the National Assembly for 2008–2009." Vol. 2. April 1, 2009.

Walker, Brett. *Toxic Archipelago: A History of Industrial Disease in Japan*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010.

Walker, Peter. "Politics of Nature: An Overview of Political Ecology." *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 9 (March 1998): 131–44.

———. "Reconsidering 'Regional' Political Ecologies: Toward a Political Ecology of the Rural American West." *Progress in Human Geography* 27 (2003): 7–24.

Ward, Ashley. "Reclaiming Place through Remembrance: Using Oral Histories in Geographic Research." *Historical Geography* 40 (2012): 133–45.

Watkins, Mel, ed. *Dene Nation: The Colony Within*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

Watts, Michael. "Development and Governmentality." *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 24, no. 1 (2003): 6–34.

Wenig, Michael, and Kevin O'Reilly. "The Mining Reclamation Regime in the Northwest Territories: A Comparison with Selected Canadian and U.S. Jurisdictions." Canadian Institute of Resources Law and Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, January 2005. Accessed February 11, 2013. http://carc.org/pdfs/mining49_nwtminingreclam_final_21jan05.pdf.

Williamson, Robert G. *Eskimo Underground: Socio-Cultural Change in the Canadian Central Arctic*. Uppsala, Sweden: Institutionen För Allmän och Jämförande Etnbografi, 1974.

Williamson, Robert G., and Terrence W. Foster. "Eskimo Relocation in Canada." Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1975.

Wilson, Jeffrey D. "Chinese Resource Security Policies and the Restructuring of the Asia-Pacific Iron Ore Market." *Resources Policy* 37, no. 3 (September 2012): 331–39.

Wilson, Lisa J. "Riding the Resource Roller Coaster: Understanding Socioeconomic Differences between Mining Communities." *Rural Sociology* 69, no. 2 (2009): 261–81.

Wilson, Shawn. *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Winnipeg: Fernwood Press, 2008.

Wirth, John D. *Smelter Smoke in North America: The Politics of Transborder Pollution*. Lawrence: University of Press of Kansas, 2000.

"Wood Buffalo Environmental Association Human Exposure Monitoring Program (HEMP) Methods Report and 2005 Monitoring Year Results." Fort McMurray, AB: Wood Buffalo Environmental Monitoring Association, 2007.

World Steel Association. "Crude Steel Production 2012." Accessed August 10, 2013. http://worldsteel.org/statistics/crude-steel-production.html.

Wyckoff, William. "Postindustrial Butte." *Geographical Review* 85, no. 4 (1995): 478–96.

Wyllie, Irvin G. *The Self-Made Man in America: The Myth of Rags to Riches*. New York: The Free Press, 1966 [1954].

Yazzie-Lewis, Esther, and Jim Zion. "Leetso, the Powerful Yellow Monster." In *The Navajo People and Uranium Mining*, edited by Doug Brugge, Timothy Benally, and Esther Yazzie-Lewis, 1–10. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006.

Yellowknives Dene First Nation. *Weledeh Yellowknives Dene: A History*. Dettah, NWT: Yellowknives Dene First Nation Council, 1997.

Yergin, Daniel. *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power*. New York: Free Press, 1991.

Yoshimatsu, Donna. "The Legacy of the Rail Lives On, But Could It Be Built Today?" *Canadian Mining Journal* 130, no. 5 (June/July 2009): 8.

Young, B. "Memo: Wolfden Resources: Massive Sulphide Discovery at High Lake." 2003. Accessed April 2011. ftp://nunavutwaterboard.org/1%20PRUC/1%20INDUSTRIAL/1A/1AR%20-%20Remediation/1AR-NAN0914/Tech/10 A and R/2003.

Yukon Territory. *From the Trenches*. Volume 3, Issue 1. Whitehorse: Energy Mines and Resources, Spring 2010.

———. *Silver Trail Tourism Development Plan*. Whitehorse: Yukon Department of Tourism, 1989.

———. *United Keno Hill Mine: Closure (1989) Analysis*. Whitehorse: Yukon, Economic Development, 1995.

Zaslow, Morris. *The Northward Expansion of Canada, 1914–1967.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988.

———. *The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870–1914.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971.

Zimmerer, Karl S., and Thomas J. Bassett. "Approaching Political Ecology: Society, Nature, and Scale in Human-Environment Studies." In *Political Ecology: An Integrative Approach to Geography and Environment-Development Studies*, edited by Karl S. Zimmerer and Thomas J. Bassett. New York: Guilford Press, 2003.

Index

Note: Page numbers in bold refer to photographs.

A

AANDC. *See* Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC)
abandoned mines
  in Auditor General's report, 11–12
  definition, xi
  Giant Mine, **12**
  Pine Point, 142, **145**
  Schefferville, 182, **182**, **183**, **184**, **186**
"Abandoned Mines in Northern Canada" (research project), 5, 140–41, 378
Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC). *See also* Canadian government
  comments on IBAs, 273, 275
  remediation projects, 12, 358–65
Aboriginal rights
  Crown's duty to protect, 272
  IBAs as infringement of, 270–71
  Labrador Inuit movement, 240–41
  northern and southern activists on, 326
Aboriginal self-determination
  and IBAs, 279, 281
  and neoliberal practices, 233, 235, 252, 266–67, 268, 279, 280
acculturation, Rankin Inuit, 45–46, 52
acid mine drainage
  defined, xi
  in Nanisivik tailings, 303–4
Adriana Resources, 194
affirmative action programs, 126, 218–19, 222
Agnico-Eagle Meadowbank Mine project, 1
agreements. *See also* comprehensive land claim agreements (CLCAs); impact and benefit agreements (IBAs)
  Alsands, 222
  connected to hegemonic neoliberal values, 233, 235
  IOC's gender equality programs, 126
  Labrador Inuit land claim, 240, 243–44, 245, 248
  Nanisivik employment agreement, 326
  Strathcona Sound, 296–97
  Syncrude and community, 223
Agricola, Georgius, 337
air quality
  Fort McKay area, 211–12
  Yellowknife, 347
Akumalik, Joanasie, 305
Akumalik, Moses, 298
Akumalik, Mucktar, 299

Alberta
GCOS expansion approval, 214
on GCOS tailings ponds seepage, 211
health warnings to Fort McKay, 212
on indigenous employment in oil sands, 218–19
"one window" review policy, 217
priority of oil development, 208, 210
on Suncor pollution spill, 215–16
Alberta Clean Water Act regulations, 211, 216
Alberta Conservation and Utilization Committee, 218
Alberta oil sands. *See* oil sands industry
Albo, Greg, 265–66
Alexco Resource Corporation, 104–5, 113
Alsands project, 216–17, 221–22
Alternatives North, 365, 385
Andersen, William, III, 243–44
Andre, Leroy, 72
ArcelorMittal (Luxembourg), 192
Arctic Bay, Ikpiarjuk Inuit
concerns about tailings, 303
mine impacts on, 297–99
on participating in monitoring, 305–6
arsenic trioxide at Giant Mine
environmental assessments, 347
management and remediation plan, 355–57, **360**
in mining processes, 343–44
roaster complex, 362
storage remediation options, 350–51
assimilation. *See also* modernization of the North
Alberta position on, 218
Rankin Inuit, 45–46, 52
with resource development, 7
ATC. *See* Athabasca Tribal Council (ATC)
Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation, 221, 225
Athabasca River, 208, 210–11, 213–14, 215–16
Athabasca Tribal Council (ATC), 209, 221–22
Atkinson, Marion, 126
Atlantic Gateway and Trade Corridor Strategy, 193
Aurora Energy Resources Ltd., 245, 249, 251
Austin, John L., 60
Ayha (Dene Prophet), 72–74

B

Bacon, Joséphine, 169
Balsillie, George, 144
Bankeno Mines, 322
Barnes, Trevor, 6
Barnett, Clive, 279
Barrett, J. E. and Associates, 322, 323
BC Research, 325
Beaulieu, Angus, 144, 149, 157
Beaulieu, Gord, 148, 152, 156, 157
Beaulieu, Leander, 149
Beaulieu, Leonard, 146–48, 153
Beaulieu, Ronald, 152
Beaulieu, Tommy, 152
Beckwith, Karen, 119
Belgium global radium supply, 63–64
Bell, J. Macintosh report, 66–67
Bellekeno Mine, 88, 99, 104
Berger, Thomas, 139, 144
Beyonnie (Sahtúot'ı̨nę elder), 70–71
Blondin, George, 72
Blondin, Joe, 72
Bolivian indigenous mining experiences, 38, 61
boom and bust cycles
brief history in northern mining, 1–2
gold mining, 342
iron ore, 178
Keno Hill mining district, 88–90
studies on community impacts, 5–6
Boucher, Catherine, 154, 157
Boucher, Jim, 221
Boulter, Patricia J.
biography, 383
chapter by, 18, 35–58
Boutet, Jean-Sébastien, 53
biography, 383
chapter by, 19–20, 53, 169–206
comments, 331
Bowes-Lyon, Léa-Marie, 329
Bradbury, John H., 6, 181
Bridge, Gavin, 37–38
Brinco. *See* British Investment Company (Brinco)
Brinex. *See also* British Investment Company (Brinco)
Kitts-Michelin project, 239, 242–43

response to Aboriginal rights recognition, 242
British Investment Company (Brinco), 236, 237, 239
Brodie Consulting, 306
Bugghins, Sam, 145
Buyck, Debbie, 97–98
Buyck, Helen, 112

C

Caine, Ken, 261, 270, 282
Cameron, Emilie
biography, 383
chapter by, 259–90
comments, 141
Cameron Bay, 63
Canada–Délı̨nę Uranium Table (CDUT), 64–65, 79
Canadian Arctic Resources Committee (CARC), 7, 139, 324–26
Canadian Environmental Protection Act (CEPA), 348
Canadian government. *See also* Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC); Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND); Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC)
1969 White Paper, 240
affirmative action programs, 126, 222
on Alberta's indigenous employment policy, 219
archives on northern mining, 14
assistance to industry, 1, 7–8, 63–64, 138, 295
authority over resources, 342
clawbacks, 49, 278
colonial legacy in the North, 280
defense of wage gap, 44
employment programs, 49
environmental reports, 148
Giant Mine maintenance, 346, 353–54
health reports, 347
and IBAs, 262, 271–78
land and asset purchases, 48, 178
and oil development, 210
voiced criticisms of, 71, 81, 139, 266, 267–68
Canadian Public Health Association, 346
CanZinco Ltd.
on Nanisivik as pioneer project, 295–96
Nanisivik closure, 297, 308
on soundness of scientific methods, 306–7
tailings cover engineering, 304
valuation of reclamation costs, 300–303
CARC. *See* Canadian Arctic Resources Committee (CARC)
Cardinal, Lloyd, 145–46, 157
Careen, Noreen, 127
Carol Lake Mine. *See* Iron Ore Company of Canada (IOC)
Carreau, Bob, 297
Cassell, Linda, 124
Cater, Tara, 317
CDUT. *See* Canada–Délı̨nę Uranium Table (CDUT)
Chesterfield Inlet, 41, 46, 49
childcare facilities, 124
children, recruited for secondary industry jobs, 128
Chinese steel industry, 170, 191, 192, 193
Chipewyan Prairie First Nation, 221, 225
climate panels, warming estimates, 304
Cloutier, Richard, 139
collective memory of mining
formation and value of, 316, 317
Resolute experience, 320–21, 331, 332–33
College of the North Atlantic, 127
colonialism
and legacy of the state, 266–67
mineral development as, 7, 8, 17–18, 37–38, 196–97
neoliberalization as new form of, 268
Port Radium as symbol of, 61, 70, 74–75, 80–82
redressing through IBAs, 276, 280–82
Cominco
criticisms of, 145, 146, 330
development of Polaris Mine, 321, 322
hiring plans for Polaris Mine, 326–27
meetings with Resolute Inuit, 322–24
Pine Point Mine, 138, 142–43

Polaris Mine closure, 329
town facilities built by, 151
commemorations of mining life and landscape. *See also* collective memory of mining
instances of, 9–10, 35–36, 100–101, 139–40
oral history as correction to, 138
Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE), 322
communities. *See also* specific groups and towns
company influence on, 46–47, 119, 120, 123, 151
connectedness to, 49, 50–51, 120, 140
debates on environment vs. economy, 80–81, 109–10, 111–13, 245–51, 252
recording of experiences, 13–17
compensation expectations
Arctic Bay Inuit, 298–99
by CARC on behalf of Resolute, 325
Pine Point, 143–44, 145–46, 157
Port Radium, 71
Schefferville, 179, 180–81, 189, 198
comprehensive land claim agreements (CLCAs), 10, 103–4, 263–64, 271
Con Mine, 17, 50, 343, 344, 353
consent. *See* consultation and consent; impact and benefit agreements (IBAs)
Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company. *See* Cominco
consultation and consent. *See also* impact and benefit agreements (IBAs)
absent in *Plan Nord*, 170
absent in Schefferville development, 175, 198–99
in Alberta oil sands industry, 222, 223
Arctic Bay Inuit, 305–6
Fort McKay excluded from, 216–17
Labrador calls for, 239
Pine Point expectations, 142, 145–46, 157
Resolute Inuit experiences, 321, 323–24, 330
Yellowknife exclusions and concerns, 350, 356–57, 358–63
Contact Lake, 63
Courteorielle, Lawrence, 222
Crown. *See* Canadian government
Cruikshank, Julie
on narratives, 60, 62, 68, 75, 81, 94, 113
on oral history approach, 93
culture
diversity at Pine Point, 151–52
and language barriers, 41, 44–45
in oral history research, 15
protection through resource development, 247
cyclonics of hinterland resource development, 6
Cyprus-Anvil Mine, 2, 8, 17

D

Dailey, Robert C. and Lois, 46
Davidson, Jacob A., 88
Déline, Northwest Territories
land and resource ethics, 77–79
mine impacts on, 59–60, 64
narratives about Port Radium, 62, 69–74
on remediation efforts, 65, 79–80
demolition of Schefferville infrastructure, 181, 188–89
Dempsey, Jessica, 268
Dene Nation. *See* Sahtúot'ine
Deninu K'ue First Nation, 143–44, 264
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). *See also* Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC); Canadian government
on Alsands project assessment, 217
Giant Mine management and remediation planning, 350–51, 355–57
and IBAs, 262–63, 274–75
Polaris development, 326
sale of Giant Mine, 353
Strathcona Sound Agreement, 296–97
subsidies to Miramar, 354
working with Royal Oak Mines, 352
Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. *See also* Canadian government
advocacy for Inuit miners, 45
monitoring of relocations, 50

promotion of wage labour for Inuit, 39–40, 45–46
responses to mine closure, 47–48
settlement policies, 42–44
Deprez, Paul, 139
DEW Line, 39, 46
DIAND. *See* Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND)
Dickins, Clennell Haggerston "Punch," 76
Dion, Joe, 222
Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line, 39, 46
distrust. *See* trust and distrust
Doran, Barbara, 126
Dragon, Larry, 151
Dunn, Lawrence, 241
Durham Miners' Gala, 317

E

Easton, J. Andrew, 41, 45, 49
EBA Engineering, 302
economies. *See also* land-based living
combining wage labour with subsistence, 10, 22, 45, 98, 101–2, 150, 153, 158, 190–91, 378
Fort McKay, 208–9, 218–23
Labrador Inuit, 236, 242
limitations of mining to improve, 252
modernization, 7–8, 138
Nunatsiavut, 246–49, 252
Resolute, 321, 328–29, 330–31
Sahtúot'ı̨nę, 80–81
shaped by hiring practices, 120
Yellowknives Dene, 342
education
"Employee of the Future" program, 127
integration with industry needs, 194, 276–77
as taking control of one's future, 247
EIAs. *See* environmental impact review processes
Ekati diamond mine, IBAs, 261, 278
Eldorado Gold Mines Ltd. (later Eldorado Mining and Refining Ltd.), 63–64, 66–68
"Elizabeth Andrews," 120–21, 123, 125
Elsa, Yukon
hub of Keno Hill district, 90
life in, 97–98, 106
mine closure, 102
townsite remediation, 104
employment
affirmative action programs, 126, 221–22
after mine closures, 49–50, 102
Alberta oil sands, 218–20
Keno Hill mining district, 95–96, 97, 98–99, 101
Labrador City gendered hiring practices, 119–22, 126–27, 129
Labrador City secondary industries, 124, 127–28
Nanisivik, 296–97
North Rankin Nickel Mine, 38, 40–41, 44–46
Pine Point Mine, 144–45
Polaris Mine, 321, 326–27, 327–28
Port Radium, 64, 79–80
preference for local workers, 41, 194
Rankin Inlet industries, 49
Schefferville, 175
employment agreements, 276, 296–97, 326
employment promises, 142, 144–45, 175, 190, 194, 237–38, 251, 323
energy crisis, 209–10
Energy Resources Conservation Board (ERCB)
on affirmative action hiring, 221
Alsands hearings, 216–17
environmental reviews commissioned by, 213
GCOS expansion hearings, 213–14
entertainment. *See* recreation and entertainment
Environmental Assessment and Review Process (EARP), 325
environmental impact reviews
to avoid long-term liabilities, 296, 380–81
concerns about process, 157, 210, 211–13, 216–17, 325, 358–63
model for future, 366
environmental impacts
Alberta oil sands, 210–16
anticipated in Labrador, 246
Giant Mine, 344, 347, 349
of industrial mining, 4, 8–9, 225
Keno Hill mining district, 89, 90, 103

Nanisivik, 297–99
Pine Point Mine, 141–44, 146–48
Polaris Mine, 321, 323–24, 327, 329–30
Port Radium, 63, 64–65
understanding through oral histories, 13
environmental legislation
Alberta Clean Water Act, 211, 216
apparent weaknesses, 224
attempts to create, 346–48
Giant Mine negotiations, 349, 351, 358
in Nanisivik reclamation, 300
Polaris development, 324–25
environmental monitoring
advice ignored, 344, 346
demands for participation in, 305–6, 332
Joint Oil Sands Monitoring Program, 225
Environmental Rights Act (NWT), 347
ERCB. *See* Energy Resources Conservation Board (ERCB)
exploration
Keno Hill, 88, 104
Labrador Trough, 173, 196
Pine Point seismic, 144–45
Port Radium area, 66–67

F

Fabian, Roy, 146
Fabien, Kevin, 144
Fafard (Father), 44
family lifestyles and company policies, 120, 123–24
Faro (Yukon), 2, 8
Feit, Harvey, 269, 279
ferroducts, 193
Fidler, Courtney, 272
financial independence for women, 120, 121, 126, 127, 128–29
First Air, 329
fish and fishing
impacts on, 64, 103, 146, 211, 213, 215, 216, 349
overfishing, 187
food. *See also* land-based living
importance of country food, 298
purchasing, 152–53
foreign control of resources, 173–74, 197
foreign workers, 128
forests
deforestation in Pine Point, 142, 143
health of in Fort McKay area, 213
used in mining, 8, 60, 64, 89, 96
Fort Franklin. *See* Délı̨nę
Fort McKay, Alberta
environmental impacts on, 210–13, 214–16
excluded from Alsands project hearings, 216–17
at GCOS expansion hearings, 213–14
and oil sands development, 208–9
in the oil sands workforce, 219–22
partnership with Syncrude, 223
Fort McKay First Nation, 221, 225
Fort McMurray, Alberta, 209, 211, 212
Fort McMurray First Nation, 221, 225
Fort Resolution, Northwest Territories
compared to Pine Point, 150–51
concerns about Pine Point Mine, 141–48
excluded from economic benefits, 139, 145–46, 154
mine reopening assessment hearings, 157
mixed feelings about Pine Point Mine, 140–41, 156
quality of life changes, 152–53
social changes, 149
Foster, Terrence W., 50
Fox, Bonnie, 118
Francaviglia, Richard V., 9
Frederiksen, Tomas, 37–38

G

Gagnon, Quebec, 178
Galbraith, Lindsay, 263
Garrow Lake tailings disposal, 324, 325, 332
GCOS. *See* Great Canadian Oil Sands Ltd. (GCOS); Suncor
generational differences in views, 80–81, 112–13
Geological Survey of Canada, 66
Giant Mine, **12**
arsenic byproducts, 342–44
arsenic storage proposals, 350–51, 352, **360**
environmental assessments, 347
environmental issues, 8

heritage preservation, 10
maintenance and remediation costs, 346, 353–54
Oversight Body, 365, 367
remediation proposals, 12, 355–65
roaster demolition, 362
water pollution concerns, 349
Gibson, Virginia Valerie, 19, 22–23
Gilchrist, W. M., 344
GN. *See* Nunavut
GNWT. *See* Northwest Territories
Gogal, Sandra, 264, 273, 274, 275, 277
Gold Roast Discharge Control Regulations, 348
Gordon, Sarah M.
biography, 383–84
chapter, 18, 59–85
Grace, Sherrill, 68
Great Bear Lake. *See also* Sahtúot'ı̨nę
Dene settlements, 59
Gilbert Labine at, 66–67, 70
as "uninhabited," 75
Great Canadian Oil Sands Ltd. (GCOS). *See also* Suncor
development, 208, 209
ERCB hearings, 213–14
tailings pond seepage, 211
Great Slave Lake, 138, 341
Green, Heather
biography, 384
chapter by, 21, 315–39

H

Hager, Dave, 88, 92, 95–96, **95**, 107
Haida Nation vs. British Columbia, 272
Hale, Charles, 235
Halvaksz, Jamon Alex, II, 190, 198
Hamilton, Paula, 320
Hammond, Jane
biography, 384
chapter by, 19, 117–35
Harper, Stephen, on vision for the North, 1
harvesting. *See also* hunting and trapping
Fort McKay, 213
Na-Cho Nyäk Dun, 89, 90, 97–98
Pine Point area, 143
Schefferville Innu, 175
Yellowknives Dene, 344
Hay River Reserve. *See* K'atl'odeeche First Nation
health impacts
Alberta oil sands pollution, 211–13, 214–15, 215–17, 225
demolition of hospitals, 181, 188–89
from mine development, 8–9
from mining work, 99–100, 110–11
Pine Point Mine, 146–48
Port Radium, 64–65, 71–72
Yellowknife gold mines, 344, 347
Hebron, Newfoundland and Labrador, 238, 250
Hickling-Partners Inc., 297
Hills of Silver (Aho), 96
Hiroshima in Délı̨nę narrative, 72–74
historical political ecology framework, 7
historical records
Délı̨nę community, 60
exclusions of Aboriginal peoples, 14, 74–76
history societies, 9–10, 101, 138
Hitch, Michael, 272
HNSE. *See* Hollinger North Shore and Exploration Company (HNSE)
Hogan, Joella
biography, 384
chapter by, 18–19, 87–116
Hollinger North Shore and Exploration Company (HNSE), 173, 176
Horatio Alger myth, 68, 75
housing
Labrador City, 123–24
Rankin Inlet, 42–44, **43**
Howlett, Cathy, 268–69
Human Health and Ecological Risk Assessment (HHERA), 301–2
Hummel, Kaylie-Ann, 94, 100, 102
hunting and trapping. *See also* land-based living
activities maintained, 10, 101–2, 107–8, 153, 158
retaining connections to, 42, 45–46, 220, 323–24
territories damaged, 8, 139, 142–44, 175, 183, 210, 214, 298–99
Hydro-Quebec, 191
hydroelectric dams, 8, 90, 175

I

IAA. *See* Indian Association of Alberta (IAA)
IBAs. *See* impact and benefit agreements (IBAs)
identity
  with mining, 9, 11, 36, 51–52, 139–40
  and solidarity challenges, 240, 241
  with territory, 184–87
Idle No More movement, 267
Iglukak, David, 48
impact and benefit agreements (IBAs)
  and government clawbacks, 278
  negotiations, 262–64
  private nature of, 260–62
  as private resource deals, 272–75
  role for, 279, 281–82
  as solution to social problems, 275–77
  undermining Aboriginal rights, 270–71
  and unplanned events, 277
  use of, 10, 145
INAC. *See* Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC)
incomes
  clawbacks from, 49, 278
  from mining work, 152
  pensions, 180–81
  wage gaps, 44
  workers compensation, 100
Indian Act (1876) on enfranchisement, 97
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), 261, 300. *See also* Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC); Canadian government
Indian Association of Alberta (IAA), 217, 218, 222
Indian Eskimo Association (IEA), 322
Indian steel industry, 170, 192–93
indigenous peoples
  in colonial and neocolonial processes, 81
  experiences with mining, 6–7, 37–38, 61
  experiences with the state, 266, 280
  relationship with environment, 61–62
infrastructure. *See also* hydroelectric dams; roads and railways
  access to markets, 174–75, 193
  access to resources, 191
  in boom and bust cycles, 1, 4
  demolitions of, 181, 188–89
  linking communities, 4, 104, 149
  negotiations in IBAs, 275
  subsidization of, 7–8, 138, 295, 296
  value after mine closure, 301
Innis, Harold Adams, 5–6, 139
Innu
  combining mine work with subsistence, 190–91
  feelings after mine closure, 179–81, 186–87, 188–89, 197–98
  identification with territory, 184–85
  on landscape damages, 181–84
  lawsuit against IOC/Rio Tinto, 198
  on life in Schefferville, 187–88
  relocation to Schefferville, 175
  on reopening of mines, 199
Inuit and qallunaat (non-Inuit) relations, 45, 46–47
Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), 322, 324–26
IOC. *See* Iron Ore Company of Canada (IOC)
Ipkarnerk, Peter, 44, 45, 50, 51
Irniq, Piita, 52
iron and steel industry, 170, 177–78, 191–94
Iron Ore Company of Canada (IOC)
  founding of, 174, 177
  gender equality actions, 127, 128
  Innu and Naskapi criticisms of, 180, 184, 188–89
  Innu lawsuit against, 198
  labour division by gender, 119–22, 126–27, 129
  Labrador City housing policies, 123–24
  Schefferville mine closure, 178, 180–82
  training and recruitment, 127–28
Isaac, Thomas, 262
ITC. *See* Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC)
Ittinuar, Ollie, 41, 50
Ittinuar, Peter, 47, 48

J

John, Angela, 118
Joint Oil Sands Monitoring Program, 225
justice

law courts on affirmative action hiring, 221–22
lawsuits, 198
pollution charges, 216
in reciprocity and exchange values, 71–72, 78–79
Justus, Roger, 219–20

K

Kablunângajuit (people of mixed Inuit-settler ancestry), 240, 241, 251
Kabvitok, Jack, 45, 49
Kangiqiniq. *See* Rankin Inlet (Kangiqiniq), Nunavut
Kapuk, Francis, 41, 42, 49
K'atl'odeeche First Nation, on mine impacts, 141, 145, 146, 148, 156, 157
Kavik, Joachim, 41, 42, 50
Keeling, Arn
biography, 384
chapter by, 18, 35–58, 377–81
comments, 317
Keewatin (Kivalliq) region, 41
Keewatin Journal (Smith, ed.), 42
Kennett, Steven, 262–63, 274–75
Kenny, Andrew John "AJ" and Dennis, 70–72, 81
Keno City, Yukon, 10, 88, 104
Keno Hill mining district
closure, 90, 102
development, 2, 88–89
environmental impacts, 103
history preservation, 10
imported workforce, 107
redevelopment, 104–5
as zombie mine, 12
Kitts-Michelin project, 239, 242–43, 245
Kivalliq (Keewatin) region, 41
Klondike gold rush, 62, 88, 342
Knox, Anthony, 262
Kovach, Margaret, 93
Krogman, Naomi, 261, 270, 282
Kuokkanen, Rauna, 268, 281

L

Labine, Gilbert
Eldorado Gold Mines Ltd., 63
narratives about, 66–69, 70–71, 76
Labrador, governance by Newfoundland, 236–37
Labrador City, Newfoundland and Labrador
development of, 117, 120
employment of women in, 119–21
housing, 123–24
iron mining, 4
recruiting challenges in, 127–28
Labrador Inuit
before resettlement, 236
Brinex response to, 242
debate on resource development, 245–49
founding of LIA, 240–41
lingering social issues, 250–51
relocations and resettlement, 237–39
Labrador Inuit Association (LIA), 240–41, 243–44
Labrador Trough
development potential, 170, 177, 191–92, 196–97
exploration and leases, 173–74
Labrador West Status of Women Committee, 126
Lafferty, Cecil, 142–43
Lafferty, Priscilla, 148
Lake Athabasca, 209, 215
land and resources. *See also* mineral resource development
Canadian authority over, 342
in colonialism, 74–75
indigenous relationship to, 61–62
Sahtúot'ı̨nę ethics on using, 78–79
self-sufficiency with, 252
land-based living. *See also* fish and fishing; harvesting; hunting and trapping
policies to phase out, 7, 175, 190–91, 218, 238
precariousness of, 38, 39, 40, 42
resumption after mine closure, 48–49, 51–52, 90, 298–99
way of life protection, 240–42, 246–47
land claims. *See also* comprehensive land claim agreements (CLCAs)

IBAs overcoming unresolved, 263–64, 274
Labrador Inuit, 240, 243–44, 245, 248
Na-Cho Nyäk Dun, 103–4
Nunavut, 322
landscapes of mining
creation of, 8, 142–44, 181–85
identification with, 9, 36, 185
out of sight and mind, 320, 331–32
as site of scientific knowledge, 308–9
language and cultural barriers
in oral history research, 15
overcome at work, 41, 44–45
Laurier, Sir Wilfred, on northern expansion, 69
lawsuit against IOC/Rio Tinto, 198
Leddy, Lianne, 93
Leetso (Navajo monster), 61
Levitan, Tyler
biography, 385
chapter by, 20, 259–90
LIA. *See* Labrador Inuit Association (LIA)
Little Cornwallis Island, 322, 330, 331
Lizotte, Garvin, 150, 151–52, 157
Longley, Hereward
biography, 385
chapter by, 207–32
Lorax Environmental Services, 302
Luxton, Meg, 118
Lynn Lake, Manitoba, 8, 50

M

M. A. Hanna Company, 173, 176
MacDonald, Dorothy, 215, 216–17
MacDonald, Fiona, 266, 268
McKay (Quebec) Explorers (MQEC), 173
Mckay, Darrin, 153, 155
McKay, Denise, 148, 154
McKay, Eddy, 150–51, 154
McKay, Henry, 146
McKay, Linda, 150
Mckay, Lorraine, 150, 151, 157
McKay, Ron, 149, 151
McKenzie, Réal, 189, 198
Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board, 360–62, 363–64, 366
Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry
on Pine Point Mine, 139, 141–42, 144
and rise of Aboriginal rights movement, 240
Mackenzie Valley Resource Management Act, 358
McPherson, Robert, 322
McQuesten area, 88, 109
Makkovik, Newfoundland and Labrador, 237, 238–39
Mandeville, Melvin, 148, 154
Manhattan project uranium supply, 63–64
Manilak, Veronica, 41, 42, 48, 49
Manitoba mine development, 4
marriages
breakdowns, 126
to non-Natives, 92, 96, 97
women's dependence on, 123–24, 127
Marsh, Ben, 36, 294, 317
Matimekush-Lac John (Schefferville), 178, 198
Mayo, Yukon
after mine closure, 102, 104
development of, 88–89
hydroelectric dam, 90
Na-Cho Nyäk Dun citizens in, 97
Meadowbank Gold Mine development, 1
Melancon, Bobbie-Lee, 94, 96, 109
Melancon, Herman
about, 87, 92–93, **92**, 96–97
on hunting and trapping, 101–2, 108
interview approach, 93–94
on living in Elsa, 106
on mining work, 98–101, 102, 105, 107–8, 110–11
views on mining, 106–7, 109, 111–12
Melancon, Maurice, 92, 96–97
Mellor, M., 317
memories negative and positive juxtaposed, 141, 149–50, 154–56, 187–88
Metheny, Karen, 16
Midgley, Scott
biography, 385
chapter by, 20–21, 293–314
migration experiences
Labrador Inuit, 237–39
Rankin Inuit, 41
Mikisew Cree First Nation, 221, 225, 268
Millennium Iron Range, 193

mine closure impacts
Keno Hill, 90, 102, 104
Nanisivik, 293–94
Pine Point, 139, 142, 154
Rankin Inuit, 47–51
Schefferville, 179–84, 186–89
mine closures. *See also* CanZinco Ltd.; Nanisivik
nature of, 52, 315–18, 320–21
process, 294
Mine Site Reclamation Policy for Nunavut, 300
mineral resource development
Canadian visions and policies, 1, 7–8, 69, 138, 173–76, 197, 321–22
as colonialism, 7, 8, 17–18, 37–38, 81
community debates on, 80–81, 109–10, 111–13, 245–51, 252
and IBAs, 260, 262, 270–71, 272, 273–74
Nanisivik as test in High Arctic, 295–96
need for reflective examination, 377–81
Plan Nord, 169–72, 189–92, 194
policy alternatives, 194–96
studies on community impacts, 5–6
Mineral Resources International (MRI), 295, 296
mining heritage, 316, 317
"mining imaginary," 2, 294, 303, 308, 309
mining industries. *See also* boom and bust cycles; redevelopment of mines
access to markets, 174–75, 193
gold markets, 342, 351
history in northern Canada, 1–4
iron and steel, 177–78, 191–94
oil sands in Alberta, 208, 209–10, 224
sustainability questions, 379–80
uranium, 63–64, 239, 243, 244, 249, 251
mining work
barriers to getting, 107, 220–23, 327
experiences, 44–45, 99–100, 107–8
gender relations in, 122–23, 129, 130
health impacts of, 110–11
as lifelong vocation, 49–50, 97
Miramar Mining Corporation, 353, 354
modernization of the North
Labrador Inuit, 238, 247, 251
Pine Point Mine, 138
Rankin Inuit, 38, 39–40, 47, 50
Resolute Bay, 322
Schefferville, 175, 190
Momaday, N. Scott, 60–61
money
Dave Hager's remark on, 96
Sahtúot'ı̨nę ethic on, 78
Moore, Harold, 146
Moses, David, 89–90
motherhood and employment, 124–25
MQEC. *See* McKay (Quebec) Explorers (MQEC)
MRI. *See* Mineral Resources International (MRI)
Mulroney, Brian (president of IOC), 178

N

Na-Cho Nyäk Dun
adaptation to mine development, 87, 89–95, 97–98, 101
after mine closure, 102
mining development debates, 111–13
self-governance, 103–4, 105
territory, 88
Na-Cho Nyäk Dun Development Corporation, 104, 105
Nanisivik
baseball games with Polaris team, 330
community concerns about reclamation, 305–6
community responses to mine closure, 293–94, 297–99
development of, 295–97
field monitoring program, 304
Inuit employment agreements, 326
Inuit employment at, 50
reclamation cost valuation, 300–303
as scientifically valued minescape, 303, 308–9
as zombie mine, 12
narratives
as bridges to understanding, 93–95
as corrective to boosterism, 137–38
as reflection of values, 60–62
Nash, June, 61
Naskapi
feelings after mine closure, 179–81, 186–87, 188–89, 197–98
relocation to Schefferville, 175

National Energy Program conditions on hiring, 222
National Film Board, 10, 35, 139–40
Navajo mines, 61
neoliberalism
against self-determination, 268
features of IBAs as, 269–70
and Labrador Inuit goals, 233, 235, 247–48, 251, 252
and self-determination goals, 266–67, 279
and the state, 265–66, 280–81
New Millennium Iron (NML), 193
newcomers influx, 89, 92, 96, 97, 107
Newell, Eric, 223
Newfoundland
governance of Labrador, 236–37
land claims negotiations, 243–44
on protecting traditional way of life, 241
women in the workforce, 119, 121, 127
Newfoundlanders, in Pine Point, 148, 151
Neyelle, Morris, 77–78, 79
NG. *See* Nunatsiavut (NG)
"Nichole Churchill," 120
non-Inuit (qallunaat) and Inuit relations, 45, 46–47
North Rankin Nickel Mine (NRNM), **36**, **37**
closure, 47–48
history, 2, 35, 38, 39
housing and settlement policies, 42–44
post-closure influence, 317
recruitment of Inuit, 40–41
segregation policies, 46–47
workplace, 44–46
as zombie mine, 12
North Slave Métis Alliance, 141
Northern Affairs. *See* Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources
northern development. *See also* mineral resource development; modernization of the North
alternative policies, 194–96
Canadian policies, 7–8, 69, 138, 176, 321–22
Plan Nord, 169–72, 189–92, 194
visions and realities, 1, 2, 4
"northern narrative," 68–69
Northern Transportation Company Ltd. (NTCL), 64
Northwest Territories
environmental legislation attempts, 347–48
Giant Mine remediation plans, 357
and IBAs, 275, 278
liability for Giant Mine, 353–54
Socioeconomic Action Plan, 323, 325
subsidies to Miramar, 354
subsidies to Royal Oak Mines, 351–52
Northwest Territories Water Board
Giant Mine negotiations, 349, 351
Pine Point reclamation plan hearings, 142–43
Polaris development, 324–25
Notley, Grant, 215, 219
NRNM. *See* North Rankin Nickel Mine (NRNM)
Nunatsiavut (NG), 244–50, 251
Nunavut
concerns about abandoned projects, 299–300
creation of, 322
Nanisivik closure and reclamation plan, 300, 302
Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, 271
Nunavut Water Board (NWB), 300
Nutak, Newfoundland and Labrador, 238, 250
NWB. *See* Nunavut Water Board (NWB)
NWT Mining Heritage Society, 9–10

O

O'Faircheallaigh, Ciaran, 264, 278
oil sands industry in Alberta
Alsands project hearings, 216–17
and communities, 221–22, 223, 225
development of, 207–8, 209–10, 224
GCOS expansion hearings, 213–14
Ontario mine development, 4
OPEC. *See* Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)
open pit mining, xi, 109, 117
Oqalluk, Leah, 303
oral history research methods
Déline community, 62

Kangiqiniq, 38–39
Labrador City, 118, 131n5
Na-Cho Nyäk Dun, 93–95
objectives and experiences, 13–17, 138
Pine Point, 140–41
Resolute community, 320
ore concentrates, xii, 327
O'Reilly, Kevin, chapter by, 21, 341–76
biography, 385–86
Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 209
Oyukuluk, Kunuk, 298

P

Padlirmiut starvation crisis, 44
Pamack-Jeddore, Rosina, 238–39
Papillon, Martin, 268
Paquette, Pierre, 176
Pearson, Lester B., on northern development, 69
Peck, Jamie, 265
Peet, Fred J. "Tiny," 76
pensions, 180–81
"People of the Rock" (National Film Board documentary), 35
permafrost as pollution containment
Garrow Lake, 304
Yellowknife, 344
Pine Point, Northwest Territories
after mine closure, 142, 154
commemoration of memories, 10, 139–40
concerns about Pine Point Mine, 141–48
hydroelectric dams, 8
quality of life in, 150–53, 155–56
racism in, 148
Pine Point Mine, **140**, **145**, **147**
community feelings about, 8, 140–50, 154–56
development of, 2, 138
employment at, 50
mine closure, 142
reopening project, 156–57
as zombie mine, 12
"Pine Point Revisited," 139–40
pitchblende discovery, 63, 66–68, 70, 71
Plaice, Evelyn, 241
Plan Nord, 169–72, 189–92, 194
Pochon, Marcel, 75
Polaris Mine, **328**
closure, 329, 331
development, 322–27
operations and employment, 318, 327–28
Resolute community and, 316
"policy of dispersal," 39
political activism
CARC and ITC on Polaris Mine, 324–26
movements in Northern Canada, 322
pollutants. *See* toxins and pollutants
Poloski, Murray, 242
Port Radium
in historical records, 75–76
history preservation, 10
mine history, 59–60, 63–64
narratives on, 66–69, 70, 72, 74
pollution and radiation, 8, 64–65
remediation, 79–80
as symbol of colonialism, 61, 80–82
as zombie mine, 12
Power, Rosemary, 316
Prno, Jason, 262
Procter, Andrea
biography, 386
chapter by, 232–58

Q

qallunaat (non-Inuit) and Inuit relations, 45, 46–47
QNS&L. *See* Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway Company (QNS&L)
Quebec
demolition of Schefferville, 181, 188–89
infrastructure investments, 191
mineral development policy, 173–76, 197
Plan Nord, 169–72, 189–92, 194
resource economies, 176, 177–78
Quebec–Labrador iron ore region, 6, 10. *See also* Labrador Trough; Millennium Iron Range; Ungava region
Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway Company (QNS&L), 174–75, 198

R

racism memories, 148, 151
Rankin Inlet (Kangiqiniq), Nunavut
  government-sponsored enterprises, 49
  memories of mining, 35–36, 38–39
  mine closure, 47–48
  resilience and identity, 10, 50–51, 58n50, 317–18
  segregation policies, 46–47
  townsite design, 42–44
Rankin Inuit, 35–36
  adjustment to mine closure, 47–51
  government policies towards, 39–40
  identity and resilience, 51–53
  migration and recruitment, 41–42
  in the mining workforce, 38, 40–41
  settlement experiences, 42–44, **43**
  social life, 46–47
  workplace relations, 44–46
RCMP. *See* Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP)
Rea, Kenneth J., 139
Reclamation Security Trust, 353
reclamations
  definition, xii
  as mining project milestone, 297
  Nanisivik cost valuations, 300–308
  in Strathcona Agreement, 296
recreation and entertainment
  Pine Point, 140, 151
  Polaris Mine, 330
  Rankin Inlet, 46–47
  Schefferville, 187–88
redevelopment of mines
  implications to communities, 11–12
  Keno Hill, 104–5
  Labrador Trough, 189–94
relocation programs
  Labrador Inuit, 237–39, 250–51
  Na-Cho Nyäk Dun, 90
  Naskapi, 175
  Padlirmiut, 44
  Rankin Inuit, 50–51
remediation
  costs, 11–12
  definition, xii
  Giant Mine, 346, 350–51, 353–54, 355–65
  implications to communities, 11–12
  Keno Hill, 104
  political action suggestions, 365–66
  Port Radium, 65, 79–80
  Schefferville, 182
Rennie, Rick, 119
research framework, 6–7, 10
residential schooling, 80, 90, 221, 266
resilience of mining communities, 9–11, 158–59
Resolute Bay (Qausuittuq), Nunavut
  collective mining memory, 316, 320–21
  criticisms of Cominco, 330–31
  employment expectations, 326–27
  experiences at Polaris Mine, 321, 330
  meetings with Cominco, 322–24
resources. *See* land and resources; mineral resource development
Rice, Terry, 246
roads and railways
  Fort Resolution, 149, 153
  Pine Point Mine, 138, 142, 143
  Schefferville Mine, 174–75
  Silver Trail, 104
  Yukon, 90
Robertson, David, 294
Robertson, R. Gordon, 40, 47
Rollwagen, Katharine, 52
Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) at Rankin Inlet, 39, 40
Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples hearings, 143–44
Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 120
Royal Oak Mines
  arsenic removal and reprocessing proposal, 349–50
  failing finances, 351–52
  labour tragedy, 347
  receivership, 343, 352–53
  resistance to air quality regulations, 348
  water license negotiations, 349
Rumily, Robert, 173

S

Sahtú landscape, 59, 61, 75–76
Sahtúot'ı̨nę
  exclusions from historical accounts, 74–76
  mine impacts on, 60, 64–65
  narratives of Port Radium origin, 69–74
  reciprocity and exchange ethic, 77–79
  on remediation efforts, 65, 79–81
St. Paul, Charles, 67–68
Sandlos, John
  biography, 386
  chapter by, 19, 137–65, 377–81
Saskatchewan mines, 4, 17
Sawmill Bay, Northwest Territories, 59, 79
Sayine, Robert, 142
Schefferville, Quebec
  after mine closure, 181, 188–89, 197–98
  barricades at, 198
  community resilience, 10
  quality of life in, 187–88
  relocations to, 175
Schefferville Mine, 180–81, **182**, **183**, **184**, **186**
  closure, 178, 179–81
  development, 4, 174–75
  economic value, 177–78
  landscape impacts, 181–84
  as zombie mine, 12, 198
scientific expertise, as authoritative and reliable, 307–8
scientific methods in reclamations
  modelling for tailings cover, 306
  using evidence for cost valuation, 301–3
Searle, John R., 60
security bonds
  adequacy of, 380–81
  Giant Mine remediation, 351, 353
  Nanisivik reclamation project, 300–303
Seddon, Vicky, 118
segregation policies, 42–44, 46–47, 98
Sept-Îles, Quebec, 175, 193, 198
settlement
  Makkovik, 238–39
  Na-Cho Nyäk Dun, 89
  Rankin Inuit experiences, 42–44, **43**
  Yellowknives Dene First Nation, 342
Shoebridge, Paul, 139
Shopes, Linda, 15, 320
Shore, Cris, 250
Sidbec-Normines (mine), 178
Silver Trail (Yukon), 104
Simonetta, Joanne, 219–20
Simons, Michael, 139
Singiituk (Inuk foreman), 40, **40**, 48, 55n16
Slocombe, Scott D., 262
Slowey, Gabrielle, 235, 266, 267
Smallwood, Joey
  at Labrador Conference, 237
  Terms of Union agreement, 236
Smith, Kitty, 87
Smith, Linda Tuhiwai, 252
snow blindness, 67–69
Sǫbak'e (the money place), 59
social impacts
  Arctic Bay Inuit, 298–99
  Fort Resolution and Pine Point, 148, 149, 150–53, 154, 156
  Keno Hill, 107, 111–13
  Labrador Inuit relocations, 238–39, 241, 250–51
  of mine development, 4, 8
social license to operate, 194, 260
social life
  Labrador City, 122–23, 128
  Pine Point, 150–52, 155–56
  Rankin Inlet, 46–47
  Resolute, 330
  Schefferville, 187–88
Socioeconomic Action Plan, 323, 325
Sonnefrere, Daniel, 156
South Slave region. *See* Pine Point Mine
southern Canadians
  comments on fate of Rankin Inuit, 47
  cultural views of achievement, 75, 76–77, 81
  disconnected from realities of mining, 380
  and "northern narrative," 68–69
  perceptions of northern Canada as underdeveloped, 7–8
southern influences on communities, 149, 152, 156
Ste Marguerite River, 175
steelmaking industry, 177–78, 191–94

Stephenson, C., 317
Stern, Pamela, 51
Stewart River, 89, 96
stories. *See* narratives
Strathcona Agreement, 296–97
Strathcona Sound dock
  contaminants at, 305, 327
  investment in, 295, 296
subsidies
  infrastructure investments, 7–8, 138, 295, 296
  Northwest Territories to Miramar, 353
  Northwest Territories to Royal Oak Mines, 351–52
subsistence living. *See* land-based living
sulphur dioxide emissions at Giant Mine, 347
Suncor. *See also* Great Canadian Oil Sands Ltd. (GCOS)
  pollution spill (1981), 214–16
Syncrude
  employment of indigenous people, 218, 219–20, 223
  environmental impact assessments, 210
  founding of, 209
  particulate emissions, 212
  partnership with communities, 223

T

tailings and tailings ponds
  cover for Nanisivik, 303–8
  definitions, xiii
  GCOS, 211
  Giant Mine, 344, 349
  Pine Point Mine, 142, 143, 148
  Polaris Mine (Garrow Lake), 324, 325, 331–32
  uranium in, 63
Tamerlane Ventures Pine Point Mine project, 156–57
Tata Steel (Mumbai), 192–93
temporary foreign workers, 128
Thiobacillus bacteria in tailings, 303, 304
Timmins, Jules, 173, 175
tourism development, 104
Towtoongie, John, 41, 46, 49
toxins and pollutants. *See also* tailings and tailings ponds
  Fort McKay area, 210–12
  Giant Mine, 342–44, 347, 348, 362
  as loaded terminology, 302
  mentions in oral history accounts, 138
  permafrost as containment of, 304, 344
  Pine Point Mine, 146–48
  Port Radium, 64–65
traditional lifeways. *See* land-based living
Trigger, David S., 322
trust and distrust
  on protection of environment, 305–6, 348
  in remediation process, 80, 362, 366
Tudlik, Thomas, 41, 42, 45
Twardy, Stanley, 47

U

Uashat mak Mani-utenam (Sept-Îles), 198
UKHM. *See* United Keno Hill Mines Ltd. (UKHM)
unemployment insurance, 49
Ungava region, 172, 173–78. *See also* Labrador Trough
Union Miniére (Belgium), 63
union participation in education programs, 127
United Keno Hill Mines Ltd. (UKHM), 90, 98, 102
United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 267
United States
  iron and steel industry, 177, 196–97
  uranium oxide demand, 63–64
Unka, Bernadette, 143–44
Unka, Tommy, 149, 156
uranium
  Brinex mining proposal, 240
  discovery in Labrador, 236–37
  industry and markets, 63–64, 239, 243, 244, 249, 251
Uranium City, Saskatchewan, 8, 10, 209

V

values
conveyed in community debates, 80–81, 109–10, 111–13, 245–51, 252
conveyed in narratives, 60–61, 81
of minerals versus development costs, 377–81
on reciprocity and exchange, 78–79
regarding hard work, 51
regarding land protection, 111–13
Villeneuve, Greg, 145
Voisey's Bay nickel deposit, 244
volunteer work, 128

W

wage labour
attitudes towards, 51
as economy modernization, 39–40, 138, 175, 237–38, 276–77, 296
indigenous experiences with, 10, 44, 45, 50
waste rock, **140**
definition, xiii
water quality
Athabasca River, 213–14
Fort McKay area, 211, 212–13, 214–16
Keno Hill, 103
Pine Point Mine, 142–43, 146–48
Port Radium, 63, 64
Yellowknife, 344, 349
Weber, W.W., 40–41
welfare payments, 49, 278
Wernecke Mountains, 110
Whatmough, Ken, 40
Williamson, Robert G., 46, 50
Wilson, Shawn, 93
Winton, Alexandra
biography, 386
chapter by, 18–19, 87–116
WISCO International Resources Development & Investment (WISCO), 193–94
Wiseman, Alison, 124
Wolfden Resources, Nanisivik, 301, 308
women in mining
labour divisions, 119–21
mine worker relations, 122–23
models for studying, 118
push for opportunities, 126–27, 128–29, 130
social attitudes about, 121–22, 124–26
Women's Centre (Labrador City), 126
workers compensation, 100
working mothers, 124–25
workplace culture
Carol Lake Mine, 129, 130
North Rankin Nickel Mine, **36**, **37**, 45
Schefferville Mine, 187
Wright, Susan, 250
Wyckoff, William, 294

Y

Yellowknife, Northwest Territories
air quality concerns, 347
area history, 2, 341–42
community today, 9–10, 59
concessions and subsidies, 351–52, 353, 354–55
disappointment with remediation planning, 357–58
principles for remediation plan, 356
push for pollution regulations, 348
push for review process, 358–59
recommendations accepted, 363
water pollution concerns, 349
Yellowknives Dene First Nation
excluded from workshops, 350
government briefing of, 357–58
health impacts from gold mines, 344
lands and settlement, 341–42
loss of trust in government, 348
push for review process, 358–59
recommendations accepted, 363
youth
disconnected from the land, 78
employment in mining towns, 127, 128
Yukon
agreements with First Nations, 103
economic development, 104
employment, 96

Z

"zombie" mines, 11, 12, 198

"The book situates itself at the intersection of two of the signal developments shaping Canada's political landscape today: the renewed boom in natural resource extraction and the mobilization of First Nations communities around territorial stewardship and self-determination. The book brings a much-needed historical perspective on this juncture, and its editors are explicit in their hope that the case studies assembled here will have bearing on contemporary debates and policy-crafting."

– Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert,
Department of History and Classical Studies, McGill University

For indigenous communities around the globe, mining has been a historical forerunner of colonialism, introducing new and often disruptive settlement patterns and economic arrangements. Although some communities may benefit from and adapt to the wage labour and training opportunities provided by new mining operations, they are also often left to navigate the complicated process of remediating the long-term ecological changes associated with industrial mining. Thus the mining often inscribes colonialism as a broad set of physical and ecological changes to indigenous lands.

Mining and Communities in Northern Canada: History, Politics, and Memory examines historical and contemporary social, economic, and environmental impacts of mining on Aboriginal communities in northern Canada. Combining oral history research with intensive archival study, the contributors juxtapose the perspectives of government and industry with those of local communities. The oral history and ethnographic material provides an extremely significant record of local Aboriginal perspectives on histories of mining and development in their regions.

CONTRIBUTORS:
Patricia Boulter, Jean-Sébastien Boutet, Emilie Cameron, Sarah Gordon, Heather Green, Jane Hammond, Joella Hogan, Tyler Levitan, Hereward Longley, Scott Midgley, Kevin O'Reilly, Andrea Procter, and Alexandra Winton.

ARN KEELING is an Associate Professor in the Department of Geography at Memorial University.

JOHN SANDLOS is an Associate Professor in the Department of History at Memorial University.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
Press
press.ucalgary.ca